

FROM THE LIBRARY
OF WILLIAM MORRIS
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578 Halle (Edw.) The Union of the two noble and illustre Famelies of Yorke and Lancaster (*fourth issue*), **black letter** (*wants title, 3 preliminary ll.* [*supplied in MS.*] *and 2 ll. of table ; with all faults*), *old calf*
R. Grafton, 1550

Four first ll. wanting, also 2 in last Index and last leaf

S.T.C. 12723.

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15/1x

London
Richard Grafton

1550

Halle's Chronicle.

In fine: Imprynted at London by Rychard Grafton, Prynter to the Kynges Maiestye.
1550.

Folio. Gothic letter. The ff. of each reign separately numbered. 665 ff. in all. Woodcut initials.
Lacks title, 3 preliminary leaves (made up in MS) and 2 ff. of table. Old calf.

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FROM THE LIBRARY
OF WILLIAM MORRIS

5 E. 5143

The Union of the two noble and Illustre ffamelies of Lancastre and Yorke, beeyng long in contynuall discension for the Crowne of this noble Realme, with all the acts done in both the tymes of the Princes, both of the one linage & of the other beginnyng at the tyme of Kyng Henry the fowerth, the first Author of this division

And so Succesively proceading to the Reigne of the High and prudent prince Kyng Henry the eight the undubitate and very heir of both the said Linages

1548

Wherunto is added the Reigne of Kyng Edward the vi. 1550.

To the most Mighty, verteous and Excellent prince Edward the Sixt
By the grace of God, Kyng of England ffraunce and Ireland, defendor of the Catho:
:like faith, and under God Supreme hed, of the Churches of England and
Ireland: Your most Humble Subject Edward Halle, wisheth
Health, honor and felicitie

Oblivion the Cancard Enemie

to fame and renoune, the Suckyng Serpent of auncient memorie; the deadly darte to the glory of princes, and the defacer of all con: quests and notable actes; So much bare rule in the first and second age of the world, that nothing was set out to Mennes knowledge either how the world was made, either how Man and beastes were created, or how the world was destroyed by water till ffather Moses hac by divine Inspiracion, in the third age, Invented letters, the treasure of Memorie and set furth five notable bookes, to the greate comfort of all people Lyving al this day. Likewise Mercurie in Egipte invented letters and writyng, which Cadmus after brought unto Greece. So every Nation was desirous to enhaunce Lady Fame, and to suppresse that deedly beast Oblivion. for what diversitie is betweene a noble prince and a poore Begger: Yea a reasonable man and a brute Beast, if after their death there be left of theim no Remembrance or token. So that evidently it appereth that fame is the triumphe of Glory, and Memory by litterature is the very dilator and setter furth of fame. How much therefore are princes, Governours and noblemenne bound to them whiche have so lively set furth the lives and acts of their parents, that although thei be ded by Morlall death, yet thei by writyng and fame live and bee continually present. If no Man had written the Goodnesse of Noble Augustus or the pitie of Mercefull Trajan, how should their Successors have followed their Steppes in vertue and princely qualities: On the contrarie part, if the Cruellie of Nero, the Ungracious life of Caligula hac not been put in remembrance, young Princes and fraile Governours might likewise have fallen in a like pitt, but by redyng their vices and seyng their Mischeevous end, thei be com: :pelled to leave their evill ways and embrace the good qualities of notable princes and pru: :dent Governours: Thus writyng is the keye to enduce vertue and represse vice. Thus memorie maketh Menne ded many a Thousand yere, Stull to live as though thei were present: Thus fame Triumpheth upon death, and Renoune upon Oblivion & all by reason of writyng and Historie.

The Preface

Alas my Soveraigne Lord, my Herte lamenteth to know and Remembre what rule this Tyrante Oblivion bare in this Realme, in the tyme of the Britons. For from the first Habitacion of this, no Man of the Britons either Sett furth Historie of their begynnyng, or wrote the hole lives of their Princes and Kynges, excepte Gildas, which Inveighed against the evill doynges of a fewe Tyrantes & evill Governours. Insomuch that Cesar wryteth, that when he was in this Realme, the People could not tell their Linage, nor their begynnyng. But one Geffrey of Monmothe a Thousand yere and more after Julius Cesar, Translated a certain Britishe or Welshe boke, Conteinyng the commyng of Brute with the Sequell of his Linage, till the time of Cadwalader, which Britishe boke if it had Kept a litle lenger, Brute with all his posteritie had been buried in the boke of Oblivion, for lacke of Writyng.

The Strong Saxons after thei had gained this Lande, Set up the Banner of ffame, and had their lives notably written by diverse and sundery ffamous Clerks even from their first entry into this lande, till the first Monarchy, and so Successively. In the Normans tyme, many notable, works hath been Sett furthe some of one Prince perticularly, & some of Mo: So that in fine, all the Stories of Kynges, from Kyng Willyam the first, to Kyng Edward the third, be Sett furthe at length, by diverse authors in the Latine Tongue, as by Mathew of Paris, sometime Religious in Saynt Albons and other, after whome Sir Froissard wrote the lives of Kyng Edward the third, and Kyng Richard the Seconde, So Compendeously and so largely, that if there were not so many thinges Spoken of in his long woorkes, I might believe all written in his great Volumes to be as trewe as the Gospell. But I have redde an olde proverbe, which Saithe, that in many woordes, a lye or twaine Some maie Scape. Sithe the end of Froissarte which endeth at the Beginnyng of Kyng Henry the fourthe, no man in the Englishe tongue, hath either Set furthe their honours according to their deserts, nor yet declared many notable Acts worthy of Memory doen in the tyme of Seven Kynges which after Kyng Richarde Succeeded: Excepte Robert ffabian and one without Name, whiche wrote the common Englishe Chronicle, Men worthy to be praysed for their diligence; but farre Stodying wide from the Butt of an history.

Wherefore most dread and benigne Soveraigne Lord, lest Cancarde Oblivione Should Deface the Glory of these Seven Princes to whom you be of all Sides lineall heire and very enheritour, I have compiled and gathered (and not made) out of diverse writers, as well Straung as Englishe, this Simple treatise whiche I have named the union of the noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke, Conjoyned together by the Godly Mariage of your most noble Graundfather, and your Vertuous Grandmother: For as Kyng Henry the fourth was the Begynnyng and rote of the great discord & division: So was the Godly Matrimony, the finall end of all dissensions, Stryfes and debates.

Besechyng

The Preface

I Beseechyng your Highe Majestie, to take this my simple and rude worke, accordyng to your accustomed Goodnesse in good part, not regardyng the thyng, but my good will to my native Countree, whose fame for lacke of wrytyng may much be darkened and defaced, And thus I pray to the Celestiall Lorde to send you Victorie over your Ene: mies peace with your Confederates, Love of your Subjectes: And in con: clusion perpetuall joye and Eternall felicitie

Richard Grafton
to the Reader

Must crave of the most gentle reader, charitably to judge of me the imprinter of this werk, if ought herein shall be sene unto the of purpose to bee Omitted either not Sufficiently oilated and Set furth, or elles Somethyng to playnly Spoken, in the which might be noted affeccion, that thou will excuse me therein, for I professe that I have as nere as in me lay, neither altered nor added any thyng of my Self in the whole werke otherwise then the author writt the Same. But this is to be noted, that the auether thereof, who though not to all men, yet to many very well known, was a man in the latter tyme of his lyfe not so paynfull and Studious as before he had ben: wherefore he perfited and writt this Historie no farther then to then to the four and twentie yere of kyng Henry the eight: the rest he left noted in diverse and many pamphletes and papers, which so diligently and truly as I could I gathered the Same together, and have Suchwise compiled them, as may after the Said yeres appere in this woorke: but utterly without any addicion of myne. Therefore my request and desyre as aforesaid, is, that thou will truly and Charitably Iudge me: And So Soone as my leasure will Serve, for thine Ease, and ready fyndyng of any thyng herein con:teyned I purpose to gather an exact table of the whole woorke.

The names of the auethors as well Latin as other, out of which this werke was first gathered, And after compiled and conjoyned.

Latin Auethors

Policronicon.
Cronica Cronicarum.
Naucleras.
Polideras.
Paulus Aemilius.
Veluteranus.
Gauguinus.
Albertus Krantz.
Michael Ricius.
Heelor Boetius.
Joannes Major.
Abbas Wyssenbergensis.
Carion.
Supplementum Cronicarum.
Gesta Tholosanorum.
Cronica Brabancie.

Frenche Auethors

Enguerant de Monstrellet.
Jean Buchet.
Jean Mayer de Belges.
Argenton.
Le Mere des Histories.
Les annales de Fraunce.
Les annales de Aquitayne.
Les Cronigz de Britayne.
Gilles Corozet.
Les Croniques de Normandi.
Le Rosarie.
Le Genelagie des Roys.

Englishe Writers

Treuisa.
Fabian.
Sir Thomas Moore.
Caxton.
Thon Hardyng.
The Chronicles of London.
Thon Basset.
Ballantyne.

And out of others diuerse Pamphlettes, the names of whom are to most men unknown.

The names of the Misteries conteigned in this Volume.

An Introduction into the Division of the Two Houses of Lancastre and Yorke.

i. The unquiet tyme of Kyng Henry the Fowrth

ii. The Victorious Actes of Kyng Henry the v.

iii. The troubleous Season of Kyng Henry the vi.

iiii. The Prosperous Reigne of Kyng Edward the iiii.

v. The Pitifull Lyfe of Kyng Edward the v.

vi The Tragicall daynges of Kyng Richard the iii.

vii The Politike Governaunce of Kyng Henry the vii.

viii The Triumphant Reigne of Kyng Henry the viii.

Finis



What mischiefe hath insurged in realmes by intestine deuision, what depopulacion hath ensued in countries by ciuil discencion, what detestable murder hath bene cõmitted in cities by seperate factions, and what calamitee hath ensued in famous regiõs by domesticall discord & vnnatural controuersy: Rome hath felt, Italy can testifie, Fraunce can bere witnes, Beame can tell, Scotlande may write, Denmarke can shewe, and especially thys noble realme of Englande can apparauntly declare and make demonstracion. For who abhorreth not to expresse the heynous factes comitted in Rome, by the ciuill warre betwene Julius Cesar and hardy Pompey by whose discord the bright glory of the triumphant Rome was eclipsed & shadowed? Who can reherse what
xx mischiefes and what plages the pleasaunt countrey of Italy hath tasted and suffered by the seditious faccions of the Guelphes and Gebelynes? Who can reporte the misery that dayly hath ensued in Fraunce, by the discorde of the houses of Burgoyne and Orliens: Or in Scotlande betwene the brother and brother, the vncle and the nephew? Who can curiously endite the manifolde battailes that were fought in the realme of Beame, betwene the catholikes and the pestiferous sectes of the Adamites and others? What damage discencion hath done in Germany and Denmarke, all christians at this daie can well declare. And the Turke can bere good testimony, whiche by the discorde of christen princes hath
xxx amplified greatly his seigniorie and dominion. But what miserie, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the deuision and discenciõ of the renoumed houses of Lancastre and Yorke, my witte cannot comprehende, nor my toung declare, neither yet my penne fully set furth.

FOR what noble man liueth at this daie, or what gentleman of any auncient stocke or progeny is there, whose linage hath not bene infested and plaged with this vnnaturall deuision. All the other discordes, sectes and faccions all moste lyuely florysshe and continue at this presente tyme, to the greate displeasure and preiudice of all the christian publike
xl wealth. But the olde deuided controuersie betwene the foxnamed families of Lancastre and Yorke, by the vnion of Matrimony celebrate and consummate betwene the high and mighty Prynce kyng Henry the seuenth and the Lady Elyzabeth his mooste worthy Quene, the one beyng indubitate heire of the house of Lancastre, and the other of Yorke was suspended and appalled in the persone of their moste noble, puissant and myghty heyre kyng henry the eight, and by hym clerely buried and

perpetually extinct, So that al men (more clerer then the sonne) may apparantly perceiue, that as by discorde great thynges decaie and fail to ruyne, so thesame by concorde be reuiued and erected. In likewise also all regions whiche by deuision and discencion be vexed, molested and troubled, bee by vnion and agrement releued, pacified, and enriched.

BY vnion of the Godhed to the manhod, manne was ioyned to God whiche before by the temptacion of the subtle serpente, was from hym segregate and deuided. By the vnion of the catholike churche and the outsworne sinagoge, not onely the hard ceremonies and dedly penies of the Mosaicall law were clerely abholyshed and made frustrate, but also christian libertie is inferred and Christes religiō stablished and erected. By the vnion of man and woman in the holy sacrament of Matrimony the generacion is blessed, and the synne of the body clene extincte and put away. By the vnion of mariage, peace betwene realme and realme is exalted, and loue betwene countre and countre is norysshed. By coniunction of matrimony, malice is extinct, amitie is embraced, and indissoluble aliaunce and consanguinite is procured. What profite, what comfort, what ioy succeded in the realme of England by the vnion of the forenamed two noble familes, you shall apparauntly perceiue by the sequele of this rude and vnlearned history. And because there can be no vnion or agrement but in respect of a deuision, it is consequent to reson that I manifest to you not onely the orygynall cause and fountain of thesame, but also declare the calamities, troubles and miseries whiche happened and chaunced duryng the tyme of thesaid contencious discencion.

FOR the whiche you shall vnderstande (according as it is an acte of Parliament made in the furste yere of the reigne of kyng Edwarde the fourthe specified and declared.) That the high and mightie Prince king Henry the third of that name, had issue Edwarde his furste begotten sonne borne at Westmister the eleuenth Kalendes of July in ỹ vigile of Saincte Marke and Marcilian in the yere of our Lorde a thousande two hundred nyne and twenty. And Edmonde his seconde begotten sonne borne on the date of sainct Marcell in the yere of our Lord a thousande two hundred fourty and fyue. Whiche Edwarde after the death of kyng Henry his father, was entytled and called kyng Edwarde the first, and had issue his first begotten sonne entitled and called after the death of kyng Edward his father, kyng Edward the second, whiche had issue the right noble & honorable prince kyng Edward the third whiche kyng Edward had issue Edwad his first begotten sonne prince of Wales, Willyam of Hatfeld the second begottē sonne, Lionell duke of Clarence the third begotten sonne, Jhon of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the fourth begotten sonne, Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the fift begotten sonne, Thomas of Woodstocke duke of Glocester the syxt begotten sonne, and Willyam of Wynsor the. vii. begotten sonne. The saied prince Edward died in the lyfe of his father kyng Edward the. iii. and had issue Rychard borne at Burdeaux, whiche after the death of kyng Edward the. iii. as cosin and heire to him, that is to saie sonne to thesaid

The lyne of kyng Henry the third.

Edward

Edwarde prince of Wales sonne to the saied kyng Edward the thirde succeded hym in royall estate and dignitee, lawfully entitled and called Kynge Richarde the seconde and died without issue, Lionell Duke of Clarence the third begotten sonne of the saied kyng Edward the third had issue Philippe his only doughter whiche was maried to Edmond Mortymer earle of Marche and had issue Roger Mortymer earle of Marche: which Roger had issue Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, Anne and Elienor, whiche Edmond and Elianor died without issue. And the saied Anne was maried to Richard erle of Cambrige sonne to Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the fifth begotten sonne of the said kyng Edward the thirde, which Rychарde had issue the famous prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke which had issue that noble prince kyng Edward the fourth father to Quene Elizabeth united in matrymonye to the high and sage prince kyng Henry the. vii.

¶ Jhon duke of Lancaster had issue Henry erle of Darby, and Jhon erle of Somersette. This Henry erle of Darby had issue, kyng Henry the fift father to kynge Henry the syxt whiche begat Prince Edwarde that was slayne at Tewkesbery, and diseased without issue. Jhon the erle of Somersette before named, sonne to Jhon Duke of Lancastre, engendered Jhon duke of Sommerlette father to the lady Margaret Countes of Richemonde mother to the noble and haute Prince kyng Henry the seuenth which espoused lady Elizabeth the heire of the illustre family of Yorke, by the whiche mariage the deuise or badge of the hous of Lancastre whyche was the redde Rose, was knite and ioyned with the white Rose, whiche was the cognisance & ensigne of the noble progeny of Yorke, as by the genealogy conteigned in the ende of thys wooрke more plainly shall appere.

¶ This aforenamed Henry earle of Darby beeynge created alitle before duke of Herforde, aprudente and politike persone, but not more politike then welbeloued, and yet not so welbeloued of all, as of some highly disdayned, began to consider with hymselfe how that kynge Richarde his cosyn germaine was nowe brought to that trade of liuynge that he litle or nothynge regarded the counsaill of his uncles, nor of other graue and sadde persones, but did all thynge at his pleasure, settyng his will and appetite in stede of lawe and reason. Wherefore on a daie beeynge in the compaigny of Thomas Mowbrey firste Duke of Norffolke and earle Marshall, beganne to breake hys mynde to hym more for dolour and lamentacion, then for malice or displeasure, reherfyng howe that kyng Richarde litle estemed and lesse regarded the nobles and Princes of his realme, and as muche as laye in hym soughte occasions, inuented causes and practised priuely howe to destroye the more parte of them: to some thretenyng death, to other manacing exile and banishment, forgettyng and not remembrynge what blotte it was to his honor, and what detrimente and damage it was to the publike wealthe, to suffre his realme to lese the auncient fame and pristinate renoune by his slouth and negligence, and that all thynges bothe in

the tyme of peace, and also of warre, aswell in the realme as without, waxed worse and worse, and had neuer prosperous successe nor fortunate conclusion. And because noble menne murmured, and the comon people grudged, and all menne wondered at his vnprincely doynges, he desired the duke of Norffolke, whithe was one of the kynges priuy counsaill and well heard wyth hym, to aduise the kyng to turne the lefe and to take a better lesson. When the Duke of Norffolke had hearde fully hys deuise, he toke it not in good parte, but rekened that he had gotten a praye by the whyche he shoulde obtayne greater fauor of the kynge then euer he had, & so he at that tyme dissimuled the matter (as he was in deede bothe a depe dissimuler & a pleasaunt flaterer.) And after whē he had oportunite and sawe his tyme, was very glad (as tell tales and scicophantes bee, when they haue anye thynge to instill in to the eares and heddes of Princes) to declare to the kynge what he had heard, & to agrauate and make the offence the greater, he muche more added but nothyng diminished. x

¶ This matter some what quickened and more tikeled the wauerynge mynd of kyng Richard, and brought hym into a great fury. But when the water of fumitory was well disgested in his stomacke, he determined to here bothe the parties indifferently, and called to him the duke of Lancastre and hys counsayll, and also the Dukes of Herforde and Norffolk, & caused the accusor to report opēly the wordes to him declared, which rehersed theim agayn as he had before related to the kyng. When Duke Henry hearde the tale otherwyse reported then he ether thought or sayed, somwhat vnquieted for the nouelitie of the thyng, or troubled with anger for the vntruth of the matter, stode still & paused a good while lokyng stedfastly vpō the kyng. And after ỹ takyng a good corage to hym, makyng low obeisāce, besought his highnes to cōceyue no mistrust in hym till he had seen & herd more. Then turnyng hymself to hys accuser, declard worde by worde what he had sayd showyng the cause & occasion why he so spake, denyng fiersly al the other new inuēcions alleged & proponed to his charge: affirmyng ỹ if the kyng would permit & suffre hym he would proue his accusor vntrue, vniust & a false forger of lies & sedicious tales by the stroke of a spere & dēt of a swerd. The duke of Norffolke affirmed constantly his saiynge to be true & refused not the cōbate. The kyng demaunded of them if they would agre betwene themselfes, whyche they both denied and threw doune theyr gages, by my truth qꝺ ỹ kyng, if you of your selfes will not agre I wyll not study how to agre you: and then he graunted thē the battayll & assigned the place to be at the citie of Couentree in the moneth of Auguste next ensuyng, where he cauled a sūpteous theatre and listes royall gorgeously to be prepared. At the day apointed the .ij. valiant dukes cā to Couentre, accōpanied with the nobles & gētiles of their linages which theim encoraged and hertened to the vtmoste. At the day of the cōbate and fight, the duke of Aumarle that daie high counstable, and the duke of Surrey that daie high Marshall of Englande entred into the listes

wyth

with a great cõpany of men apareled in silke sendall embrodered with siluer both richely and curiously, euery man hauyng a tipped staffe to kepe the feld in order. About the tyme of prime came to the barriers of the listes, the duke of Herfford mounted on a white corser barbed with blewe and grene beluet embrodered sumpteously with Swannes and Antelopes of goldsmithes worke, armed at all poinctes. The Constable and Marshall came to the barriers, demaundynge of hym what he was, he aulwered: I am Henry of Lancastre duke of Herfford, whyche am come hether to dooe my deuoyre against Thomas Mowbrey duke
x of Norffolke as a traytor vntrew to God, the kynge, his realme & me. Then incontinent he sware vpõ the holy Euangelistes that his quarell was trewe and iust, and vpon that poyncte he desired to entre into the listes. Then he put vp his swearde whiche before he helde naked in his hande, and put doune his viser, made a crosse on his forhed, and wyth spere in hand entered into the listes, and discended from his horsse and set hym doune in a chayer of grene beluet whiche was set in a trauers of grene and blewe beluet at the one ende of the listes, and there reposed hym selfe expectyng and abydynge the cõmyng of hys aduersarye.
Sone after hym entered into the felde wyth greate pompe kynge
xi Richard accompaignied wyth all the peeres of hys realme, and in hys compaignie was therle of sent Paule, whiche was come out of Fraunce in post to se this chalenge performed. The kynge had aboue ten thousand persones in harnesse, leaste some fraie or tumulte might sprynge emongest hys nobles by partakynge or quarellynge. When the kynge was set on his stage whiche was richely hanged and pleasantly adorned. A kynge at Armes made open proclamacion, prohibitynge all menne in the name of the kynge and the high Constable and Marshall to enterprise or attempte to approche or touche any parte of the listes
xii vpon payne of death, except such as were apoyncted to ordre and marshall the felde. The proclamacion ended, another Herald cried: behold here Henry of Lancastre duke of Herfford appellant, which is entered into the listes royall to dooe his deuoyre against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norffolke defendante, vpon payne to bee proued false and recreant. The duke of Norffolke houered on horsebacke at the entery of the listes, his horse beyng barbed with crimosen beluet embrodered richely with Lions of siluer and Mulbery trees, and when he had made his othe before the Constable and Marshall that his quarell was iuste and trewe, he entered the felde manfully saiynge aloude, God aide him that hath the righte, and then he departed from his horse & sate doune
xi in his chayer whiche was Crimosen Ueluet, curtened aboute wyth white and redde Damaske. The lorde Marshal vewed their speres to see that thei were of egall length, and deliuered the one spere hym selfe to the duke of Herfforde, and sente the other spere to the duke of Norffolke by a knighte. Then the Heraulte proclaymed that the trauerses and chayers of the Champions shoulde bee remoued, commaundynge theim on the kynges behalfe to mounte on horssebacke and

adreſſe themſelfes to the battaill and combate. The duke of Herſforde was quickely horſſed and cloſed his bauier and caſte hys ſpere into the reſt & when the trũpet ſoũded, ſet forward coragiouſly toward his enemy. vj. or. vij. paces. The duke of Norffolke was not full ſet forwarde whẽ the kynge caſt doune his warder & the heraultes cried ho, ho. Thẽ the kyng cauſed their ſperes to be taken from them, and commaunded them to repaire again to their chayers, where thei remained two long houres, while the kynge and his counſaill deliberatly conſulted what waie was beſt to bee taken in ſo waighty a cauſe. Then the Heraultes cried ſilence and ſir Jhon Boxey ſecretary to the kyng red the ſentence and determinacion of the kynge and his counſaill in a longe rolle, pronounſyng it after this maner. My lordes and maiſters I intimate and notify to you by the kyng & his counſaill', that Hẽry of Lancaſtre duke of Herſforde appellante: and Thomas duke of Norffolke defendante, haue honorably and valiantly apered here within the liſtes royall this daie, & haue been redy to darraine the battaill lyke two valiant knightes and hardy chãpions, but becaſe the matter is greate and weyghty betwene theſe two greate princes, this is the ordre of the kyng and his counſaill, that Henry duke of Herſford for diuerſe conſiderations and becauſe he hath diſpleaſed the kinge, ſhal within. xv. daies departe out of the realme for terme of ten yeres, without returnyng excepte by the kyng he be repealed again and that vpon pain of death. When the people whiche pertely loued the duke of Herſford heard this crie, they wer not a litle amaſed, & marueled muche that he which had doen his deuor to the perfourmance of his chalenge ſhould be thus baniſhed and exiled. Then the herault cried again oyes, & the ſecretary declared that Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolke by the ordinãce of the kyng and hys counſaill becauſe that he had ſowen ſedicion in this realme by his wordes wherof he can make no proffe, ſhall auoide the realme of Englande and dwel in Hũgery, Beame, Pruce or where he liſt, & neuer to returne again into Englande nor approche the cõfines nor borders of theſame, vpon pain of death, and that the kynge would ſtaie the profites and reuenewes of his landes in his handes till he had receiued ſuche ſommes of money as the duke had taken vp of the kynges treaſorer for the wages of the garriſon of Caleis which wer ſtill vnpaied. When theſe iudgemẽtes wer thus deuulged, the kyng called before him the two exiles & made thẽ ſwere that the one ſhoulde neuer come into the place wher the other was (willyngly) nor kepe company together in any forreine region, which othe thei receiued humbly and departed from the liſtes. It was ſuppoſed that the kyng miſtruſted that yf thei two ſhould ioyne in one again, and conſpire to be reuenged againſt him, that they and their frendes might worke hym greate trouble and calamitee, and for that cauſe to haue deuiſed this othe. The duke of Norffolke whiche ſuppoſed to haue been borne out by the kyng, was ſore repentãt of his enterpriſe, and departed ſorowfully out of the realme into Almaine, and at the laſte came to Uenice where he for thoughte and Melancolye deceaſſed.

ceassed. The duke of Herssord toke his leaue of the king at Eltha, which there released foure yeres of his banishmente. And so he tooke his iorney & came to Caleyes, & so into Fraunce, wher he continued a whyle.

Wondreful it is to wryte, and more straũge to hear, what nombre of people ran in euery towne & strete, lamentyng and bewaylyng his departure. As who say, ỹ when he departed, the only shelde, defence and comfort of the cõmon people was vadid and gone, as though the sunne had fallẽ out of the spere, or the mone had lapsid frõ her proper epicicle.

When he was arriued in Fraunce, kyng Charles hearing the cause of his banishment, which he estemed very smal and lyght, receyued him gently, & him honorably entreteyned. In so muche that he had by fauour obteyned the mariage of the only doughter of Jhõ Duke of Berry vncle to the Frenche kyng, yf kyng Richarde had not cast a stoppe in his waye: For he well considered how the comminaltie loued the duke and how desirous they were of his returne into England, and thẽ forseyng that if he should be ioyned wyth so great an affinitie as the bloud of the house of Berry was in Fraunce, & afterward sodeinly to returne into Englande, it myght fortune to redounde to his more displeasure then pleasure, wherfore he letted the mariage to his owne distruction.

xx During ỹ first yere of this dukes exile, his father Jhõ of Gaũt duke of Lancaster deseassed, & is buryed on ỹ northsyde of the high aulter of the cathedral churche of S. Paule in London. The death of this duke abbreuiated ỹ life of king Richard, for he notwithstandyng ỹ the duchy of Lãcastre was to this duke Hẽry lawfully dissended, not only ceazed without ryght or title all the goodes of duke Jhon his parent, but also defrauded his heire of his lawful inheritaunce, receyuynge the rentes and reuenues of al his patrimony, & geuyng to other that whych was not his, & distributed the dukes landes to hys paresites and flatteryng folowers. This facte was adiudged of all the nobilitie to be vnlawful,

xxx vniust and vngodly, to depriue a man beyng banished out of the realme without deserte, without culpe, and wythout cause, of his inheritaunce and patrimony. But Edmond duke of Yorke vncle to Henry now lawfully duke of Lancastre, was sore moued with thys chaunce, to see the kynge breake and violate all lawes, all iustice and equitie, and after the murther of his brother the duke of Glocestre, to spoyle and robbe the sonne of his other brother. For he before thys tyme asmuche as his pacience could beare, did tollerate and suffre the death of his brother, the exile of hys nephiew, and an hundred mo iniuries, which for the leuitie and youth of the kyng, he remitted and buryed in obliuion. And therfore considerynge that the glory of the publique wealthe of hys natyue

xl countrey was lyke to decay by reason that the kyng was not moste ingenious, & had no man nere him that would boldely admonishe him of his office & dutie, thought it the acte of a wyse man in tyme to get hym to a resting place, and to leaue ỹ folowyng of such a doubtfull captayne which with a leaden swerd would cut his owne throte bolle. Wherfore

he with the duke of Aumarle his soonne went to his house at Langley reioysyng that there was nothyng in the common wealthe mishappened either by his deuice or consent, and he lamentably desyred daielye aide of almighty God to diuerte from kyng Richarde the darkecloud whiche he saw hangyng ouer his head.

In this ceason kyng Richard sailed into Irelande as diuers authores testifie, but what he did there is no parte of my processe, whiche dependeth on the sequele of this deuisiō. While king Richard was in Ireland, the graue persones of the nobilitee, the sage prelates of the clergy & sad magestrates & rulers of the citees, tounes & comminaltie perceauyng daily more & more the realme to fall into ruyne and desolacion (in maner irrecuperable as long as king Richard either lined or reigned,) after long deliberacion, wrote into Fraunce to duke Henry, whom thei nowe called (as he was in deede) duke of Lancastre & Herfforde, solicityng and requiryng hym with all diligente celeritee to conueighe hym selfe into Englande, promisynge hym all their aide power and assistence, if he expellyng kyng Richard as a manne not mete nor conueniente for so princely an offyce and degree, would take vpon hym the sceptre rule and diademe of his natiue countree and firste nutritiue soyle. And for that cause they sente the reuerent father Thomas Arundell archebis- x
shop of Cauntorbury with certein lordes and citezens of diuerse cityes and borroghes in habite pallyate and dissimuled, into the citee of Paris, some goyng one waie and some another, but all assemblyng together at the house of Clugny where the duke thē soiourned. When he sawe the archebishop his especiall frend and looked on other his fautoures and louers, yf he thanked God no manne oughte to maruell, yf he welcommed these ambassadors no creature can wondre: but if he reioyced and applauded not at their accesse and commyng, wise menne maie thynke folie & fooles maie laugh hym to skorne. When he was of them saluted, and thei of hym not onely resaluted but heartely welcommed & frendly xxx
enterteined. The archebishop desiryng the duke to absent al other persons then such as wer his cōpanions, saied these or like wordes to him.

An oracyon made by thomas Arūdel archebyshop of Cauntorbury to Hēry duke of Lancastre.

When your louyng and natural kynsmen and countrymen most noble and mightie prince, had muche aud long tyme considred & debated with thē selues of their affaires and busines in this tempesteous world and ceason (in the whiche no manne of our nacion is sure of his life, nor enioyeth his landes and seigniories without dreade nor possedeth his mouables without terrour or feare, whiche outragious dooinges many yeres occupied hath brought the publique wealth of our aboundāt countree almoste to wrecke and vtter exterminiō) their last ankerholde xl
refuge and confort was to studye and deuyse howe to haue a gouernoure and ruler whiche shoulde excell and florishe in wisedome, polycye and iustice aboue all other. By whiche reason a greate nombre of ỹ nobilitee and in maner al the comminaltie, being led and perswaded (whē thei had well cast their iyes and marked all the peres and nobles of the

realme

realme of England (they could fynde no duke, nor marques, no erle nor other potentate within all the realme, to whose empire and authoritie thei would be subiect and vassals so gladly as to youres. For this I assure you (and you knowe it aswell as I) that wee miserable subiectes haue so long borne the yoke of wãton vnwitty kyng Richard, and haue paciẽtly tollerate the pernicious persecucion of his gredy and auaricious councellers, and haue wynked at the pollyng and extorcion of hys vnmeasurable officiers, that oure backes bee so galde that we can no more suffre, and our chynne bones so weake that we can no lẽger cary. And therfore necessitie and not wyll, reason and not affeccion, cõstancy and not leuitie enforceth vs to lamente and desyre youre ayde and cõforte, to whom we be sent by the moste part of the nobilitie and also of the more parte of the vniuersal comminaltie, to desire and requyre you
x to take vpon you the high power, gouernaunce and sceptre of your natiue countreye and ryghte inheritaunce, and thesame to gouerne, rule and defend according to your approued wisedom and longe experimẽted pollecie, whome we haue euer knowen to be of that iustice, of that prudence & of that integritie that you wyl not commaund, admonish or attempt any thyng which shall not be iust, honest and laudable. Whiche request yf you well consider and diligently ponder prouely wyth your self, you shal easely perceyue that nothinge more profitable, more honest or more glorious can by any waies happen or chaunce to you then to accept and conforme your self to thesame. For what can you more exx pect and wish, then to commaũd and do al thynges according to ryght, reason & honestie: We offre not to you golde, siluer, perle, or precious stone, but our countrey, oure bodies, goodes and vs al to vse as youres and not as oures, desiring you to geue to vs in recompẽce, indifferẽcy quietnes and peace, and to restore to her seate and trone agayn, ỹ lady iustice, which hath so long bene banished out of oure nacion, to thentent that wyse, sage and good persons (whose desire and appetite is euer to liue wel) may honour, loue and embrace you as a gouernour and kinge sent from God, and that malicious and obstinate persons (whose cõscyxx ence is grudged with dayly offences, and whom the feare of iustice and punyshmente doth continuallye vexe and trouble, fearynge you as the skourge and plague of their naughtye doynges and mischeuous actes, maye eyther sone amende, or shortly auoide your countrey and region. Now occacion is offred, refuse it not, by the which your wisedom pollecie and valiãtnes shall appere to the vniuersal world, by the which you shal not onely bryng vs into an vnitie and monacorde, but also represse all sedicion and cancarde dissimulacyon: then the noble men shall triumphe, the ryche menne shall lyue wythoute feare, the poore & nedy persones shal not be oppressed nor confounded, and you for your so doyng, shall obtein thankes of your creatour, loue of your people, fauourxl of your neyghboures, fame end honoure for euer. When the byshoppe had ended, the duke pawsed a while, and then put of his hood and said.

The answer of Henry duke of Lancaster to Thomas Arundel bishop of Cãtorbury.

MY lorde of Cauntorbury and you my other frendes and louers, your commyng to vs is very pleasaunt, but more ioyous is youre message, for we of our owne naturall disposicion for the good wyll and singuler affeccion that you haue euer borne to vs, haue loued, embraced, and highly estemed you and all your doynges. Surely we woulde you knewe with what sorowe and agony of mynde we haue borne your vexacions, calamities and oppressions (as for the manifeste iniuries and opprobrious offences done and committed agaynste vs as you knowe well ynough, we wolle not speake at this tyme) of the whiche we estemed oure selfe a partener, as a thyng common betwene vs. For as it is heard that the hed shal not feele, when the hãd or any other membre is greued or sicke, so it is vnlike that anye displeasure or discommoditie shoulde happen to you wyth whiche we shoulde not tast in parte, suche agremẽt is emong membres, and suche communitie is emong frendes. Wherfore neither for ambicion of worldly honour, nor for desire of Empire or rule, or for affeccion of worldly ryches, and mucke of the worlde, we wolle agre to your peticiõ, but onely to releue your miserable calamitie, to restore iustice to her auncient rome & preheminẽce, & to defend the pore innocent people frõ the extort power of the gredy coxmerãtes & rauenous oppressours, requiring you to ioine with vs & we with you in aduaũcing forward this our incepted purpose, & pretẽced entrepryce

When the duke was condiscended to the bishoppes requeste, the bisshop and his complices departed into Englande, makynge relacion to their cõfederates of the dukes agremẽt and pleasure exhorting euery manne to be prest and ready at his arryual.

After their departure, the duke fayned to the French kynge, that he would go into Bryteyn to visite his frende duke Jhon of Bryteyn. The French kyng thynkyng him to meane inwardly as he outwardely dissymuled, sent to the duke of Bryteyn letters of commendacion in fauor of the duke of Lancastre. But yf he had knowen that his entent was to transfret into England and depose his sonne in lawe kynge Richarde, he woulde surely haue stopped him a tyde, and let his purpose and passage. What should I saye, that which shalbe, shalbe. The Duke passed into Bryteyn and there conducted and waged certeyne men of warre and shippes, and wyth good winde and better spede sailed into Englãd and landed at Rauenspurre in holdzenes as most writers affirme. But some saye that he landed at Plimmoth, and other at Portesmouth, but where soeuer he arryued, sure it is that he tooke lande peaceably wyth out any agaynsay or interrupcion. I wyll not be tedyous to you in rehersyng how the Erles of Northumbrelande and Westmerlande, the lordes Percy, Rose, Wylloughby and other resorted to him & takynge an othe of him that he should not dooe to kyng Rycharde anye bodelye harme, & made to hym homage and became his liege men. I omit howe chyldren reioysed, how wemen clapped their handes, & how men cried oute for ioy in euery toune & village where he passed. I relinquish farther

ther the concourse of people, the number of horses, whiche occurred to hym as he iourneyed toward London, reioysynge at his repaire and commyng to the Citie. I will not speake of the procession and singyng of the Cleargie, nor of the pleasant salutacions nor eloquent oracions made to hym by the Prelacie, nor of the presentes, welcomynges, laudes, gratificacions made to hym by the citesens and comminaltie of the citie of London, but I wyll go to the purpose. When he was come to Londō he consulted with his frendes diuers dayes, to whome came
x Thomas Earle of Arundell sonne to Richarde of Arundell, by kynge Richard a littell afore put to death, which had lately escaped out of prison. When the Duke hadde perceaued the fauour of the Nobilitie, the affection of the Cleargie and the sincere loue of the comminalte towarde hym and hys procedynges, he marched forward with a greate company toward the West countrey, and in passynge by the waie, the people assembled in great and houge multitudes (as the nature of the common people is, euer desirous of newe changes) callynge hym their kyng, deprauynge and railyng on kyng Richarde, as an innocent a dastarde, a meicocke and not worthy to beare the name of a kynge. When he had assembled together a conuenient nomber of people for hys pur-
xx pose and was clerely determyned to depose kynge Rycharde from his rule and dignitie, he proclaimed open warre agaynste hym and all hys partakers fautours and frendes. Kynge Richarde beyng in Irelande was certified of the Dukes arriuall, from whence (when he had pacified the sauage and wilde people) he retourned agayne into England, entendinge to reliste & defend the eminent perill & apparant ieopardy, and for the more tuicion and safegard entred into the stronge castell of Flinte in North Wales. x. myles distaunt from Chester. When kynge Richard perceued that the people by plumpes fled from hym to Duke Henry, he was amased and doubted what councell sodeynlye to take,
xxx for on the one parte he sawe his title iust, trewe, and vnfallible, and beside that he had no small truste in the Welshemen, hys conscience to be cleane, pure, immaculate, wythout spot or enuye: on the otherside, he sawe the puissaunce of his aduersaries, the sodaine departyng of them that he mooste trusted, and all thynges turned vpsydoune, with these thinges he beynge more abashed then encouraged, compelled by necessitie, determined to kepe hym selfe in that castell tyll he myghte see the worlde stable and in more suretie. For nowe he euidentely espied and manifestly perceaued that he was lefte, lowted and forsaken of theym by whom in tyme he myght haue beue ayded and relieued, and whiche
xl nowe was to late and to farre ouerpassed: and this thinge is worthy to be noted with a whitestone, of all princes rulers & men set in auctoritee and rule, that this Duke Henry of Lancastre shoulde be thus called to the kyngdome and haue the healpe and assistence all moste of all the whole realme, whiche perchaunce neuer thereof once thoughte or yet dreamed: and that kyng Richard should thus be lefte desolate void and desperate of all hope and comforte, in whom yf there were any of-

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fence, it ought more to be imputed to the frailtee of his wanton youth then to the malice of his heart or cankerdnesse of his stomacke, but such is the frayle iudgement of mortall men whiche vilependynge and not regardyng thynges present before their eies, do euer thincke all thynges that are to come to haue a prosperous succesſe and a delectable sequele. When the Duke of Lancastre knewe that kynge Richarde was come to the Castel of Flint, which a man maye call the dolorous Castel, because there kynge Richarde declined from his dignitie & lost the tipe of his glorye and pre heminence, he assembled together a great armye in small space lest he myght geue his enemies tyme to preuent his purpose and so to lose the good occasion of victory to him genē, came to the towne of Bristowe where he apprehended Willyam lorde Scrope the kynges treasurer sir Jhon Bussche and sir Henry Grene knyghtes, and caused their heddes to be striken of, and from thence toke hys iourney directly to Chester. When Thomas Percy Earle of Worceter a great Maister or lord Stuard of the kynges houshold beynge brother to the Earle of Northumberland hard tell of the dukes approch, beringe displeasure to the kynge because he had proclaimed his brother a traiter, brake before all the kynges houshold his white staffe, whiche is the ensigne and token of his office and without delay went to Duke Henry. When the kynges familier seruitours perceiued this, they dispersed them selfes some into one countrey and some into another.

The Duke came toward the castell of Flinte wherof kyng Richarde beynge aduertised by councell of Jhon Pallet and Richarde Seimer his assured seruauntes departed out of the castell and toke the sandes by the ryuer of Dee trustyng to escape to Chester and there to haue refuge and succoure, but or he hadde farre passed he was forelayed and taken and brought to the Duke, which sent hym secretly to the Towre of London. When the Duke had thus possessed hys longe desyred praye, he came to London in solempne estate and there called a Parliament in the kynges name, to the whiche many of the kynges frendes, but more of his there appeared. There was declared howe vnprofitable kynge Richarde had bene to the realme duryng his reigne, howe he subuerted the lawes, polled the people and ministred Justice to no man but to suche as pleased hym. And to the entent that the commons should bee perswaded that he was an vniuste and vnprofitable Prince and a tiraunte ouer his subiectes, and worthy to bee deposed. There were set forthe. xxxb. solempne articles verye heynous to the eares of men, and to some almost vncredible: The very effecte of which articles I will truely reporte hereafter accordyng to my copie.

Fyrste that kyng Richard wastfully spent the treasure of the realme and had geuen the possessions of the Croune to men vnworthy, by reason wherof daily newe charges more and more were layd in the neckes of the poore comminaltie. And where diuerse lordes as well spirituall as temporall, were appointed by the highe court of Parliament to cōmon and treate of diuers matters concernynge the common wealth of

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the same,whiche beyng busie about the same commission,he with other 2
of his affinitie went about to empeach of treason, and by force and me-
nace compelled the Justices of the realme at Shrewsburye to condis-
cend to his opinion,for the destruction of thesayd Lordes:in so muche 3
that he began to reise war against Jhon Duke of Lancastre, Thomas
Erle of Arundell,Richard Erle of Warwicke, and other Lordes con-
trary to hys honor and promyse.

¶Item that he caused his vncle the Duke of Gloucester to be arrested 4
without lawe,and sent him to Caleis, and there wythout iudgemente
x murdered hym. And although the Earle of Arundell vpon his araine-
ment pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in
most vile and shamefull maner sodainly put to death.

¶Item he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men to the en- 5 Walsing. 354
tent to make warre on the forsaid Lordes,and suffered them to robbe
and pill without correction or represe.

¶Item although the kyng flateringlye and with great dissimulacion 6
made proclamacion throughout the realme, that the lordes before na-
med were not attached for any crime of treason, but onely for extorci- Walsing. 354
ons and oppressions done in this realme, yet he layed to theym in the
xx parliament, rebellion and manifest treason.

¶Item he hath compelled diuers of the saied Lordes seruauntes and 7
frendes by menace & extreme paimentes, to make great fines to theyr
vtter vndoyng. And notwithstandyng his pardon to theim graunted
yet he made them fine of newe. m. Walsing. 354.

¶Item where diuers were appointed to common of the estate of the 8
realme,and the common welthe of thesame. Thesame kynge caused all
the rolles and recordes to be kept from them,contrary to hys promise
made in the parliament,to his open dishonour.

¶Item he vncharitably commaunded that no man vpon paine of losse 9
xx of life and goodes shoulde once entreate him for the retourne of Henry
nowe duke of Lancastre.

¶Item where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or 10 Walsing. 356
other prince,the said kyng Richard after he had obteined diuers actes
of parliament for his owne peculier profite and pleasure,then he obtei-
ned Bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to compell all menne
straightely to kepe the same, contrary to the honour and auncient pri- m. Abbr. Cp tom
uileges of this realme. vnknowen f. 10

¶Item although the duke of Lancastre had done his deuoir againste 11
Thomas duke of Norffolke in prose of his quarell, yet the saied kynge
xl without reason or grounde banished him the realme for ten yeres con-
trary to all equitee.

¶Item before the dukes departure,he vnder his lyode seale licenced 12 Walsing. 357
him to make attourneis to prosecute and defend his causes: The saied
kyng after his departure wold suffre none attourney to apere for hym
but did with his at his pleasure.

¶Item the same kynge put oute diuers shriues lawefully elected and 13
put m. Sh.

put in their roumes, diuers other of his owne minions subuertyng the lawe contrary to hys othe and honour.

14 ¶Item he borowed great sõmes of money, and bound him vnder his letters pattentes for the repaimẽt of thesame, & yet not one peny paid.

15 ¶Itẽ he taxed men at the wil of him & his vnhappy councel, & thesame treasure spent in folie, not paiyng pore men for their vitaill & viande.

16 ¶Item he saied that the lawes of the realme were in his head, & somtime in his breste, by reason of whiche fantasticall opinion, he destroyed noble men and empouerished the pore commons.

17 ¶Item the parliament settyng and enacting diuers notable statutes for the profite and aduauncement of the common welth, he by his priuie frendes and soliciters, caused to be enacted that no acte thẽ enacted shoulde be more preiudiciall to him then it was to any of hys predecessors, through which Prouiso he did often as he liste and not as the lawe ment.

18 ¶Itẽ for to serue his purpose he would suffer the Shrefes of the shire to remaine aboue one yere or two.

19 ¶Item at the sommons of the Parliament when knightes and burgesses should be electe that the election had bene full proceded, he put out diuers persones elected, & put in other in their places to serue his wyll and appetite.

20 ¶Item he had priuie espialles in euery shire, to here who had of hym anye communicacion, and if he commoned of his lasciuious liuynge or outragious doyng, he streighte waies was apprehended and made a greuous fine.

21 ¶Item the spiritualtie alledged againste hym that he at his goynge into Ireland exacted many notable sõmes of money, beside plate & iuels, without lawe or custome, cõtrary to his othe takẽ at his coronacio.

22 ¶Item when diuers lordes & Justices were sworne to saie the truthe of diuers thinges to them committed in charge both for the honor of ỹ realme and profite of the kyng, the said kynge so menaced theym wyth sore threteninges, that no man would or durste saye the ryght.

23 ¶Item that with out the assent of the nobilitee, he caried the iewels and plate and treasure ouer the see into Irelande, to the great empouerishyng of the realme. And all the good recordes for ỹ cõmon welthe and against his extorcions, he caused priuely to be embesiled and conueied away.

24 ¶Item in all leagues and letters to bee concluded or sent to the see of Rome or other regions: His writyng was so subtill and so darke, that no other prince durst once beleue him, nor yet his owne subiectes.

25 ¶Item he mooste tirannously and vnprincely sayd that the liues and goodes of al his subiectes were in the princes hãdes & at his disposicio.

26 ¶Item that he contrary to the great Charter of England caused dyuers lustie men to appele diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court marciall, because that in that court is no triall but onely by battaile: Where vpon the said aged persones

fearing

fearyng the sequele of the matter submitted theimselfes to his mercy whom he fined and raunsomed vnreasonably at his pleasure.

¶ Item he craftely deuised certain priuie othes contrary to the lawe, & caused diuers of his subiectes first to be sworne to obserue the same and after bound them in bondes for former kepyng of thesame, to the great vndoyng of many honest men. xvi

¶ Item where the Chauncellour accordyng to the lawe woulde in no wise graunt a prohibicion to a certain person: the kyng graunted it vnto thesame persone vnder his priuie seale with great threateninges if it should be disobeied. xvii

¶ Item he banyshed the byshop of Canterbury without cause or iudgement and kept hym in the parliament chamber with men of armes. xviii

¶ Item the byshops goodes he graunted to his successour vpon condicion that he shoulo mainteine all his statutes made at Shrewsburie, Anno. xxi. and the statutes made. Anno. xxii. at Couentree. xix

¶ Item vpon the accusacion of the Archebyshop, the kyng craftely perswaded thesaied byshop to make no aunswere, for he would be his warrant, and aduised hym not to come to the parliamēt. And so without aūswere he was condempned and exiled, and his goodes seazed. xx

Hung. Brit. 271. Hall. 354.

These bee the articles of any effecte which were laied against hym sauyng foure concerning the byshoppe of Caunterbury, which onely touched hym, but his working vnwrought kyng Rychard from his croune.

AND for as muche as these arcicles, and other heinous and detestable accusaciōs were laied against hym in the open parliament, it was thought by the mooste parte that kyng Rychard was worthy to be deposed of all honour, rule and Princely gouernaunce. And instrumentes autentike and solempne to depose, and other instrumentes were made to certain persons for them, and all homagers of the realme to resigne, to him all the homages & fealties dewe to him as kyng and souereigne.

Walsingh. 352.

But or this deposicion was executed in tyme, he came to Westminster and called a great counsaill of all the nobilitie and commons to the entent to conclude and make expedicion of all thinges whiche before were purposed and set forward. xxx

In the meane season diuerse of kyng Rychardes seruauntes whiche by licence had accesse to his persone, comforted, animated and encouraged hym beyng for sorowe withered, broken and in manet halfe deade, aduertising and exhortyng hym to regard his welthe and to saue hys lyfe. And first they aduised him willyngly to suffer him selfe to be deposed bothe of his dignitie, and depriued of his ryches: so that the duke of Lancastre might without murdre or battayll obteine the scepter and Diademe, after the whiche they well perceiued he gaped and thrusted by the mene wherof they thought he should be in perfit assuraunce of his life long to continue, and therfore might commit hym selfe to good hope, whiche is the best felowe & companion that a man in aduersitie can associat or ioyne hym selfe withall. Surely this counsaill was both good & honeste in so greate an extremitie, but yet the full effecte folowed not as xl

the ſequele of the thyng ſhewed and apparauntly declared. What pro-
fite, what honoure, what ſuretie had it bene to kyng Rychard, if he when
he might, whiche profeſſed the name and title of a kyng, whiche is as
muche to ſaie, the ruler or keper of people, had excogitate or remembred
to haue bene a keper of his owne hedde and lyfe, which nowe beyng for-
ſaken retect and abandoned of all ſuche as he, beyng an euel ſhepehard
or herdman, before tyme did not plie, kepe and diligently ouerſe was ea-
ſely reduced and brought into the handes of his enemies. Nowe it was
no maſtery to perſwade a man beyng deſperate penſife and full of do-
lour, to abdicate him ſelfe from his empire and imperiall preheminence: x
So that in only hope of his life and ſauegarde, he agreed to all thynges
that of hym were demaunded, and deſired his kepers to ſhewe and de-
clare to the Duke, that if he would voucheſafe to accorde and come to
hym, he woulde declare ſecretely thynges to hym bothe profitable and
pleaſaunt. His kepers ſent worde of all his ſaiynges to the duke, which
incontinent repaired to his chamber. There kyng Richarde commoned
with hym of many thynges, and amongeſt all other affirmed thoſe accu-
ſacions to be to muche trewe whiche the comminaltie of the realme al-
ledged againſt hym: that is to ſay, that he had euell gouerned his domi-
nion and kyngdō, and therfore he deſired to be diſburdened of ſo great xx
a charge and ſo heauy a burdein, beſechyng the duke to graunt to hym
the ſafegarde of his life, and to haue compaſſion of hym, nowe as he be-
fore that tyme had bene to hym bountifull and magnificent.

¶ The duke biddyng hym to be of good comfort and out of feare war-
ranted him his life, ſo that he would reſigne to hym his ſcepter croune &
dignitie: alſo nether to procure nor conſent to any thyng or acte whiche
might be hurtfull or preiudiciall to his perſon or ſucceſſion, to the which
demaundes he graunted and frely condiſcended and agreed.

THE Duke of Lancaſtre the nexte daie declared all kyng Rychardes
hole mind to the counſaill, but eſpecially to his vncle Edmunde duke of xxx
Yorke (whoſe helpe he muche vſed) whiche hearyng all thinges to be in a
broyle, a fewe daies before was come to London. The nobles and com-
mons were wel pleaſed that kyng Richard ſhould frankely and frely of
his owne mere mocion (which they muche deſired, leaſt it ſhould be noy-
ſed and reported that he therunto were inforced and by violence cōſtrai-
ned) reſigne his croune and departe from his regalite.

Not long after he cauſed a great aſſēble to be apointed at the towre
of London, where kyng Richard appareled in veſture and robe royall
the diademe on his head, and the ſcepter in his hand, came perſonally be-
fore the congregacion and ſaid theſe wordes in effecte. I Rychard kyng xl
of England Duke of Fraunce, Aquitaine, and Lorde of Irelande, con-
feſſe and say before you my lordes and other oure ſubiectes, that by the
hole ſpace of. xxii. yere in the whiche I haue obteined and poſſeſſed the
rule and regiment of this famous realme of Englande, partely ruled
and miſauiſed by the euell and ſiniſter counſaill of peruerſe & flattering
perſones: and partely led by the frailtie of young wauering and wan-

ton

ton youth, and with delectacion of worldly and volupteous appetites haue omitted and not executed my royall office and bounden dutie according as I oughte to haue done, in ministering iustice and preferment of the common wealth, whiche negligence I more then any of you I thynke my selfe, do sore repente and bewayle, and specially because I am brought to this poynete, that I knowledge and confesse my selfe, not worthy longer to reigne nor to haue any farther rule. So that now I can nother amende my misdedes, nor correcte my offences whiche surely I entended to do, and especially in my olde age, in the whiche euell thinges be accustomed to be amended, and the fautes and offences of youth, to be corrected and reformed. For what young man comonly can be founde indued with so muche vertue and so good qualities, whiche agitate and pricked with the heate of youth, shall not turne and decline from the right pathe and directe waye, and yet when he cometh to the more typenes of yeres and greate grauitie, doth not amend and change into better his old errates & wanton actes, for experiẽce teacheth, that of a rugged colte, commeth a good horse, and of a shrewde boye, proueth a good man. But sithe fortune doth not permit and suffre me so to do, to thentent that the publike welth of this realme may be holpen and reuansed by my meane, and after this not lyke agayn to declyne and decaye. And to the intent that it shall bee lefull to you, to electe and chose my cosyn germayne, Henry Duke of Lancastre, a man mete for a realme, and a prince apt for a kyngdome, to your kyng and souereigne lorde: I of my owne mere motion and frewyll, do putte and depose my selfe out of all royall dignitie, prehemynence & souereignite, and resygne the possession, title and vse of this realme, with all rightes thereunto appertaignyng, into his handes and possession. And then with a lamentable voyce and a sorowfull countenaunce, delyuered his scepter and croune to the duke of Lancastre, requiryng euery persone seuerally to graunt and assent that he might lyue a priuate and a solitary lyfe, with the swetnesse whereof, he would be so well pleased, that it should be a paine and punishement to hym to go abrode, and deliuered all the goodes that he had, to the some of three hundred thousand pounde in coyne, beside plate and iuels, as a pledge and satisfaccion, for the iniuries and wronges by hym committed and done. But whatsoeuer was promised, he was disceiued: For shortly after his resignacion he was conueighed to the Castell of Ledes in Kent, and from thence to Pomffret where he departed out of this miserable life, as you shall heare hereafter.

(.*.)

The firste yere of ¶ The vnquiet tyme of Kyng Henry the fourthe.

The first yer.



HEN the fame was diſperſed abrode that kyng Rycharde had putte hym ſelfe from his dygnitee royall, and reſigned his Scepter and Diademe imperiall, Henry Plantagenet borne at Bolyngbroke in the Countie of Lyncolne, duke of Lancaſtre and Herffordr etle of Derby, Leceſter and Lyncolne ſonne to Jhon of Gaunt duke of Lancaſtre, with one voice bothe of the nobles and comons, was publiſhed proclayned & declared kyng of England and of Fraunce, and lord of Ireland, and on the daie of ſaincte Edwarde the confeſſor, was at Weſtminſter with great ſolempnite and royall pompe, ſacred, enoynted and crouned kyng by the name of kyng Henry the fourth. But whoſoeuer reioyſed at this coronacion, or whoſoeuer delighted at his high promocion, ſure it is that Edmond Mortimer etle of Marche whiche was heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, the third begotten ſonne of kyng Edwarde the.iii as you before haue heard, and Richard erle of Cambryge ſonne to Edmond duke of Yorke, which had maried Anne ſiſter to theſame Edmõd, were with theſe doinges neither pleaſed nor contente. In ſo muche that nowe the deuiſion once beyng begonne, the one linage perſecuted the other, and neuer ceaſed tyll the heires males of bothe the lines were by battaill murdered or by ſedicion clerely extinct and deſtroyed.

At the daie of the coronation, to thentent that he ſhould not ſeme to take vpon hym the croune and ſcepter royall without title or lawfull clayme but by extorte power and iniurious intruſion, he was aduiſed to make his title as heire to Edmonde, ſurnamed or vntruely fayned Crouchebacke, ſonne to kyng Henry the third, and to ſaie that theſayed Edmond was elder brother to kyng Edwarde the firſte, and for his deformite repudiat and put by from the croune royall, to whome by hys mother Blanche daughter and ſole heire to Henry duke of Lancaſtre, he was next of bloud and vndoubtfull heyre. But becauſe not onely his frendes but alſo his preuy enemies knewe, that was but a title and that this title was by inuentours of miſchife fayned, imagened & publiſhed and were ſurely enformed not only that theſaid Edmond was younger ſonne to kyng Henry the third accordyng as it is declared in the acte of parliamẽt before recited: but alſo hauing true knowledge that Edmõd was nether Crokebacked nor a deformed perſone, but a goodly gentyll man and a valiaunt Capitayn, and ſo muche fauored of his louyng father, that he to preferre hym to the mariage of the Quene Dowager of

Nauerne

Nauerne hauynge a great liuelode, gaue to him the countie Palãtine of Lancaster with many notable honors, hyghe seignioryes and large priuileges. Therefore they aduysed him to make some other claime to the newe obteyned regiment, and so caused it to be proclaymed and published that he chalenged the realme, not onely by conquest, but also because he was by kyng Richard adopted as heire, & declared successor & of hym by resignacion had accepted the croune and sceptre, & also that he was the next heire male of the bloud royall to kyng Rychard.

After that he was crouned, he created hys eldest sonne lord Henry, x & Prynce of Wales, Duke of Cornewale, & Erle of Chester, then beynge of the age of.xij.yeres. This solẽnitie finished, he called his high court of parliament, in the which it was demaunded by the kynges frendes what should be done with kyng Richard. The bishop of Carleile which was a man bothe wel learned & wel stomacked rose vp and sayde. My lordes I require you take hede what answer you make to this questyon. For thyncke there is none of you worthye or mete to geue iudgemente on so noble a Prince as kyng Rychard is, whom we haue taken for our souereigne and liege lorde by the space of.xxij.yeres, and I assure you, there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so arrant a thiefe, nor so xx cruel a murderer, which is apprehended and deteigned in prisone for his offence, but he shalbe brought before the iustice to heare hys iudgegemente, and yet you wil proceade to the iudgemente of an annoynted king, & heare neyther hys answere nor excuse. And I say that the duke of Lãcaster, whom you cal kyng, hath more offended aud more tresplased to king Richard & thys realme, then the kyng hathe other done to hym or to vs. For it is manifestly knowen that the duke was banished the realme by kinge Richard and his counsayl; and by the iudgemente of hys owne father, for the space of tenne yeres, for what cause all you know, and yet wythout lycence of kynge Rychарde he is returned axx gaine into the realme, yea and that is worse, hathe taken vpon hym the name, title & preheminence of a kyng. And therfore I saye and affirme ỹ you do apparantly wrong, & manyfest iniury to procede in any thinge agaynst kyng Richard, without callynge hym openly to hys answere and defence. When the bishop had ended, he was incontinent by therle Marshal attached & committed to ward in the Abbey of S. Albones.

And then it was concluded, that kyng Richard should continew in a large prisone, and shoulde be plentifully serued of all thinges necessarye bothe for viande and apparell, and that yf anye persones woulde presume to rere warre or congregate a multitude to releue or delyuerxl him out of prysone, that then he should be the firste that shoulde dye for that seditious commocyon. In this Parliamente the lorde Fitzwater appeled the duke of Aumarle of high treason, and offered to fight with him in listes royall. Likewyse the lorde Morley appeled therle of Salisbury, and there were more then.xx. appellantes whiche waged battaill in this Parliamente. But the kyng pardoned al their offences sa-

uyng the fautes of the lorde Mozley and therle of Salisbury, whome he committed toward, & after at the request of their frendes, their offẽces were remitted & thei deliuered. He punished also extremely al such as were priuie and dooers of the homicide of Thomas hys vncle late duke of Glouceſter, whiche was shamefully murdered before the toune of Caleys. Besides this, he auanſed his frendes, and called out of exile Richard erle of Warwycke, and restored the erle of Arũdelles sonne to his owne possession and dignitie, and many other. He toke into his speciall fauor Jhon Hollande duke of Exceter and Earle of Huntingdone halfe brother to kyng Richard, which had espoused the lady Elizabeth x his owne sister. And beynge before captain of Caleys, greately moued and inwardlye greued that kynge Richarde hys brother was amoued out of the seate royall, began to reyse and stirre vp newe mocyons and sedicious faccions wythin the realme. Wherfore to aduoyde suche pestiferus dangers, the newe king reconciled him to his fauor, and made hym as he surely coniectured his perfite frende, where in dede he was inwardly hys dedly enemy. In this Parliamente wer adnichilate al ỹ actes passed in the parliament holden by kyng Richard in the. xxj. yere of his reygne, which was called the euyll parliamente for the nobilitie, the worse for the menaltie, but worste of all for the commonaltie. For in xx that parliament, will ruled for reason, men alyue wer cõdemned wyth out examinacion, men dedde and put in execuciõ by priuy murder were adiudged openly to dye, the hye prelate of the realme wythout answer was banished: An erle arraigned could not be suffered to plede his pardon, and consequently one counsayler did al thyng, and all counsaylers did nothyng, affirmyng the saying of Esope, which hearyng his felow to say that he could do al thyngs, sayed that he could do nothing. Whẽ he had thus reconciled his nobilitie, and gat the fauor of the spiritualtie and wonderfully pleased the commonaltie, but not so muche plealynge them, as the possession of the croune pleased hym self, and his frendes, xxx he of them and by the fauor of them both, for the auoydance of all claymes, titles and ambiguitees to be made vnto the croune and diademe of the realme had hys dignitie lygne and succession enacted, confirmed and entayled by thassente of the hygh Courte of Parliamente as foloweth worde by worde.

At the request and petition alwell of the nobilitie as of the cõmons
» in this parliament assembled, it is ordeigned and establyshed that the
» enheritaunce of the crounes and realmes of Englande and of Fraũce,
» and of al other lordshyppes to the kyng our soueraygne lord, alwell on
» this syde the seas, as beyond apperteynyng, with their appurtenãces, xl
» shalbe vnited and remayn in the persone of our souereygne Lorde the
» kyng, and in the heyres of his bodye lawfully begotten. And especially
» at the request and assent aforsayd, it is ordeygned, established, pronoun-
» ced, enacted, wryten and declared, that my lorde Prynce, Henry eldest
» sonne to our soueraygne lord the kynge, shal bee heyre apparante and

successor

succeſſor to our ſayed ſouereygne lord in the ſaid croune, realmes & ſei-
gnioryes, to haue & enioy them with al their appurtenaunces after the
diſceaſe of our ſayed ſoueraigne to him and the heires of his bodye be-
gotten. And yf he die without heires of his body begotteu, that then ỹ
ſayd crounes, realmes and ſeignioryes with their appurtenances ſhall
remain to the lord Thomas, ſecond ſonne to our ſaid ſoueraigne lorde
and to the heires of hys body begotten, and yf he depart wythout iſſue
of his bodye begotten, al the premiſſes to remaygne to lorde Jhon hys
third ſonne and to the heires of hys body begottē. And yf he dye with-
xout iſſue, then the crounes, realmes, & ſeignioryes aforſayde with their
appurtenances ſhal remain to the lorde Humfrey the.iiij. ſonne to our
ſaid ſoueraygne lorde, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten.

After which acte paſſed, he thought neuer to be by any of hys ſubie-
ctes moleſted or troubled. But O Lord, what is the mutabilitie of for-
tune? O God what is the chaunge of worldely ſafetye? O Chriſt what
ſtablenes conſiſteth in mannes prouiſion? Or what ferme ſtely hath
a Prynce in his throne and degree? Conſidering this kynge hauynge
the poſſeſſion and croune of the realme, and that in open parliament, a-
greed to by the Princes, condiſcended to by the Clerckes, ratefied by ỹ
xx commons, and enacted by the thre eſtates of the realme, was when he
thought him ſelfe ſurely mortiſed in a ferme rocke & immouable foūda-
cyon, ſodaynely wyth a trimbelyng quickeſande & vnſtedfaſte ground
like to haue ſonken or ben ouerthrowen. For diuerſe lordes which wer
kyng Rychardes frendes, outwardly diſſimuled that whyche they in-
wardly conſpired and determined, to confounde this kynge Henry to
whom they had both ſworn allegeance, and done homage, and ſo erect
agayn and ſet vp their old lord and frend kyng Richard the ſeconde.

In thys caſe there lacked only an orgaine and conueyghance bothe
how ſecretly to ſearch and knowe the myndes of the nobilitie, as allſo
xxx to bryng them to an aſſemble and counſayl, where they myght conſult
and comen together, how to bryng to efficacytie and effect, their long
deſired purpoſe and ſecrete interpryſe. Se how the deuyll is as redy
to ſet furth miſchief, as the good angel is to auāce vertue. At this time
was an Abbot in Weſtminſter, a man of apparant vertues, profeſſynge
openly Chriſt, Chriſtian Charitie, and due ſubiection and obeyſance to
hys pryncc: whych Abbot hearyng kyng Henry ounce ſay when he was
but erle of Darby and of no mature age or growen grauitie, that prin-
ces had to litle, and religions had to muche, imagined in hym ſelfe that
he now obteynyng the croune of the realme, yf he wer therin a long cō-
xl tinuer, woulde remoue the great beame that then greued his iyes and
pricked hys conſcience. For you muſt vnderſtaude that theſe monaſti-
call perſones, lerned and vnliterate, better fed thē taught, toke on thē
to wryte & regeſter in the boke of fame, the noble actes, the wyſe doyn-
ges, and politike gouernaunces of kynges and prynces, in whiche cro-
nographye, yf a kinge gaue to them poſſeſſions or graunted them liber-

ties or exalted them to honor & worldly dignitie, he was called a sayncte he was praised without any desert aboue the Moone, hys genealogie was writtē, and not one iote that might exalt his fame, was ether forgotten or omitted. But if a christian prince had touched their liberties or claimed any part iustly of their possessions, or woulde haue intermitted in their holy francheses, or desired ayde of them against his, & their comon enemies. Then tonges talked and pennes wrote, that he was a tirant, a depresser of holy regyon, an enemy to Christes Churche and his holy flocke, and a dampned and accursed persone with Dathan and Abiron to the depe pitte of hel. Whereof the prouerbe began, geue and be blessed, take away and be accursed. Thus the feare of lesynge their possessions, made them pay yerely annates to the Romish byshop: thus the feare of correccion and honest restraint of libertie, made them from their ordinaries, yea almoste from obedience of their Princes to sue dispensacions, exempcions and immunities.

This Abbot that I spake of which could not well forget the saiyng of kynge Henry, and beyng before in great fauor and highe estymacyon wyth king Richard called to his hous on a day in the terme season all such lordes & other persones whiche he ether knewe or thought to bee as effeccionate to kynge Richarde, and enuious to the estate and auã- xx
cement of kynge Henry, whose names were, Jhon Hollande Duke of Exceter, and erle of Huntingdon, Thomas Hollande duke of Surrey and erle of Kent, Edward duke of Aumerle and erle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Yorke, Jhõ Montagew erle of Salisbury, Hughe Spẽser erle of Glocester, Jhon the bishop of Carleyll, sir Thomas Blount and Magdalene one of kinge Richardes chapell, a man as lyke to hym in stature and proporcion in all liniamentes of his body, as vnlyke in birth dignitie or condicions. Thys Abbot highlye feested these greate lordes and hys speciall frendes, and when they had well dyned, they al withdrew them selfes into a secret chamber and sat doune to counsayll xxx
when they were set, Jhon Holland Duke of Exceter whose rage of reuengyng the iniury done to kyng Richard was nothing mitigate nor mollified, but rather encreassed and blossomed, declared to them their allegeance promised, and by othe cõfirmed to king Richard his brother forgettyng not the high promocions and notable dignities whiche he and all other there present had obteygned by the high fauor and munificent liberalitie of his sayed brother, by the which they were not onely by othe and allegeance bounde, and also by kyndnes and bybanitie insensed & moued to take part wyth him and his frendes, but also bound to be reuenged for him and his cause, on his mortall enemies and ded- xl
ly foes, in whiche doynge he thought polecie more meter to be vsed thẽ force, and some wittie practise rather to be experymented then manyfest hostilitie or open warre. And for the expedicion of this enterprise he deuised a solempne iustes to be enterprysed betwene him and .xx. on his part, and the erle of Salisbury and .xx. on his part at Oxforde: to

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the whiche triumphe, Kynge Henry should be inuited and desired, and when he were moste busely regardynge the marciall playe and warlye dispoꝛte, he sodainly shoulde be slaine and destroyed. And by this meanes kyng Richard which was yet alyue, shoulde be restoꝛed to hys lyberty and repossessed of this croune and kyngedome, and appoynctedfarther who should assemble the people, the nõbꝛe and persones, which should accomplyshe and perfoꝛme this inuented assaye and policie.

This deuyse so much pleased the sedicious congregacion, that they not onely made an indenture sextipartite sealed wyth their seales and
x signed with their handes in the whiche eche bounde him selfe to other to endeuoure theim selfes bothe foꝛ the destruccion of Kynge Henry and the creacion of king Richard, but also sware on the holy Euangelistes the one to be true and secrete to the other, euen to the houre and point of death. When al thinges were thus appoynted and concluded the duke of Exceter came to the kyng to Windsoꝛe, requiringe him foꝛ the loue that he bare to the noble actes of chiualrie, that he woulde vouchsafe not onely to repaire to Oxfoꝛd to se and behold their manly feates, and warlike pastime: but also to be the discouerer and indifferente iudge (yf anye ambyguitie should aryse) of their coꝛagious actes
xx and royall triumphe. The kynge seing himselfe so effectuously desyred, and that of hys bꝛother in lawe, and nothinge lesse imagenynge them that which was pꝛetended, gentelly graunted and frendly condiscended to his request. Which thing obteyned, al the loꝛdes of this conspyracie departed to their houses (as thei noised) to set armoꝛers on woꝛk foꝛ trimming of their harneys agaynst the solemne iustes. Some had the helme the bisere, the two bauiers & the two plackardes of the same curiously grauen & conningly costed: Some had their collers fretted and other had them set wyth gylt bullions: one company had the plackard, the rest, the poꝛt, the burley, the tasses, the lamboys, the backpece
xxx the tapull, and the boꝛder of the curace all gylte. And another bande had them all enameled Azure. One soꝛte had the vambꝛases, the pacegardes, che grandgardes, the poldꝛen, the pollettes, parted wyth gold and azure: And another flocke had theim siluer and sable: Some had the mainferres, the close gantlettes, the guissettes, the flancardes dꝛoped & gutted with red, and other had thẽ spekeled with grene: one soꝛt had the quisches, the greues, the surlettes, ẏ ſockettes on the ryght side and on the left side syluer. Some had the spere, the burre, the cronet al yelowe, and other had them of diuerse colours. One band had the scafferon, the cranet, the bard of the hoꝛsse al whyt, and other had them all
xl gylt. Some had their armynge swoꝛdes freshly burnished and some had thẽ conningly vernyshed. Some spurres wer whit, some gylt, and some cole blacke. One part had their Plumes al whyt, another hadde them al redde, and the thyꝛde had them of seuerall colours. One ware on his head pece his Ladies sleue, and another bare on hys helme the gloue of his dearlynge: But to declare the costlye Bases, the ryche bar-

des the pleasaunt trappers both of goldesmithes worke, and embrawdery, no lesse sumptuously then curiously brought, it woulde aske a lõge time to declare, for euery man after his appetite deuised hys fantasye verifynge the olde Prouerbe, so many heades, so many wittes.

The duke of Exceter came to his house & raysed men on euery side and prepared horse and harneis, mete and apte for his compassed purpose. When the Duches his wyfe which was sister to king Henry perceiued this, she no lesse trouble coniectured to be prepared againste her brother, then was in dede eminẽt & at hand, wherfore she wept & made great lamentaciõ. When the duke perceiued her dolour, he said, what & Besse, how chaunseth this, when my brother king Richard was deposed of his dignitie, and committed to harde and sharpe prison, whyche had bene kyng and ruled this realme noblie by the space of. xxii. yeres, and youre brother was exalted to the throne and dignitie imperiall of the same, then my harte was heauye, my lyfe stoode in ieopardie, and my combe was clerely cut, but you then reioysed laughed and triumphed, wherefore I pray you be contente that I may aswel reioyce and haue pleasure at the deliueryng and restoring of my brother iustlye to his dignitie, as you were iocond and pleasant, when your brother vniustly and vntrulye depriued and disseazed my brother of the same. For xx of this I am sure, that yf my brother prosper, you and I shal not fal nor declyne: but yf your brother continew in his estate and magnificence I doubte not your decay nor ruine, but I suspecte the losse of my lyfe, besyde the forfeytnre of my landes and goodes. When he had sayde, he kissed his Lady which was sorowfull and pensife, and he departed toward Oxford with a great companye both of Archers and horsemen, and when he came there, he founde ready al his mates and confederates wel apoynted for their purpose, except the Duke of Aumerle Erle of Rutland, for whom they sent messengers in great hast. Thys Duke of Aumerle went before from Westminster to se his father the Duke of xxx Yorke, and sittynge at dyner had his counterpaine of the endenture of the confederacye wherof I spake before in his bosome.

The father espyed it and demaunded what it was, his sonne lowly and beningly answered that it mighte not bee sene, and that it touched not him. By sainct George quod the father I wyll see it, and so by force toke it out of hys bosome, when he perceyued the content and the fyre signes and seales sette and fyxed to the same, whereof the seale of hys sonne was one, he sodainly rose from the table, cõmaunding his horses to be sadeled, and in a greate furye saied to his sonne, thou traytour thefe, thou hast bene a traytour to kyng Richard, and wylte thou nowe xl be false to thy cosen kynge Henry? thou knowest well ynough ỹ I am thy pledge borowe and mayneperner, body for body, and land for goodes in open Parliament, and goest thou aboute to seke my death & destruccion? by the holy rode I had leauer se the strangeled on a gybbet. And so the duke of Yorke moũted on horsebacke to ride toward Windsor

for to the king, and to declare the hole effecte of his sonne and his adherentes & partakers. The duke of Aumerle seyng in what case he stode toke his horse and rode another way to Windsor, riding in post thither (whiche his father being an olde man could not do.) And when he was alighted at the castel gate, he caused the gates to be shut, sayinge, that he must nedes delyuer the keies to the kyng. When he came before the kynges presence, he kneled doune on his knees, besechyng hym of mercy and forgeuenes: The kyng demaũded the cause: then he declared to him playnely the whole confederacie and entier conjuracyon in maner
x and forme as you haue heard: Wel sayde the kynge, yf this be true we pardon you, yf it bee sayned at youre extreme peryll bee it. Whyle the kyng and the duke talked together, the duke of Yorke knocked at the castel gate, whom the kynge caused to be let in, and there he delyuered the endenture which before was taken from hys sonne, into the kynges handes. Whyche writinge when he had redde and sene, perceiuynge the signes and seales of the confederates, he chaunged his former purpose. For the day before he heard say that the chalengers were all ready, and that the defenders were come to do their deuoire, purposed to haue departed towarde the tryumph the next day, but by hys prudent
xx and forecastyng councell, somwhat stayed till he might se the ayre clere and no darcke cloude nere to the place wher the listes were. And now beyng aduertysed of the truthe and veritie, howe his destruccyon and deathe was compassed, was not a litle vexed, but wyth a greate and meruelous agony perturbed and vnquieted, and therfore determined there to make his abode not hauinge tyme to loke and gase on Justes and tourneys, but to take hede how to kepe and conserue his lyfe and dignitie, and in that place taryed tyl he knewe what way his enemyes would set forward. And shortly wrote to the Earle of Northumberlãd his high Cõstable, and to the erle of Westmerland his hygh Marshall,
xxx and to other his assured frendes of all the doubtfull daunger and perelous ieopardy. The conjuratoures perceyuinge by the lacke of the duke of Aumerles cõmyng, and also seyng no preparacion made there for the kynges comming, imagined wyth them selfes that their enterpryse was intimate and published to the kyng: wherefore that thynge whiche they attempted priuily to do, nowe openly with speare & shylde they determined with al diligente celeritie to set forth and aduaunce. And so they adorned Magdalene, a man resemblyng much kyng Richard in royal and pryncely vesture, callyng him kinge Richarde, affirming that he by fauor of hys kepers was deliuered oute of pryson and
xl set at libertie, and they followed in a quadrat array to the entent to destroy kyng Hry, as the most pernicious & venemous enemy to thẽ and his owne naturall countrey. While the confederates wyth thys newe publyshed Idole accompanyed wyth a puyssant armye of men, toke the directe way and passage toward Windsor: Kynge Henry beyng admonished of their approchyng, wyth a fewe horse in the nyght, came to the

Tower

Towre of London about.xij.of the clocke, where he in the mornynge
caused the Mayre of the citie to apparell in armure the beste and most
corragious persones of the citie:whiche brought to him.iij.M.archers
and.iij.M.bil men, besyde them that were deputed to defend the citie.
The Lordes of the confederacie entered the castel of Windsor,where
they findinge not their praye, determined with al spede to passe forthe
to London:But in the way, changyng their purpose they returned to
the towne of Colbroke and there taryed. These lordes had much peo-
ple folowyng them, what for feare and what for entreatie,surelye bele-
uyng that king Richard was there present and in company. King Hē- r
ry issued out of London with twentye.M.men and came to Hounsloe
Heath,where he pitched his campe,abidyng the comming of hys ene-
mies:but when they were aduertysed of the kynges puissance, or elles
amased wyth feare,or forthinking and repentynge their begonne busi-
nes,or mistrustyng their owne compauye and felowes, departed from
thence to Barckamstede and so to Aucester, and ther the Lordes toke
their lodgynge:The duke of Surrey erle of Kent,and the erle of Sa-
lisbury in one ynne, and the duke of Exceter and the earle of Glocester
in another,& all the hostilitie lay in the feldes. The Baily of the towne
with foure score archers set on the house, where the duke of Surrey & xp
other lay:the house was mannely assaulted and strongely defended a
great space:The Duke of Exceter beyng in another inne with ỹ Erle
of Gloucester set fier on diuerse howses in the towne, thinkinge that ỹ
assailantes would leaue their assault & rescue their goodes,which thing
they nothing regarded. The host lyng wythout hearyng noise and se-
yng fyre in the towne,beleuyng that the kyng was come thyther with
his puyssance,fledde wythout measure to saue them selfes. The Duke
of Exceter and his company seyng the force of the tounes men more &
more encreace,fled out of the backsyde entendynge to repayre to ỹ ar-
mie,which they found dispersed and retired. Then the duke seynge no xxs
hope of cõfort, fled into Esser,and ỹ erle of Gloucester goyng towarde
Wales was taken and behedded at Bristow. Magdalene flynge into
Scotlande was apprehended & brought to the Tower. The Lordes
whych fought styl in the toune of Chichester wer wounded to death &
taken and their heades striken of and sent to London: and there were
taken sir Bellet Shelley or Cell, & sir Barnard Brokas, &.xxix.other
Lordes, Knyghtes and Esquiers, & sent to Oxford, where the kynge
then sotourned, where sir Thomas Blont and all the other prysoners
were executed.When the duke of Exceter hearde, ỹ his complices wer
taken,& hys counceilers apprehended,and his frendes and alies putte xl
in execucion, he lamented hys owne chaunce,and bewepte the mysfor-
tune of hys frendes,but moste of al bewailed the fatal ende of hys bro-
ther kyng Richard, whose death he saw as in a mirrour by his vnhap-
py sedicion and malicious attempte to approche, and so wanderynge
lurkyng and hidyng him selfe in priuye places, was attached in Esser,

and

and in the Lordshippe of Plaschey a towne of the Duches of Glocester and there made shorter by the hed, and in that place especially because that he in theselame Lordshippe seduced and falsely betrayed Thomas Duke of Glocester, and was the very inwarde auctour and open dissimuler of his death and destruction. So the common prouerbe was verified, as you haue done, so shall you fele. Oh Lord I would wisshe that this example of many hyghly promoted to rule, might be had in memorie, the whiche mete and measure their awne iniquitie and ill doynges, with force auctoritie and power, to the entent that they by these exam-
x ples shoulde auerte their myndes from yll doynges, and suche vngodly and execrable offences. After this Magdalene that representeth the persone of kyng Rychard amongest the rebels, and diuerse other were put in execution, and al the heades of the chiefe conspiratoures sette on poles on London brydge, to the feare of other whiche were disposed to cō-
mit like offence. The Abbot of Westminster in whose house this traiterous confederacy was conspired, hearyng that the chefetains of his felowshippe, were espied, taken and executed, goyng betwene hys monastery and mancion, for thoughte fell in a sodayne palsey, and shortely after without any speche ended his lyfe: After whome the Byshop of
xx Carlile more for feare then syckenes, rendered his spirite to God, as one rather desyrying to dye by deathes darte, then temporall swearde. But nowe was come the tyme when all the confederates and compaignions of this vnhappye sedicion, had tasted accordyng to their desertes, the painfull penaunce of their plesaunt pastime, or rather pestiferous obstinacy, that an innocent with a nocent, a man vngylty with a gylty, was pondered in an egall balaunce. For poore kyng Rychard ignorant of all this conturacion kepte in myserable captiuitie, knowyng nothyng but that he sawe in his chamber, was by kyng Henry adiudged to dye, because that he beyng synged and tickeled with the last craftie policie of
xxx his enemies, would deliuer hymselfe out of all inwarde feare and discorde, and cleane put away the very grounde whereof suche frutes of displeasure might by anie waie bee attempted againste hym, so that no man hereafter shoulde either fayne or resemble to represente the persone of kyng Rychardde: Wherefore some saye he commaunded, other talke that he condiscended, many wryte that he knewe not tyll it was done, and then it confirmed. But howe so euer it was, kyng Rychard dyed of a violent death, without any infeccion or naturall disease of the body.
The common fame is that he was euery daye serued at the table wyth costely meate lyke a kyng, to the entent that no creature should suspecte
xl any thyng done contrary to the order taken in the parliament, and when the meate was set before hym, he was forbidden that he should not once touche it, ye not to smell to it, and so died of fampyn: which kynd of death is the moost miserable, most vnnaturall, ye and most detestable that can be, for it is ten tymes more painefull then death (whiche of all extremities is the moost terrible) to die for thirst standyng in the riuer, or statue

for

for hunger, beſette wyth twentie deintie diſhes. One writer whyche ſemed to haue muche knowledge of kyng Rychardes affayres, ſayeth that kyng Henry ſyttyng at his table ſore ſyghyng ſaied, haue I no faithefull frende whiche wil deliuer me of hym whoſe life will be my death, and whoſe death will be the preſeruacion of my lyfe. This ſaiyng was muche noted of them whiche were preſent and eſpecially of one called Sir Piers of Exton. This knight incõtinently departed from the court with eight ſtronge perſones and came to Pomfret, comaundyng that the eſquier whiche was acuſtomed to ſewe and take the aſſaye before kyng Richard, ſhould no more vſe that maner of ſeruice, ſaiyng, let hym eate well nowe, for he ſhall not long eate. Kyng Richard ſate downe to dyner and was ſerued without cuttelie or aſſaye, he muche meruaylyng at the ſodayne mutacion of the thyng, demaunded of the Eſquier why he dyd not his duety: ſir ſaied he, I am otherwiſe commaunded by Sir Pyers of Exton, whiche is newely come from kyng Henry. When he heard that worde, he toke the caruyng knife in his hande and ſtroke the Eſquier on the head ſaiyng, the deuell take Henry of Lancaſtre and the together: And with that worde Sir Piers entered into the chamber wel armed with eight tall men in harneis, euery man hauing a byll in hys hande. Kyng Richarde perceiuyng them armed, knewe well that they came to his confuſion, and puttyng the table from hym, valiauntly toke the byll out of the firſte mannes hande, and manly defended hymſelfe, and ſlewe foure of them in a ſhort ſpace. Sir Piers being ſomwhat diſmaied with his reſiſtyng, lepte into the chaire where kyng Richard was wonte to ſitte, while the other foure perſones aſſailed and chaſed hym aboute the chamber, whiche being vnarmed defended him againſt his enemies beyng armed, (whiche was a valiaunt acte) but in concluſion chaſyng and trauerſyng from the one ſyde to the other, he came to the chaire where ſir Pyers ſtode, whiche with a ſtroke of his Pollax felled hym to the grounde, and then ſhortly he was rid out of the worlde, without ether confeſſion or receit of ſacrament. When this knight perceiued that he was deade, he ſobbed, wept, and rent his heare criyng, Oh Lord, what haue we done, we haue murthered hym whome by the ſpace of two and twenty yeres we haue obeied as kyng, and honoured as our ſouereigne lorde, now all noble men will abhorre vs, all honeſt perſons will diſdaine vs, and all poore people will raile and crie out vpon vs, ſo that duryng our naturall liues, we ſhalbe pointed with the fynger, and our poſterite ſhalbe reproued as childzen of Homecides, ye of Regicides and prince queilers. Thus haue I declared to you the diuerſities of opinions conterning the deathe of this infortunate prince, remittyng to your iudgement whiche you thynke moſt trewe, but the very truthe is that he died of a violent death, and not by the darte of naturall infirmitie. When Atropos had cut the lyne of his lyfe, his body was embaulmed and ſeated and couered with lead all ſaue his face (to the entent that all men myght perceiue that he was departed out of this mortall lyfe) and

was

was conueyghed to London, where in the cathedrall churche of saincte Paule he had a solempne obsequie, and from thence conueyghed to Lãgley in Buckyngham shire, where he was enterred, and after by kyng Henry the.v. remoued to Westminster, and there entombed honorably with quene Anne his wyfe, although the Scottes vntreuly write that he escaped out of prisone, and led a verteous and solitary lyfe in Scotlande, and there dyed and is buryed in the blacke Friers at Sterlyng. What trust is in this worlde, what suretie man hath of his life, & what constancie is in the mutable comonalte, all men maye apparantly perceyue by the ruyne of this noble prince, whiche beeyng an vndubitate
x kyng, crouned and anoynted by the spiritualtie, honored and exalted by the nobilitie, obeyed and worshipped of the comon people, was so danuly discepued by theim whiche he moste trusted, betrayed by theim whom he had preferred, & slayn by theim whom he had brought vp and norished: so that all menne maye perceyue and see, that fortune wayeth princes and pore men all in one balance.

VVHEN newes of kyng Richardes deposyng were reported into Fraunce, kyng Charles and all his court wondered, detested & abhorred suche an iniurye to bee doen to an anoynted kyng, to acrouned prince, &
xx to the hed of a realme: but in especiall Waletam erle of sent Paule whiche had maried kyng Richardes halfe sister, moued with high disdayn agaynst kyng Henry, ceased not to stirre and prouoke the Frēche kyng and his counsayll to make sharpe warre in Englande, to reuenge the iniurie and dishonor comitted and doen to his sonne in lawe kyng Richard, & he hym self sent letters of defiance to England. Whiche thyng was sone agreed to, and an armye royall appoyncted with all spede, to inuade England. But the Frenche kyng so stomaked this high displesure, & so inwardly conceiued this infortunate chance in his mynde, that he fell into his old disease of the frensy, that he had nede accordyng to
xxx the old prouerbe, to sayle into the Isle of * Anticyra, to purge his melãcolie humor, but by the meanes of his phisicions, he was somwhat releued & brought to knowledge of hym self. This armye was come doune into Picardy, redy to be trãsported into Englãd, but when it was certainly certified that kyng Richard was ded, & that their enterprise of hys deliuerãce was frustrate & voyd, tharmie scattred & departed a sonder.

* Anticyra is an Isle in Asia, wherein growth an Herbe þ purgeth Melãcoly, & thei of cã the prouerbe, go saile to Anticira, as who saieth, goo purge youre Melancoly.

BVT when the certaintie of kyng Richardes death was declared to the Aquitaynes and Gascons, the moste parte of the wisest men of the countree, fell into a greate bodely feare, and into a dedly dreade. For some lamentyng the instabilitee of the Englishe people, iudged theim
xl to be spotted with perpetuall infamie, and brought to dishonor & losse of their auncient fame and glory, for committyng so heynous a crymne and detestable an offence agaynst their kyng & souereigne lord. The memorie wherof they thought would neuer be buried or extincted. Other fered the losse of their goodes and liberties, because they imagined that by this ciuill discencion and intestine deuison, the realme of England

shoulde so bee vexed and troubled, that their countree (yf the Frenchemenne shoulde inuade it) shoulde bee destitute and lefte voyde of all aide and succor of the Englishe nacion. But the citezens of Burdeaux toke this matter very sore at the stomacke, because kyng Richard was borne and brought vp in their citee, lamentyng, and cryng out that sithe the beginnyng of the worlde, there was neuer a more detestable, a more villanous nor a more heynous acte committed: whiche beyng sad with sorowe and enflamed with malencolie, saied that vntrue, vnnaturall and vnmercifull people had betrayed and slayn, contrary to all lawe and iustice and honestie, a good man a iuste prince and poletike gouernor. Besechyng God deuoutly on their knees, to be the reuenger and punisher of that detestable offence and notorius crime.

xl

WHEN the Frenchmen, which haue eyes of the wakyng serpent, perceiued the dolor and agony that the Aquitaynes and Gascons wer in for the death of their prince, duke and contrymanne, they reioyced and applauded in maruelous maners thynkyng with themselfes that (the Gascons nowe abhorryng and detestyng the Englishe men more then a Dogge or an Adder) they verie easely mighte obtayn the whole countree and douchie of Aquitaine, with the members and territories there to apperteynyng, yf they would ether by entreatie or by inuasion moue the people beyng now amased and comfortles, as shepe without a shepeherd, or beastes without an herdman. Wherfore in greate haste and lowe spede, Lewes duke of Burbon was sent to Angiers, & wrote to diuerse citees and tounes on the confynes of Aquitain and Gascon, exhortyng theim with large promises and flateryng wordes, to reuolte and turne from the Englishe subiection, and become vassals to the croune of Fraunce. But all his glosyng wordes serued litle, and all his faire promyses profited muche lesse. For the people knewe that the Englishe yoke was but a fether, and the yoke of Fraũce, was more ponderus then lede, seyng daily how the Frenchmen vexed and molested ther miserable people with extreme exactions and intollerable tallages, rasyng their skinne to the very bone, and their purses to the very botome wherfore they determined rather to abide in their old subiection and obedience, then for a displeasure irrecuperable to auenture theimselfes on a newe chance and a doubtfull parell.

xx

xxx

KING Henry beeyng aduertised of all the Frenche attemptes and couert conueighances, sent the lorde Thomas Percy erle of Worcester with a goodly crewe of souldiours into Aquitayn to ayde and assist sir Robert Knolles his leiuetenante ther, and to perswade and exhorte the people to continewe in their auncient libertie and dewe obeysance. The erle arriued there, and so wysely entreated the noble men, so gratiously perswaded the magestrates of the citees and tounes, and so gently and familiarly vsed and tracted the vulgare people, that he not onely appeased their furye and malyce, but brought theim to a louyng and vniforme obeysance, receiuyng of them othes of obedience and loyall fealtie

xl

tie whiche done he retourned agayne into England with great thankes. When kyng Charles of Fraunce perceyued that his purpose and attempte was frustrate and came to no good conclusion in Aquitayne and that kyng Richard beyng deade, his enterpryse into England was of no value and to small purpose, he determined with hym selfe to inuent some way howe to haue the Lady Isabell his doughter, somtyme espoused to kyng Richard restored to hym agayn: and for that purpose sent a solempne ambassade into England to kyng Henry, whiche gentelly receyued them, and gaue in answere that he wold send his commissi-
x oners shortely to Caleys, whiche shoulde farther common and conclude with them, not onely that request, but diuers other matters of gret effecte and efficacie. And shortley after their departyng he sent Edward duke of Yorke, before called duke of Aumerle, whiche succeded in the sayd duchie his father Edmond duke of Yorke, a littell before disseased and Henry erle of Northumberland into the countrey of Guisnes. The commissioners assembled at diuers places at sondry tymes. The duke of Borbon aboue all thynges requyred in the name of the French king his master, to haue quene Isabell to hym deliuered. The Englishmen that to do continually did deny requiryng to haue her maried to Hen-
xx ry Prince of Wales, a man bothe in blud and age to her in all thynges equall. But the Frenche kyng that mariage vtterly refused, saiyng he wolde neuer ioyne affinytie after with the Englishe nacion, because that the aliance had so vnfortunate successe.

Then they began to entreate a continuall peace, whiche request the Frenchemen refused, and in conclusion they agreed that the truce whiche was taken betwene them and kyng Richarde, for the terme of.xxx. yeres was renouate and confirmed. Some authors affirm that there was a newe leage concluded and confirmed betwene both the realmes duryng the lyues of bothe the princes, whiche semeth to haue a certeyn
xxi colour of verite. For the kyng sent shortely after the forsayed Lady Isabell vnder the conduycte of the Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worcester, associate with many noble and honourable personages, as well of women, as men, hauyng with her all the Jewelles ornamentes & plate (with a gret surplusage geuen to hir by the kyng whiche she brought into England) was sente in solempne estate to Caleys, and there deliuered to Waleram erle of sainct Paule Lieutenant for the French kyng in Picardie, and so conueyghed to her father, whiche gaue her in ma-
riage to Charles sonne to Lewes duke of Orleaunce. The Frenchmen often tymes required kyng Henry to assigne to her a dower, but al was
xi in vayne, for the Englishemen aunswered that the mattimony was neuer consummate, by reason wherof she was not dowable, by the very treatie of the mariage concluded, and so this matter seased and was no more moued. As the old prouerbe saith, after wynde commeth rayn. & after one euyll comōly ensueth another, so duryng the tyme that kyng Henry was vexed and vnquieted, bothe within the realme and without.

OVVEN Glendoz a squire of Wales, perceiuyng the realme to be vnquieted, and the kyng not yet to be placed in a sure and vnmouable seate, entẽdyng to vsurpe and take vpon hym the principalitie of Wales, and the name and preheminence of thesame, what with faire flatterying wordes and with large promyses, so enueygled entised and allured the wilde and vndiscrete Welshmen, that they toke hym as their prince and made to hym an othe of allegeance and subiection. By whose supportacion, he beyng elated and set vp in aucthozite, to the intent to bee out of all doubte of his neyghbozs, made sharpe warre on Reignolde lozde Grey of Rithen and toke hym prysoner, promyling hym libertee and dischargyng his raunsome, yf he would espouse and marie his doughter, thinkyng by that affinitye, to haue greate ayde and muche power in Wales. The lozde Grey beeyng not very riche nether of substance noz of frendes, considerying this offer to be the onely waye of hys releffe and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure and maried the damosell. But this false father in lawe, this vntrew, vnhoneſt and periured persone, kept hym with his wyfe still in captiuitee till he dyed. And not content with this heynous offence, made warre on lozde Edmond Moztimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lozdship of Wigmoze, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men and toke hym pryloner, and feteryng hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon. The kyng was requyzed to purchase his delyuerance by dyuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that syde, rather he would and wished al his linage in heuen. Foz then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.

THVS Owen Glendoz glozifyng hym selt in thele twoo victozies, inuaded the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne, robbed vilages, bzent tounes, and slewe the people, and laden with prayes and bloudy handes returned agayn into Wales, neuer desistyng to do euill till the next yere, that the kyng reised a greate armye and puyssance to resist and defende his malicions attemptes and sedicious inuasions, as after shall be declared. It was not sufficiẽt in this first yere of kyng Henry, this realme to be troubled with domesticall sedicion, vexed with the craftie practices and inuencions of the Frenche men, and inuaded and infested with the frantike wauerying Welshemen, but also foztune hauyng enuy at the glozy and foztunate procedyng of this man, muste in his sayed firste yere also, arme the Scottes with spere and shelde agaynst hym and his realme, wherof the occasion shall bee to you declared accozdyng to the Scotticall histozies. Alitle befoze this tyme, Geozge of Dunbar Erle of the Marches of the realme, made meanes to kyng Robert of Scotlande, that Dauyd his eldest sonne might marie and espouse the erles doughter called Elizabeth, and deliuered foz the perfozmance of thesame mariage into the kynges handes a greate some of money. When Archebaulde erle Douglas heard of this conclusion, disdainyng therle of the Marches blud to be auaunced befoze his

his stocke, wherfore ether by faire wordes, or els by disbursyng a gre-
ter some of money, he so enueygled Kyng Roberte of Scotlande, that
Dauid his heyre refusyng the first damosell, espoused Mariell the erle
Douglas doughter. Therle of Marche desired restitucion of his mo-
ney, to whom the kyng gaue many friuolus and trifelyng aunsweres,
wherfore he disdainyng so to bee mocked & deluded of his money, with
his wyfe and family, fled into England, to Henry erle of Northumber-
lande, entendyng with dent of swerd to reuenge the iniury & displesure
to hym by the kyng comitted & doen, & so with the help of the borderers
x brent diuerse tounes, & slew many persons in the realme of Scotland.
KING Robert beeyng thereof aduertised, tyrste deprined the Erle
George of all his dignitees and possessions, and caused his goodes to
to bee confiscate, and after wrote to the kyng of Englande, instantly
requiryng hym, yf he would the truce any longer to contynew, ether to
deliuer into his possession the Erle of Marche, and other traitors and
rebelles to his persone and realme, or els to banysshe and exile theim out
of his realme, territories and dominions. Kyng Henry discretly aun-
swered the herault of Scotland, that the worde of a prince ought to bee
kepte and his wryting and seale ought to bee inuiolate, and considering
xx that he had graunted a sauecondupte to the erle and his company, he
would nether without cause resonable breake his promyse, nor yet dea-
ce his honor. Whiche aunswer declared to the kyng of Scottes, he incō-
tinent dyd proclayme and intimate open warre, agaynst the kyng of
England, with blud fire and sweard. Kyng Henry perceiuyng, that po-
licye preuenteth chance, gathred and assembled together a greate armye,
and entred into Scotlande, burnyng townes villages and castels, spa-
ryng nothyng but religious houses and churches, and brent a greate
parte of the tounes of Edenborough and Lithe and beseged the castle
of Waydens in Edenborough, in thende of September, whereof was
xxx capitayn, Dauid duke of Rothsay and prince of the realme, and Archi-
balde erle Douglas, with many hardy men. Roberte duke of Albanye,
beyng appoynted gouernor of the realme, because the kyng was sycke
and vnapt to rule, sent vnto kyng Henry an harrold, assuryng hym on
his honour that yf he would abyde and tary his comyng and repaire,
whiche should be within sixe daies at the most, he would geue hym bat-
tayll, and remoue the siege, or els die for it.

The kyng beeyng glad of these ioyous good newes, rewarded the
herault with a goune of silke and a chayne of gold, promysing hym in
the worde of a prince, not to depart thence but abide there, the comyng
xl of the gouernor. The sixte daye passed, ye sixe and sixtene to, the gouer-
nor nether appered nor sent worde, the winter waxed cold, vitayle failed,
men died of the flixe, it rained euery daye so habundantly, that hunger
and colde caused the kyng to breke vp his siege, and to departe out of
Scotland, without battayll or skirmish offered. Duryng whiche tyme
bothe the Wardens of the Marches beyng with the kyng, the Scot-

tes made a rode into Northumberlande, and burned diuerſe tounes in Bamborough ſhere, and ſhortly returned agayn, or els they had been trapped & come to late home. When the kyng of England had diſmiſſed his ſouldiers, and diſcharged his army, the Scottes entendyng to bee reuenged of their greate domages to theim by the Engliſhe nacion doen and committed by therle Douglas, appoynted twoo armyes to inuade Englande. Of the firſt was cheiefstayn, ſir Thomas Halibarton of Dirlton, and Patrike Hebburne of Hales, whiche made a rode into Englande, and returned with litle loſſe and no greate gayn. After this the foreſaid ſir Patrike Hebburne, encoraged & boldened with the proſ- r
perous ſucceſſe of this firſt iorney, with a greate armye of the people of Lowdian inuaded Northumberlande, robbyng and ſpoylyng the coũtree and departed homeward, not without greate gayn of beaſtes and captiues. But in the returne he was encountred with therle of Northumberlandes vicewarden, & other gentelmen of the borders at a toune in Northumberlande called Nelbit, and there the Engliſhmen ſore aſſayled, and the Scottes valiantly reſiſted, but after a long fight, the victory fell on the Engliſhe parte, and as Jhon Mayer the Scot writeth, there were ſlain the flower of all Loughdean, and eſpecially ſir Patricke Hebburne with many of his linage. There wer apprehended ſyr xx
Jhon and William Cockeburne, ſir Robert of Bas, Jhon and Thomas Hablincton eſquiers, and a greate nomber of the comon people. The erle Douglas ſore beyng greued with the loſſe of his nacion and frendes, entendyng a requitement yf it were poſſible of theſame, by the conſente of the gouernour of Scotlande, dyd gather a houge armye of twentie thouſande talle menne and more.

In the whiche armye was Lord Hordake earle of Fife ſonne to the gouernour of Scotland, the erle of Angus, and many other earles and barons of the nobilitie of Scotland. Theſe valiaunte capitayns and couragious ſouldioures entered into Northumberlande with ban- xxx
ners diſplayed lyke menne ether apte or thynkyng theim ſelfes able to deſtroy the townes and ſpoyle the countrey and Marches of Northumberlande. When they were entered into England thinkyng no puiſſaunce able to encountre with their force, out of a valey beſide a toune called Homeldon iſſued ſodainly the Lorde Henry Pierce whom the Scottes for his haut and valiant corage called ſir Henry hotſpur, and in his company the Lorde George of Dunbar erle of Marche before baniſhed Scotlande, as you haue heard, with all the gentyll menne of Northumberland, and eyght thouſande men on horſebacke and on fote. The encounter was ſharpe, the fyght was daungerous, the long xl
continuaunce was doubtfull, for ſome were felled and reſcued, ſome in reſcuyng other were ſlayne, other gredy of pray more then of ſtrokes fled to ſe what baggages were kept emongeſt the Pages. Thus with pure fightyng of the Engliſhemen, and fainte hertes of the braggyng Scottes, the brighte beame of victory ſhone on ſainct Georges croſſe,

and

and there were slayne of men of great renoune and estimacion sir Jhon Swinton, sir Adam Gordon, sir Jhon Leutston, sir Alexander Ransey of Dalehowse, and.xxiii. knightes moo, whose names ether for ignorance or for feare of reproche, Hector Boece the Scottish arche chronocler kepeth in silence & dothe omitte, beside.x.M.cõmons. But there wer taken prisoners, Mordake erle of Fife, Archebald erle Douglas, whiche in the combat loste one of his eyes, Thomas erle of Murrey, Robert erle of Angus, and as other writers affirme, the erles of Athell and Mentethe with.v.C.other.

When the Lord Percey had thus obtained this glorious victory, he sent his prisoners into diuerse fortresses, and determined to subdue or destroy all the countreys of Lowdene and Marche, whose heades and Gouernours ether he had slayn or by force taken captiues. And so with a gret power entered into Tiuedale wasting and destroiyng the hole countrey, and they beseged the castell of Cokelaues, wherof was capitayn sir Jhon Grenlowe, which seyng that his castell was not long able to be defended cõpounded with the Englishmen that yf the castell wer not suckered within.iii.mouthes, that then he would deliuer it into the Englishe mennes handes. The capitane thereof wrote vnto the Gouernour, whiche callyng a greate councell, the moste parte aduysed hym rather frankely and frely to yelde the castell, than to put in leopardie and caste in hasard the remnaunt of the florishyng nobilitie of the realme. So muche was their courages abated and their fumishe crakes refrigerat with the remembraunce of the last conflicte and bataill. But the gouernour rebukyng their timerous heartes, and Feminine audacitie (whether he thought so or no was a question) sware that if no man wold folowe of the nobilitie he woulde do his deuoire to reskewe the castell at the day. But his othe was nether kept nor broken, for he litell preparyng and lesse entendyng the othe whiche he solemply made neuer set fote forward duryng the first.ii.monethes, for the reisyng of the siege or reskewe of the castell. But the Englishe men beyng sent for to go with the kyng into Wales, raised their siege and depatted leauyng the noble men prisoners styll with the earle of Northumberland and the Lord Percie his sonne, whiche by the kyng were commaunded to kepe theim to his vse, and not to delyuer them without his assent.

KING Henry forgat not his enterprise into Wales, but made prouision for menne, municions and artyllary mete and conuenient for so great abusinesse, whereof the Frenche kyng beyng aduertised, sente priuilie Lorde James of Burbone erle of Marche and his two brethren Jhon and Lewes, with.xii.C.knightes and esquiers to aide Owen Glendor agaynst the inuasions of kyng Henry, he toke shippyng with.xxx.sayle at the mouthe of Seine, and the wynd was not fauourable to his purpose for he coulde neuer approche the coaste of Wales but came before the towne of Plimmouthe in Deuonshire, and there leauyng his great shippes lyng at ancre, in the nyghte toke land and

The records yere.

brent, ſpoiled and deſtroyed diuers ſmall billages, and poore cotages; and robbed.v.or.vi.littell Craiers and fiſher botes laden with fyſſhe and corne. But whilche he and his companie like gredy wolfes were ſekyng after their praye the wynde roſe highe and a great tempeſteous rage and furious ſtorme ſodaynely ſtuſſhed and drowned.xii.of his great ſhippes whiche laye in the mouthe of the hauen for his ſauegard and defence. Wherof when the erle was aduertiſed, and perceiuyng by the firyng of the beacons that the people began to aſſemble in plumpes to encounter with hym, and alſo ſeyng his purpoſe ſore diminiſhed as well by the ſlaughter of ſuche as ranged abrode in hope of ſpoyle and praye, as by the furious rage of the vnmercifull ſee and hydeous tempeſt, with muche payne and great labour toke his ſhippes agayne, and was not without ieopardie of hys lyfe driuen on the coaſt of Britayne and landed at ſainct Malos. The French kyng perceiuyng that this chãce had il ſucceſſe appointed one of his Marſhals called Reinorancie, and the maſter of his Croſbowes with.xii.M.men, to ſayle in to Wales, which toke ſhippyng at Breſt and had the wynde to theim ſo proſperous that they landed at Milford hauen, and leauyng the caſtell of penbroke vnaſſaulted, becauſe it was well fortified, manned, and vitayled, beſieged the towne of Harforde Weſt whiche was ſo well defended by the erle of Arundell and his power that they much more loſt then gayned. And from thence they departed towarde Owen Glendor whome they nomnated prince of Wales, and founde hym at the towne of Denbigh abidyng their commyng with ten thouſand men. They wer of hym louyngly receyued, and gentelly interteyned, and when all thynges were prepared, they paſſed by Glamorgan ſhire toward Worceſter and there brent the ſuburbes, but hearyng of the kynges approchyng ſodaynly returned into Wales. The kyng with a great puyſſaunce folowed and founde them embattayled on a highe mountayne, and a gret valey betwene bothe the armyes, ſo that eche armye playnely perceyued other, and euery hoſte loked to be aſſauted of his aduerſary, and of the ground to take the moſt aduaũtage: thus they cõtinued eight dayes frõ mornyng to nyght ready to abyde but not to geue battayle. There wer many fearce ſkirmyſhes and many prorre feates of armes daily done, whiche the French Cronicters more then the Engliſhe writers can reporte. For there were ſlayne the Lorde Patrioles of Cries, brother to the Marſhall of France, the Lord Mattelone and the Lord Vale and the baſtarde of Burbon, with.v.hundred gentelmen.

The Frenche men and Welſhe men were ſore troubled and afflicted with famine, that their hertes were appalled and their corages ſore abated, for the kyng had ſo ſtopped the paſſages that nether victayll nor ſuccour could by any way be conueighed to thẽ. Wherfore of very neceſſitie they were compelled eyther to fyghte or flee: And ſo by the aduiſement and counceil of the Marſhall of Fraunce, whiche put not to muche confidence in the waueryng Welſhemen, the hole hoſte departed

ted theight day at midnight in the moſt ſecreteſt maner that they could deuyſe. The Frenche men with littell rewardes and no gayne returned into Bzytayne makyng ſmall boaſt of their paynfull iourney.

THE kyng ſeyng them departed, folowed thē into Wales, and chaſing them from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, from woddes to mariſhes, and yet could neuer haue them at any aduauntage. A woꝛld it was to ſee his quotidiane remouyng, his paynfull and buſy wanderyng, his troubleſome and vncertayne abidyng, his continuall motion, his daily peregrinacion in the deſert, felles and craggy mountains of
x that bareine vnfertile and depopulate countrey. And thus beyng toſſed from countrey to countrey, from hyll to baley from mariſhe to wod, from noughte to woꝛſſe, without gayne oꝛ pꝛofite withoute vitayle oꝛ ſuccour he was of neceſſitie compelled to retire his armye and retourne agayne to Woꝛceſter, in whiche retoutnyng the Welſhemen knowyng the paſſages of the countrey, toke certayne cariages of his laden with vitayle to his great diſpleaſure, and their great comfoꝛte. When he came to Woꝛceſter perceiuyng winter to appꝛoche whiche ſeaſon of the yere is not conuenient and pꝛoper foꝛ men of warre to lie in the feldes, and ſpecially in ſuche a barrayne and hyll countrey as Wales is, diſ-
xx perſed his armye foꝛ that tyme and returned to London. In the meane time while the kyng was thus occupied in Wales, certayn malicious and cruell perſons enuyng and malignyng in their heartes that kyng Henry contrary to the opinion of many, but agaynſt the will of no had ſo ſhoꝛtely obteyned and poſſeſſed the tealme and regalitie, blaſed abꝛode & noyſed daily amongeſt the vulgare people that kyng Richard (whiche was openly ſene dead) was yet liuyng and deſired ayde of the common people to repoſeſſe his realme and roiall dignitie. And to the furtheraunce of this fantaſticall inuencion, partly moued with indignacion, partely incenſed with furious malencolie, ſet vpon poſtes and
xxi caſte aboute the ſtretes railyng rimes, malicious metets and tauntyng verſes agaynſt kyng Henry and his pꝛocedynges. He beyng netteled with theſe vncurteous ye vnuertuous pꝛickes & thoꝛnes, ſerched out the authours, and amongeſt other were found culpable of this offence and crime, ſir Roger Claryngdon knight, and eight gray Friers whiche accoꝛdyng to their merites and deſertes were ſtrangeled at Tibourne and there put in execucion. I may not here foꝛget to ſhewe you howe that kyng Henry ſekyng nowe affiuntie and frendſhippe in Germanie ſent this yere his eldeſt doughter Blaunche accompanied with the Erle of Sommerſet, the Biſhop of Woꝛceſter, and the Lorde Cliffoꝛde, and other noble perſonages into Almanye, whiche bꝛought her
xxi to Coleyne, and there with great triumphe ſhe was maried to Wyllyam Duke of Bauier, ſonne and heyꝛe to Lewes of Bauyer the Empeꝛour, in whiche yere alſo dyed Lady Katherine Swynſfoꝛd the thirde wyfe of Jhon of Gaunt duke of Lancaſtre father to this kyng Henry, & was buried at Lincolne. In theſame yere kyng Henry maried Jane

Duches

Duches of Bzttayne late wyfe to Jhon duke of Bzttaine at the citie of Wynchester and with triumphall pompe conueighed her thozow the citie of London to Westmynster, and there she was crowned Quene.

While these thinges were thus doyng in England Waleram Erle of saunct Paule whiche had maried the halfe sister of Richard hauyng a malicious heart and a deadly hatred to kyng Henry, assembled a great company of men of warre to the number of xvi.oz.xviii.C. whereof the greatest parte were noble men, and made great prouysion of all thynges necessary foz his feate and enterpzise. And on saunct Nicholas day entred into his shippes at Harflete and landed in the Isle of Wight, x and when he sawe no apperaunce of defence, he burned two pooze vyllages and.iiii.simple cottages, and foz great triumphe of thys noble acte he made.iiii.knightes: but sodainly when he was aduertysed by his espials that the people of the Isle wer assembled and appzoched to fight with hym. He with all haste possible toke his shippes and retourned home agayne, wher with the noble men of his company were muche discontente and displeased considerynge that his pzouysion was great and his gayne small oz none. And in thesame very season Jhon Erle of Cleremond sonne to the Duke of Burbone, wonne in Gascoigne the castelles of saunct Peter, saincte Marie and the newe castell, and the xx Lozd Delabzethe wonne the castell of Carlaffin, whiche was no small losse to the Englishe nacion: Duryng which tyme dyed Philippe duke of Burgon, and duke Albert of Bauier Erle of Henault.

The thirde yere.

The.iii.yere. IN thys yere appered a comete oz blasyng Starre of a hõuge quantitie by a long season whiche as the Astronomers affirmed, signified great effusion of mannes blud, whiche iudgement was not frustrate as you shall perceiue. Foz Henry erle of Nozthumberland and Thomas erle of Wozcester his bzother, and his sonne Lozd Henry Percy called hotspur, which were to kyng Henxxx ry in the beginnyng of his reigne bothe fautours frendes and ayders, perceiuyng nowe that he had pacified all domesticall sedicion and repzessed his enemyes, and reduced his realme to a conuenient quietnes, began somwhat to enuye the glozy of hym, and grudged agaynste hys welthe and felicitie. And specially greued, because the kyng demaunded of the Erle and his sonne suche Scottishe pzisoners as they had taken at the conflictes fought at Hameldon and Nesbit as you befoze haue heard. Foz of all the captiues whiche were there taken, ther was deliuered to the kynges possession onely Wozdake earle of Fife sonne to the duke of Albanie Gouezнour of Scotland, foz the kyng them diuers and sondzy tymes of therle and his sonne required. But the Percies affirmyng them to be their owne pzopze pzisoners and their peculiar praies, and to deliuer theym vtterly denayed, in so muche that the kyng openly sayed that yf they wolde not deliuer theim, he would take them without deliuerance. Wherwith they beyng soze discõtent, by the

coun-

councell of Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worcester, whose study was euer to procure malice, and to set all thinges in broile and vncertentie, fainyng a cause to proue and tempte the kyng, came to hym to Wyndsor, requiryng hym by raunsome or otherwise to cause to bee deliuered out of prison Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche their cosyn germayn whome (as they reported) Owen Glendor kepte in filthy prison shakeled with yrons, onely for that cause that he toke his parte, and was to hym faithfull and trewe. The kyng began not a litell to muse on this request, and not without a cause, for in dede it touched him as nere as his sherte, as you well may perceiue by the Genealogy rehersed in the beginnyng of this story. For this Edmond was sonne to Erle Roger whiche was sonne to Lady Philip doughter to Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to kyng Edward the third, whiche Edmonde at kyng Richardes goyng into Ireland was proclaimed heire apparant to the croune and realme, whose Aunt called Elinor this Lord Henry Percy had Maried. And therfore the kyng litell forced although that that lignage were clerely subuerted and vtterly extincte.

WHEN the kyng had long digested and studied on this matter, he made aunswere and sayed that the Erle of Marche was not taken prisoner neither for his cause nor in his seruice, but willyngly suffered hym selfe to be taken, because he woulde take no parte agaynste Owen Glendor and his complices, and therfore he would nether raunsome nor releue hym, whiche fraude the kyng caused openly to be published and diuulged, with whiche aunswere yf the parties were angry doubt you not. But with the publysshyng of the cautell, that the Erle of Marche was willyngly taken, they ten tymes more fumed and raged in so muche that sir Henry hotspur sayd openly: Behold the heire of the realme is robbed of his righte, and yet the robber, with his owne, wyll not redeme hym. So in this fury the Percies departed, nothyng more myndyng then to depose kyng Henry from the high tipe of his regalitie, and to deliuer and set in his trone their cosyn frende & confederate Edmonde Erle of Marche, whome they not onely deliuered oute of the captiuitie of Owen Glendor, but also entered into a leage and amitie with the sayd Owen agaynst kyng Henry and all his frendes and fautours, to the great displeasure and long vnquietyng of kyng Henry and his partakers. Here I passe ouer to declare howe a certayne writer writeth that this earle of Marche, the Lorde Percy and Owen Glendor wer vnwyselye made beleue by a Welsh Prophecier, that king Henry was the Wold warpe, cursed of Goddes owne mouth, and that they three were the Dragon, the Lion and the Wolffe, whiche shoulde deuide this realme betwene them, by the deuiacion and not deuinacion of that vnlawfull Merlyn. I wyll not reherse howe they by their deputies in the howse of the Archdeacon of Bangor, seduced with that falce fayned Prophesie deuided the realme amongest thē, nor yet writehowe by a tripartite endenture sealed with their seales, all Englande

from

from Seuerne and Trent South and Eastward, was assigned to the erle of Marche: Nor how all Wales and the landes beyond Seuerne Westward, were appoynted to Owen Glendor, and all the remnaunt from Trente Northwarde to the lorde Percie. But I will declare to you that whiche was not prophesied, that is the confusion destruccion and perdicion of these persones, not onely geuyng credite to suche a vain fable, but also settyng it forwarde and hoppyng to attayne to the effect of thesame whiche was especiall of the lorde Percey and Owen Glendor. For the erle of Marche was euer kepte in the courte vnder suche a keper that he could nether doo or attempte any thyng agaynste the kyng without his knowledge, and dyed without issue, leuyng his right title and interest to Anne his sister and heyre, maried to Richard erle of Cambrige father to the duke of Yorke, whose offspryng in continuaunce of tyme, obteygned the game and gat the garland. O ye wauerying Welshmen, call you these prophesies? nay call theim vnprofitable practises. Name you theim diuinacions? nay name theim diabolicall deuises, say you they be prognosticacions? nay they be pestiferous publyshynges. For by declaryng & credite geuing to their subtyl & obscure meanynges, princes haue been deceyued, many a noble manne hath suffred, and many an honest man hath been begyled & destroyed.

KYNG Henry knowyng of this newe confederacy, and nothyng lesse myndyng then that, that happened after, gathered a greate armye too goo agayne into Wales: whereof the Erle of Northumberlande and his sonne wer aduertised, by lorde Thomas erle of Worcester, and with all diligence raysed all the power that they could make and sent to the Scottes whiche before wer taken prisoners at Hamaldon for ayde and men, promysing the Erle Douglas the toune of Barwicke and a parte of Northumberlande: and to other Scotishe lordes greate lordshippes and seignories, yf they obteygned the vpper hande and superiorite. The Scottes allured with desyre of gayn, and for no malice that they bare to kyng Henry, but some what desirous to be reuenged of their olde greues, came to the erle with greate compaygnie, and to make their cause seme good and iuste, they deuysed certayn articles by the aduyse of Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke, brother to the lorde Scrope, whom kyng Henry caused to bee beheded at Bristow as you haue heard before. Whiche articles they shewed to diuerse noble men and prelates of the realme, whiche fauorying and consentyng to their purpose, not onely promysed theim ayde and succor by wordes, but by their writyng and seales confirmed thesame. Howbeit, whether it wer for feare, either for that thei would be lokers on and no deede doers, neyther promyse by worde or by writyng was performed. For all the confederates theim abandoned, and at the daye of the conflict left alone, the erle of Stafford only excepte, whiche beyng of a haute corage and hye stomacke, kept his promise & ioyned with the Percyes to his destrucciō

THE lorde Percy with the erle Douglas and other erles of Scotlād

with

with a greate armie, departed out of the Northparties, leuing his father sicke (whiche promised vpon his amendement and recouery without delay to folowe) and came to Stafford where his vncle the erle of Worcester and he met, and there began to consult vpō their great affaires and high attempted enterprice, there they exhorted their souldiers and compaignions to refuse no paine for the auauncement of the cōmon wealth, nor to spare no trauell for the libertie of their countrey: Protestyng opēly that they made warre onely, to restore the noble realme of Englande to his accustomed glory and fredom, which was gouerned by a tirant & not by his lawful and ryght kyng. The capitaines sware & the souldiers promised to fyght, ye and to die for libertie of their countrey. When all thynges was prepared, they set forwarde towarde Wales, lokyng euery houre for new ayde and succours, noysyng abrode that they came to aide the kyng agaynst Owen Glendor. The kyng hearyng of the earles approching, thought it pollicie to encoūter with them before that the Welshemen should ioyne with their armie, and so include hym on bothe partes, and therfore returned sodaynly to the toune of Shrewelbury. He was skantely entered into the toune, but he was by his postes aduertysed that the erles with baners displaied and battailes ranged, were comyng toward hym, and were so hote and corragious, that they with light horses began to skirmishe with hys hoste. The kyng perceiuing their doynges, issued out and encamped hymselfe without the Estgate of the toune. The erles nothyng abashed although their succours them deceiued, embattailed themselfes not farre from the kynges armie. And the same night thei sent the articles wherof I spake before, by Thomas Katton and Thomas Saluaine esquiers to kyng Henry, signed with their handes and sealed with their seales, whiche articles (because no Chronicler saue one, maketh mencion what was the very cause and occasion of this greate bloudy battaile, in the whiche on bothe partes were aboue fourty thousande men assembled) I worde for worde according to my copie do here rehearce.

VVE Henry Perce erle of Northumberland, hygh Constable of England, and Warden of the West Marches of Englande toward Scotlande, Henry Percy our eldest sonne Warden of the Easte Marches of Englande towarde Scotlande, and thomas Percy earle of Worcester beynge procetours and protectours of the comon wealth, before our Lorde Jesu Christe oure supreme iudge doo allege, saye and entende too proue with our handes personally this instante daie, against the Henry duke of Lancastre thy complices and fauourers, vntustly presuming and named kyng of Englande without title of right, but onely of thy guyle and by force of thy fautours: that when thou after thyne exile diddest entre Englande, thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospeles bodely touched and kissed by thee at Dancastre that thou wouldest neuer claime the croune, kyngdome or state royall but onely thyne awne propre inheritaunce, and the inheritaunce of thy wife in Englande, and

that Rycharde oure souereigne lorde the kyng and thyne, shoulde reigne durying the terme of his lyfe, gouerned by the good counsaill of the lorddes spirituall and temporall. Thou hast imprisoned thesame thy souereigne lorde and our kyng within the Toure of London, vntyll he had for feare of death, resigned his kyngdomes of Englande and Fraunce, and had renounced all his right in thefore saied kyngdomes, and others his dominions and landes of beyonde the sea. Under colour of whiche resignacion and renunciacion by the counsaill of thy frendes and complices, and by the open noysyng of the rascall people by the and thy adherentes assembled at Westminster, thou hast crouned thy selfe kyng of the realmes afore saied, and hast seazed and entered into all the castles & lordshippes pertenyng to the kynges croune, contrary to thyne othe. Wherfore thou art forsworne and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie and entende to proue, that where thou swoorest vpon thesame Gospelles in thesame place and tyme to vs, that thou wouldest not suffre any dismes to be leuied of the Clergie, nor fiftenes on the people, nor any other tallegies and taxes to be leuied in the realme of Englande to the behoffe of the realme durying thy lyfe, but by the consideracion of the three estates of the realme, except for great nede in causes of importaunce or for the resistaunce of oure enemies, onely and none otherwyle. Thou contrary to thyne othe so made, hast done to be leuied right many dismes and fiftenes, and other impositions and tallagies, aswel of the Clergie as of the comonalte of the realme of England, and of the Marchauntes, for feare of thy maiestie royall. Wherefore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do all, saie and entende to proue, that where thou swoorest to vs vpon thesame Gospelles in the forsaied place and tyme, that oure souereigne lorde and thyne, kyng Rycharde, shoulde reigne durying the terme of his lyfe in his royall prerogatiue and dignitie, thou hast caused thesame our souereigne lorde and thyne, trayterously within the castell of Pountfret, without the consent or iudgement of the lordes of the realme, by the space of fiftene daies and so many nightes (whiche is horrible emong christian people to be heard) with honger, thirst and colde to perishe, to be murdered. Wherfore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saye and entend to proue, that thou at that tyme when our souereigne lorde and thyne, kyng Rycharde, was so by that horrible murder ded as abouesaied, thou by extorte power, diddest vsurpe and take the kyngdome of Englande, and the name and the honoure of the kyngdome of Fraunce, vntrustly and wrongfully, contrary to thine othe, from Edmonde Mortymer Earle of Marche and of Vlster, then next and direct heire of Englande and of Fraunce immediatly by due course of inheritaunce after the decease of thefore saied Richard. Wherfore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entend to proue as afore saied, that where thou madest an othe in thesame place and tyme, to supporte and maintein

tcme the lawes and good customes of the realme of Englande, and also afterwarde at the tyme of thy coronacion thou madest an othe, thelayed lawes and good customes to kepe and conserue inuiolate. Thou fraudulently and contrary to the lawe of Englande and thy fautours, haue written almooste throughe euery shyre in England to chose suche knightes for to holde a parliament as shalbe for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy parliamentes no iustice should bee ministred againste thy mynde in these oure complaintes nowe moued and shewed by vs, whereby at any tyme we myght haue any perfight redresse, notwithstanding
x that wee according to oure constience (as we truste ruled by God) haue often tymes thereof complayned, as well can testifie and bere witnes the right reuerend fathers in God Thomas Arundel archebishop of Cauntorbury, and Richard Scrope, archebyshop of Yorke. Wherfore nowe by force and strength of hande before oure Lorde Jesu Christ we muste aske our remedy and helpe.

ALSO we do alledge, saie and intende to proue, that where Edmond Mortimer earle of Marche and Ulster, was taken prysoner by Owen Glendor in a pitched and foughten feeld, and cast into prison and laden with yron fetters, for thy matter and caule, whom falsely thou hast proxx clayined willyngly to yelde hymselfe prisoner to thesaied Owen Glendor and neither wouldest deliuer hym thy self, nor yet suffre vs his kinsmen to raunsome and deliuer hym: Yet notwithstandyng, we haue not onely concluded and agreed with thesame Owen for his raunsome at oure proper charges and expences, but also for a peace betwene the and thesaied Owen. Why hast thou then not onely publyshed and declared vs as traytours, but also craftely and deceitfully imagened, purposed and conspired the vtter destruction and confusion of our persones. For the whiche cause we defy thee, thy fautoures and complices as commen traytoures and destroyers of the realme, and the inuadours, oppressoures and confounders of the verie true and right heyres to the croune of Englande, whiche thing we entende with our handes to proue this daie, almyghty God helpyng vs.

WHEN Kyng Henry had ouersene their articles and defiaunce, hee aunswered the elquiers that he was redy with dent of swerde and fierce battayll to proue their quarell false and fayned, and not with wrytyng nor slaunderous wordes, and so in his righteous cause and iust quarell he doubted not but God woulde bothe ayde and assiste hym, against vntrue persones and false forsworne traytours: with whiche aunlwere the messengers departed. The next daie in the mornyng early, whiche was xl the vigile of Mary Magdalene, the kyng perceiuyng that the battayll was neuer then he either thoughte or loked for, leaste that long tarryinge might be a minishyng of his strength, set his battayles in good ordre likewyse did his enemies, whiche bothe in puissaunce and courage were nothyng to hym inferior. Then sodaynly the trumpettes blewe, the kynges parte cried sainct George vpon them: The aduersaries cried Espe-

rawnce Percie, and so furiously the armies ioyned. The Scottes whiche had the forwarde on the lordes side, entending to bee reuenged of their olde displeasures done to them by the Englishe nacion, set so fiersely on the kynges forward, that they made them drawe backe, and had almoste broken their arraie. The Welshemen also whiche sithe the kynges departure out of Wales, had lurked and lien in woodddes mountaignes & marishes, hering of this battaill towarde, came to the aide of the earles, and refreshed the wery people with new succours. When a feat ful messenger had declared to the kyng, that his people were beaten doune on euery side, it was no nede to bid him stirre, for lodainly he approched with his freshe battaill, and comforted, hartened and encouraged his part so, that they toke their hartes to theim, and manly fought with their enemies. The prince Henry that daie holpe muche his father, for although he were sore wounded in the face with an arowe, yet he neuer ceased ether to fyght where the battaill was moste strongest, or to courage his men where tyeir hartes was moste danted. This greate battaill continued tyze long houres with indifferent fortune on bothe partes. That at the last the kyng crying sainct Gorge, victory, brake the arraie and entered into the battaill of his enemies and fought fiersely, and auentured so farre into the battaill, that the earle Douglas strake hym doune xx
and slewe sir Water Blonter, and three other appareled in the kynges suite and clothyng saiyng: I maruaill to see so many kynges so sodainly arise again, the kyng was reised and did that daie many a noble feate of armes. For as the Scottes write and Frenchemen affirme, all though that Englishemen kepe silence, that he hymselfe slewe with his handes that daie. xxvi. persones of his enemies, the other of his parte encouraged by his coynges, fought valiauntly and slewe the lord Percie called sir Henry hotspurre, the best capitain on the parte aduerse. When his death was knowen, the Scottes fled, the Welshemen ranne, the traitours were ouercome, then neither woodddes letted, nor hilles stopped the fear- xxx
full hartes of theim that were banquished to flie, and in that flighte the erle Douglas, whiche for hast fallyng from the cragge of a mountaigne brake one of his genitals and was taken, and for his valiantnes of the kyng frely and frankely deliuered. There was taken also sir Thomas Percie erle of Worcester & diuerse other, on the kynges parte were slain sir Water Blount and. xvi. C. other persones. but on the parte of the rebelles were slaine the earle of Staffordе, the lorde Percie and aboue. v. thousand other, and as for the Scottes few or none escaped aliue.

AFTER this glorious victory by the kyng obteigned, he rendered to almightie God his humble and hartie thankes, and caused the erle of Worcester tye morowe after Mary Magdalene, at Shrewesbury to be drawen hanged and quartered, and his hed to be sent to London, at whiche place many mo capitaines were executed. After this greate battaill, he lyke a triumphant conqueror returned with greate pompe too London, where he was by the senate and magestrates solemply receyued.

ued not a litle reioysyng of his good fortune and fortunate victorie. But before his departure from Shrewesbury, he not forgettyng his enterpryse againste Owen Glendor, sent into Wales with a greate armie prynce Henry his eldest sonne against thesaied Owen and his seditious fautours, whiche being dismaied and in maner desperate of all comfort by the reason of the kynges late victory, fled in desert places and solitary caues, where he receiued a small rewarde mete and prepared by Godes prouidence for suche a rebell and seditious seducer. For beyng destitute of all comforte, dreadyng to shewe his face to any creature, lacxkyng meate to sustaine nature, for pure honger and lacke of foode miserably ended his wretched lyfe. This ende was prouided for suche as gaue credence to false prophelies. This ende had they that by diabolicall deuinacions were promised great possessions and seignories. This ende happeneth to suche as beleuing suche fantasticall folies, aspire and gape for honoure and high promocions. When the prince with lytle labour and lesse losse, had tamed and brideled the furious rage of the wyld and sauage Welshemen, and lefte gouernours to rule and gouerne the countrey, he returned to his father with great honour & no small prayse.

The erle of Northumberland hearing of the ouerthrowe of his brother xx and sonne, came of his owne fre wil to the kyng, excusyng himself as one neither partie nor knowing of their doing nor enterprice: the kyng neyther accused hym nor held hym excused, but dissimuled the matter for .ii. causes, one was he had Berwike in his possession, which the kyng rather desired to haue by policie then by force: the other was that therle had his castelles of Alnewicke, Warkeworth and other fortified with Scottes, so that if the erle were apprehended, al Northumberland were in ieoperdy to become Scottysh. For these causes the kyng gaue hym faire wordes and let hym departe home, where he continued in peace a while, but after he rebelled as you shall perceiue by the sequele of this story.

xxx ¶ The fourth yere.

THis yere Waleram erle of sainct Pole, considring that he had defied kyng Henry, and also that he had made diuerse voyages, and done litle damage to the Englyshenacion, and susteigned muche losse, continuyng in his olde malice against the kyng of England, by the assent of the Frenche kyng assembled a greate numbre of men of warre, as. v. C. men of armes. v. C. Genewaies with Crosebowes, and a. M. Flemynges on fote, and laied siege to the Castell of Warke thre leages from Caleis, within the territory of the kyng of Englande the syxten daye of July, wherof was Capitayne Philip Halle xl esquier, with. lxxx. archers and. xxiii. other souldiers. The erle raised against the Castle diuerse engines but they preuayled not, for they within shot so fersly, and cast out stones so incessaunly, and toke suche payne that to the hearers it is almooste incredyble. The earle perceiuing that his feate had suche successe as he loked for, retyred with hys men lodged in the towne, fortifyng thesame for feare of rescous that might issue

The .iiii. yere.

from Caleis, the next daye he gaue a soze assaute againe, and with great
soyce entered the vtter court of the Castle, and toke therein a great num-
ber of hoyse, kyen and catell, at the whiche assaut sir Robert Barenguile
cosin to therle was slayn. Thesame daie a hundzed archers on hoyseback
comyng out of Caleys, sawe and perceiued the doinges and demeanure
of the erle and his compaignie, and towarb night they sent an Heraulte
certefiyng hym that they would dine with him the next daye: to whome
he proudly aunswered, that he would gladly receiue them, and their din-
nar should at their comyn be ready pzepared. The nexte daye ensuyng
issued out of Caleis two hũdzed men of armes two hundzed archers. iii. x
hundzed men on fote with. x. oz. xii. Chariottes laden with vitail and ar-
tillery, conducted by sir Richard Alstone knight, leuetenant of the En-
glyshe pale foz the erle of Somerset capitain generall of those marches:
whiche in good ozdze of batail marched toward their enemies, which be-
foze by their espials were aduertised of their coming, but that notwith-
standyng they issued not out of their lodginges to encounter with them,
but kept them selfe within their closure. The Englishmen shote so shar-
pely and so closly together, that the Flemynges and fotemen began too
flie, the men of armes feryng the slaughter of their hoyses ran away with
a light gallop the Genowais which had spent the most part of their shot xx
at thassaut made litle defence and small resistence and so all were slayn
and put to flight. The hasty and rashe erle of saint Paull and diuerse o-
ther without any stroke geuen to their enemies fled to sent Omers, and
there were taken of the best of the armie, as the Frenche & Duche Chzo-
nicle repozteth thze oz foure scoze persones, emongest whom the capitain
of Bullayne was one, and many lozdes and knightes slayn. After that
the Englishemen had taken all the cartes, munitions and vitailes that
their enemies had bzought thither, they returned to Caleis in great trim-
phe, and within fiue daies after ther issued out of the English pale, about
the numbze of. v. C. men toward Arde by nyght tyme, thynkyng to haue xxx
founde the towne vnpzouided, but Sir Wanlard de Boys and the lozd
Lygnie defended it and let the Englishemen of their purpose, and so
with losse of fourty men they returned to Caleis: Whiche dedde perso-
nes were brent in an old hous, because their enemies shoulo be ignorãt
of the damage that the Englishemen had by them sustained. The erle of
saint Paule beyng at Terwin, imaginyng how to recouer somewhat of
his losse but moze of his honoure sent foz a greate compaignie of noble
men and valiant personages, and concluded to inuade the Marches of
his enemies. But the Frenche kyng considering the erles cuyll foztune
and vnfoztunate chance, commaũded him to leue of his enterpzise, with xl
whiche he was soze displeased. Yet to auoide perelles, the Frenche kyng
laid in garrison at Bullein and other places, the Marques of Pownt
sonne to the duke of Barr, and the erle of Dampnay, and sir Jhon Har-
padane a knight of greate renoune and hygh estimacion. The kyng of
England circumspectly fozseing thinges to come, and imagenyng that

the

the Frenchemen attempted some new enterprice, against hym or his dominions beyond the sea, sent. iiii. M. men to Caleis and to the sea whereof. iii. M. landed at Sluce, whiche besieged a castle standing at the mouthe of the hauen, and made diuerse assautes and lost diuerse of their compaignie, but newes were brought to theim, that the duke of Burgoyne had required licence of the Frenche kyng to besiege the toune of Caleis, for which cause they tailed their siege, and returned to the defence of that fortresse and desired praie of the Frenche nacion.

¶ The fifth yere.

The. v. yere.

ABoute this season Loys Duke of Orliaunce brother to the Frenche Kynge, a man of no lesse pryde then haute courage, wrote letters to Kynge Henry aduertysyng hym, that he for the perfighte loue whiche he bare to the noble feates of chyualrie and martiall actes, in auoidyng the slowe worme and deadely Dormouse called Idlenes, the ruine of realmes and confounder of nobilitie, and for the obteignyng of laude and renoune by deades of armes and manly enterprises, coulde imagine or inuente nothyng eyther more honourable or laudable to them bothe, then to mete in the fielde eche parte with an hundred knightes and Esquiers, all beyng Gentlexx men bothe of name and armes armed at all pointes and furnyshed with speares, axes, swerdes and daggers, and there to fyghte and combate to the yeldyng, and euery persone to whome God shall sende victory too haue his prisoner, and hym to raunsome at his pleasure, offeryng hym selfe with his company to come to his cytie of Angulesme, so that the kyng of Englande woulde come to the laundes of Burdeaux and there defende this chalenge. The kyng of Englande whiche was as graue and wittie as the duke was lyght and courageous, wrote to hym agayn that he not a littell mused but muche more meruailed that the Duke beyng sworne aswell to hym as to kyng Richarde to mainteyne the peace xxx betwene his brother the Frenche kyng and theim concluded, and to that had set his signe and greate seale, woulde nowe for vainglory vnder coloure of doyng dedes of Armes not onely violate the peace and breake the amitie betwene them before concluded, but also geue an occasion of displeasure and ingratitude, by the whiche in conclusion myght rise mortall warre and deadely enemitie, affirmyng farther that no kyng anointed of very dutie was either bound or oblyged to answere any chalenge but to his pere of egall estate and equiuolent dignitie, and that no christian Prince either ought or shoulde consent to warre or effusion of christen bloud but onely for the defence of his realme, or for conquest xl of his right, or for amplifiyng of Christes faithe and Christian religion, and not for pryde, worldly fame and vaynglory, declaryng also that when opportunitie of tyme and conuenient leisure serued, he would transfret and passe the sea himselfe with suche company as he thought moost conuenient into his countrey of Gascoigne, at whiche tyme the Duke myght set forward with his hand for the attaynyng of honoure and ac-

troubles

complishyng of his courageous desire and haute enterprise, promisyng in the worde of a Prince not thence to departe til the duke either by fulfyllyng his awne desyre, or by singuler combate betwene them two, onely for auoidyng the effusion of Chrysten bloud, shoulde thynke hymselfe satisfied and fully aunswered. Howbeit, at that tyme he beyng enbusied with weighty affaires and vrgent causes cõcerning the publike wealth of his realme could neither appointe tyme nor place, protestyng that the deferryng of tyme was neither for disdayne nor yet for cowardnes, but onely to abate the pride of hym whiche knowyng not hymself, nor fering reprothe regarded not his othe wrytyng nor seale. To this aunswere the x duke of Orleaunce replied and kyng Henry reioyned, whiche doynges what for the vnprincely tauntes and vncharitable checkes in them conteigned, and what for reherslyng agayne thynges to you herebefore declared I omitte and put in oblivion. The duke of Orleaunce not content with the kyng of England, assembled an armie of. vi. thousand men and entered into Guien and besieged the towne of Uergy, whereof was Capitain Sir Robart Antelfelde a valiaunt knight and an hardy Capitayn, hauyng with hym onely thre hundred Englyshemen. The duke almost euery day assaulted the towne fiersely, but they within the towne couragiously defended thesame: In so much that when he had lien there xx thre monethes and had lost many of his men and nothyng gotten, without honoure of spoile returned into Fraunce. After this the Admirall of Britayne whiche beyng highly elated and muche encouraged because the laste yere he had taken certaine Englyshe shippes laden with wyne accompanied with the Lorde Castyl! a valiaunt baron of Britaine, and twelue hundred men of armes, and thirty shippes, sayled frõ sainct Malowes and came before the towne of Darthmouth and would haue landed, but by the puissaunce of the townsmen and aide of the countrey, thei were repulsed and put backe in whiche conflicte the Lorde of Castell with his two brethren wyth foure hundred other were slayn, and aboue xxx twoo hundred prysoners taken and raunsomed, whereof the Lorde of Baqueuile high Marshall of Britayne was one, whiche was brought to the kyng and after redemed. The Admirall sory of this infortunate enterprise with muche losse and no gaine returned hastely into his coũtrey. Kyng Henry beyng aduertysed of this attempt, sent the Lord Thomas his sonne which after was duke of Clarence to the sea with a great naule of shippes to the entent either with battayll or depopulacion of the sea coastes bothe of Britayne and of Fraunce to reuenge this iniurie and inuasion: He saylyng by the sea coastes landed diuerse tymes & fiered shyppes & brent townes and destroied people without fauoure or xl mercie, and when he thoughte his quarell well reuenged he sayled toward Englande, and in hys retournyng he encountred with two greate Carickes of Jeane laden with ryche marchaundise and substanciall stuf betwene whome was a greate conflicte and a blouddy battaill, but after long fyghtyng, the Englyshemen preuailed and brought bothe the Carickes

tickes into Camber before Rye, where one of them by misauenture of fier perished to the losse and no game of bothe the parties. About this tyme Jhon duke of Burgoyne whiche had long laboured and nowe obteined licence to besiege the towne of Caleis, prepatyng engynnes, ladders, cartes, and all other instrumentes necessary and conuenient for so greate a feate and notorious siege, and assembled at saint Omers sixe thousand men of armes. xv. hundred Crosbowes, beside. xii. thouland fotemen, hauyng vitayll Bumbardes and other munitions of warre sufficient and conuenient for his abrode blowen enterprise. But when al thinges were prepared and the hole army assembled he was by the Frenche kyng and his counsaill (whiche put diffidence in the exploite of his glorious buli-
nes) countermaunded and prohibited farther to procede in that weighty purpose: For the whiche cause he conceiued so great an hatred and deadely malice against the duke of Orleaunce (as the onely stop and let of his glory and renoune) that he euer after not onely maligned and grudged against hym and his procedinges, but also (as you shall shortly heare) brought hym to death and finall destruccion.

¶ The xxi yere.

xx IN this yere the Earle of Northumberland whiche bare styll a venemous scorpion in his cankered harte, and coulde not desist to inuent and deuise waies and meanes howe to be reuenged of kyng Henry and his fautours, began secretely to communicate his interior imaginacions and priuie thoughtes with Richard Scrope Archebyshop of Yorke brother to Willyam lord Scrop treasourer of England, whom kyng Henry (as you haue heard) beheaded at the towne of Bristow, and with Thomas Woubrey erle Marshall sonne to Thomas duke of Norffolke, for kyng Henries cause before banished the realme of England, and with the lordes Hastinges, Fau-
xxi conbridge, Bardolfe and diuerse other whiche he knew to beare deadely hate and inward grudge toward the kyng. After long consultacion had, it was finally concluded and determined amongest them, that all they, their frendes and alies with al their power should mete at Yorkes wold at a day appointed and that therle of Northumberland should be chefetaine & supreme gouernour of the armie, which promised to bring with hym a great nombet of Scottes.

THis seditious conspiracie was not so secretely kepte nor so closely cloked but that the kyng thereof had knowledge, and was fully ad-
uertised. Wherfore to preuent the tyme of their assembly, he with suche xi power as he could sodainly gather together with all diligence marched toward the North parties and vsed suche a celeritie in his iourney that he was thither come with all his hoste and power before the confederates heard any inkelyng of his marchyng forwarde, and sodainly there were apprehended the Archebyshop, the earle Marshal, sir Jhon Lampley, and sir Robart Plumpton. These personnes were arraigned, attein-

ted

ted and adiudged to die, and so on the Monday in Whitson weke all
they without the Citie of Yorke were headded. Here of necessitie I
oughte not nor will not forgeate howe some folyshe and fantasticall
persounes haue written, howe erronious Ipocrites and sedicious As-
ses haue endited, howe superstitious Frers and malicious Monkes
haue declared and diuulged bothe contrary to Goddes doctrine the ho-
noure of their Prince and common knowen veritie that at the howre of
the execution of thys Byshop (which of the Executioner desyred to haue
fyue strokes in remembraunce of the fyue woundes of Christ) the kyng
at thesame tyme syttyng at dyner had fyue strokes in his necke vpon a per
sone inuisible, and was incontinently striken with a lepzey: whiche is a
manifestelyt as you shall after playnely perceiue. What shall a man
saye of suche writers whiche take vpon them too knowe the secretes of
Goddes iudgement: What shall men thinke of suche beastly persones
whiche regarding not their bounden dutie and obeisaunce to their prin-
ce and souereigne lord enuied the punishment of traitors and torment of
offenders: But what shal all men coniecture of suche whiche fauouring
their awne worldly dignitie, their owne priuate authoritie, their owne
peculiar profite, wyll thus iuggle tayle and imagine fantasies agaynste
their souereigne Lorde and Pryncc, and put theim in memorie as a mys-
tacle to his dishonoure and perpetuall infamy: Well let wyse men iud-
ge what I haue saied. Beside these persones, diuers other of thesaid cō-
spiracye and faction, the Lorde Hastynges, the Lorde Fauconbrydge,
Sir Jhon Coluile of the dale, Sir Jhon Griffith were beheadded at
Durham. The erle of Northumberlande hearyng his counsayll to be
reueled and his confederates to be put to execucion and shameful death.
fled into Scotland to his olde frende George of Dumbarre earle of the
Marche, whiche the yere before was reuoked out of exile and restored to
his possessions name and dignitie, where he taried till the next Somme
and then sayled into Fraunce and after into Flaunders desiryng aide &
assistence against kyng Henry, but when he sawe litteil hope of comfort
and that fewe willyngly were ententike to his request, he accompanied
with the Lorde Bardolffe muche dismaied and more desperate returned
agayne to his trewe frendes into Scotlande and there made his abode
the hole yere abidyng the fauoure of fortune and chaunge of his vnfor-
tunate chaunce, duryng whiche tyme the kyng without any difficultie
toke into his possession the towne of Barwicke, the castelles of Alnewy-
ke and all other Fortresses appertaining to the Erle: And liyng at Bar-
wicke he caused to be put to death the Barons sonne of Greystocke, Sir
Henry Beynton, and Jhon Blenkensoppe and fiue other as fautoures
and workers of this newe inuented conspiracy. When the kyng had
thus appeased and asswaged that late begonne commocion, he sente his
sonne the prince of Wales accompanied with Edwarde duke of Yorke
and a great puissaunce, to encounter with the Scottes which by promise
were bound to aide & assiste the confederates and rebelles. But they hea-

tyng

ryng that the founders of the warre were apprehended and put to deathe, made no haste forwarde but taried peaceably at home So that the prince entering into Scotlande and fynding no resistence, brent tounes spoyled Villages and wasted the Countrey euery where as he passed, whiche thyng so muche amased the kyng of Scottes and his counsayll, that notwithstandyng that he had gathered and appoynted a greate hoste vnder the conducte of the Earles of Douglas and Bowgham to resiste the prince and his inuasions, yet they sent Ambassadours to hym requiryng hym of peace and finall concorde, whiche requeste he vtterly
x denaied, but at their humble petition he graunted them a truce for certaine monethes, of the whiche they were bothe glad and ioyouse, and so the prince laden with pray and spoyle returned with great game to hys father. While the prince thus infected the countrey of Scotland on the land, sir Robart Umfreuile vice Admirall of Englande vexed the countreys of Fyffe and Loghdian on the sea coast, for he liyng in the Scottishe sea fourten daies and euery daie landed on the one syde or the other and toke praies spoyles and prisoners maugre the great powers of the duke of Albanie and the Earle Douglas, insomuche that he brent and toke the toune of Peples on their faire day and caused his men to mete
xi Clothe with their bowes: And with greate gaine returnyng to his shyppes brent the Galiet of Scotlande with many other vessels, and sente Clothe vitaill and diuerse Marchandises to euery towne in Northumberlande, settyng thereon no great price: Wherfore the Scottes called hym Robyn mendmarket. The kyng about this tyme was newely vnquieted and perturbed, for notwithstandyng this fortunate successe that he had obteigned in all his outward warres and interiour affayres, yet some of his people bare suche a cankered harte toward hym that to expel hym from his rule and dignitie they left no occasion vnsought nor deuice vnattempted. For sodainly sprang out a fame of an vncertain auc-
xii tour that kyng Rychard was yet liuing in Scotlande, to whiche fable suche credite was geuen, that if prudente policie had not forsene the sequele, it had kendeled a greatter flame then within short space myght haue well bene quenched or extincte.

¶ The seuenth yere.

IN this sommer, the Pestilenciall plage so infected the Citie of London and the coūtrey round about, that the kyng durst not repaire thither nor yet nere to the confines of thesame, wherfore he departyng from the castell of Ledes, determined
xi to take shyp at Quinborough in the Isle of Shepey, and to sayll ouer to Lye in Essex and so to Plasshey, there to passe his tyme till the plage were seased: And because certaine pyrates of Fraunce wete lurkyng at the Temmes mouthe waytyng for their pray, Thomas Lorde Camois with certaine shippes of warre was appointed to wafte ouer the kyng. When the kyng was on the sea, in the middest of his iourney, whether

The. vii. yere.

the winde turned, or that the Lorde Camois kept not a directe course, or that his shippe was but a slugge. The Frenchemen whiche by all symilitude had knowledge of the kynges passage entered amongest the kynges naule and toke fowre vesselles nexte to the kynges shippe and in one of them Sir Thomas Rampston knight the kynges vicechamberlain with all his chamber stuffe and apparell, and folowed the kyng so nere that if his shyppe had not bene swift he had landed soner in Fraūce then in Esser, but by Goddes prouision and fortunate chaunce he escaped the daunger and arriued as his appointcted porte. The kyng beyng sore moued with the lorde Camois, caused hym to be attached and endited that he condiscended and agreed with the Frenchemen that the kyng in his iourney should be intercepted and taken. On this poinct he was arraigned in the last day of October before Edmond earle of Kent that day high stuard of the realme, on which day were he giltie or giltles, fautie or clere, culpable or innocent of that fact and doing, he was by his pees founde not giltie and dismissed at the barre, hauing restitucion bothe of his landes gooddes and offices. In this yere kyng Henry not onely destryng newe affinitie with forein princes but also the prefermēt of his line and progeny, sent the Lady Philyp his younger daughter to Ericke kyng of Denmarke, Norwey and Swethen whiche was conueighed thither with great pompe and there with muche triumphe maried to the saied kyng, where she tasted bothe welthe, and wo, ioye and pain. About this season died Sir Robert Knolles knight a man of greate policie, wysdome and experience in warre, whiche had bene a Capitayn from the tyme of kyng Edward the fourth till his latter dayes, in the whiche he beyng gouernour of aquitaine encombred with age, resygned hys office to Sir Thomas Belfforde a valiaunt Capitayne and returned to London, where he diseased and was honourably buried in the Churche of the White Fryers.

Refuide

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¶ The eight yere.

The. viij. yere

YOu haue heard before how kyng Robert of Scotlande beyng very aged and impotent, was not able to rule and gouerne his realme, and howe Walter his brother beyng by hym created duke of Albanie, (whiche was the firste duke that euer was in Scotlande) was made gouernour of hys brothers countrey and dominion. After whiche office and preheminence by hym obteigned, he so sore thirsted after the croune and scepter royall that he cared litle though the kyng his brother, and his two sonnes had bene at Christes fote in heauen. And somwhat to further his purpose, it vnfortunatly chaūsed that Dauy of Rothesay prince of the realme and eldest sonne to the kyng, was accused to his father of diuerse heynous crymes, and in especiall of lasciuious & dissolute lyuyng, as raupshyng of wiues, deflouryng of virgins, and defilyng of maidens, wherefore the kyng deliuered hym to his brother the gouernour, trusting that by

xxvi

his

his good counsail and discrete aduertisement he would not onely amend his life, but also to fal to wisdome prudence & grauitie. When the duke had possessed part of his desired pray, he sent his nephewe from castle to castle, from prisone to prisone, from place to place, and in conclusion lodged hym in a toure within the castle of Franckeland, where with sampne he caused hym miserably to ende his life, puttyng a poze woman to painfull death, whiche gaue to the Prince the mylke of her brestes by a rede into the prisone. His death was long hidden from the kyng his father, but in conclusion, the gouernour shewed to the kyng how diuerse persones trayterously had murdred hym, whiche were aprehended and iudged to die, and yet in their liues they neuer knew noz yet saw hym. The kyng notwithstandyng his brothers excuse, doubted much thend of his other sonne named James, wherfoze he priuely prouided a ship, in the whiche he put the chyld beyng then of the age of.ix.yeres, vnder the tuicio of the lozde Henry Sencliere erle of Orkeney, willing hym to conuey the prince into the Realme of Fraunce if by any possibilitie he could thether attain. And if foztune should driue hym on the cost of England, he wrote letters to the kyng of England, the tenoz wherof insueth.

A letter sente by the kyng of Scottes.

ROBERT kyng of Scottes, sendeth gretyng to kyng Henry of England, althoug by relacion of other persones I haue knowen before this tyme, what magnanimitie, what clemencie, and other infinitie vertues be planted and roted in your royall persone, yet in the voyage that you your self personally last made into Scotland, I haue had manifest and open experience of thesame. Foz when you like our enemy inuaded our countrey, brent our tounes, and destroied our people, yet by the fauour that you shewed to suche places and people whiche receyued and fostered your noble father when he fled out of England (foz feare of rebelles whiche then soze afflicted his lande) we haue receyued almoste as muche profit and aduauntage as we did hurte and damage, by your terrible warres and bloudy inuasions. Wherefoze I cannot but laude and praise your highnes & iudge your noble hart mete foz a kyngdome, but also I doo loue and will not cease to loue you duryng my naturall lyfe. And notwithstandyng that Realmes and nacions daily contende and make warre foz glozy rule and empire, yet to vs bothe beyng kynges, no suche occasion is geuen to do as they do, oz to folowe their stepes oz progression, but we (whiche is the dutie of a kyng) oughte to striue who shall prosecute other with moste humaine fauour and contynuall clemencie, and as muche as we may to be felowes, compaignions and alies, in synguler loue and perpetuall amitie. And as foz suche causes as now be different and in discencion betwene vs and our Realmes foz my part I shall endeuour my self to bryng all thynges to a good conclusion and mutual confozmitie. And because that I now am in thesame trouble and perplexitie foz my chyldren, that your father was with the rebelles of Englande, I am compelled of very necessitie to desyre ayde and seke comfozte of fozain princes and strang nacions. And although that by the helpe of God and power of my people, I am able inough to

,, kepe thesame against all outwarde powers and forain attemptes. Yet
,, from the secrete malice of suche as lurke and bee dayly norished in my
,, very bosome, I cannot kepe theim in suertie within myne owne domi-
,, nion. And yet in no other place they can bee from that pestiferous con-
,, spiracy put in any sure defence or perfight sauegarde, except thei be pre-
,, serued by the faith and fidelitie of good and iuste men. The worlde this
,, tyme is so full of malice, so replenyshed with rancor, that whereseuer
,, that golde or syluer (whiche bee instrumentes of mischief) maie entre or
,, penetrate, there shalbe founde ministers prone and redy to do and per-
,, petrate all detestable crimes and mischeuous inuencions: But because x
,, I knowe and perceiue your persone to be endued with so many notable
,, vertues, and to be adorned with suche Magnanimitie, fidelitie, iustice,
,, clemencie, and finally, not onely to be replenished with the whole com-
,, paignie and felowship of the vertues Horall, but also to be of that po-
,, wer, riches & puissaunce that no prince in our tyme, maie to your hygh-
,, nes be either compared or assimuled, I beyng by your noble and nota-
,, ble qualities allected and encouraged, moste hertely require your helpe
,, and humbly desire your ayde, relefe and comfort. For myne eldest sonne
,, Dauid, (as I suspecte and as the fame runneth, although I cannot yet
,, thereof make a perfight proofe) is murthered by no cõmon murtherer, by xx
,, no open theefe, by no notorious malefactour nor by no furious persone,
,, but by my brother his vncle whiche ought to haue protected and saued
,, him, to whom I committed the gouernance of me, my children, my whole
,, realme and all that I had, whiche vnnaturall kynseman hath not onely
,, killed my child, but hath shamefully slayn and murdered hym with the
,, moste cruell and miserable kynd of death, whiche is famyne. And so he,
,, whiche ought & whose duetie was to haue auoyded and put frõ me the
,, iniuries of all other persones, hath afflicted me with the moste contu-
,, melie, the greatest iniury and manyfest damage, that euer subiecte dyd
,, attempt against his Prince, or brother against brother, or enemy against xxx
,, kynseman. For he whom I made gouernour to withstande the power
,, and malice of myne outward enemies, compasseth and imagineth howe
,, to destroy myne issue, and consequently myne owne persone. Wherfore
,, for the fauor that you beare to iustice sent by God to mankynde, and for
,, the naturall loue and fatherly affeccion that you bere to your children
,, and posteritie; I humbly require and hertely desire your magnificence,
,, that this myne onely child, not onely may safely and surely liue vnder
,, your defence and protection, but also that you of your accustomed good
,, nes will vouchesaue to preserue and defende this the onely heire of my
,, posteritie from the malicious attemptes of his cruell kynred and am- xl
,, bicious consanguinitie. And this the rather, for the remembraunce bothe
,, of your fathers chaunce, whiche in his necessitie found muche humanite
,, in our nacion, and also of the fraultie of worldly suertie, whiche assone
,, chaungeth from good to euill, and from euill to worse, as the fayre and
,, redolent flower this daie florisheth, and to morow widred and sodainly
,, vadeth. Requiryng you to haue in remembraunce, that if Princes put

their

their whole confidence only in their cõmon people, which be moze variable then the Wethercocke oz Wynd, and haue no outward ftendes noz foꝛain amitie, their empire is falling and their regiment very vnitel. But if pꝛinces be coupled in the chaines of indiſſoluble amite, and wyll mutually and faithfully defend their cõmen enemies, and auoide their manifeſt iniuries, there is no power oz ſtrength of the cõmen people, that either can hurte oz caſt theim from the thꝛone: in ſuche a ſuertie is a king that ſo is garniſhed with the loue, fauoꝛ and amitie of outward pꝛinces and louyng neighbours. Wherfoꝛe, if it may ſeme expediẽt to your high wiſedom, to here this my lowly requeſte and louyng ſute (which I thinke your clemencie will not reiect noꝛ refell) my deſire is, that accoꝛdyng to the laſt truce concluded betwene you and vs, in the whiche is conteigned that all men conueighyng letters from the one of vs to the other, ſhould ſurely and ſauely paſſe and repaſſe without any contradiccion: That it would pleaſe you not to bꝛeake noꝛ deny theſated libertie to this beter our only ſonne, but foꝛ your honoute to kepe your pꝛomiſe ſincerly inuiolated and faithfully obſerued. And thus the gracious God pꝛeſerue your noble perſon in your royall eſtate long to continue.

xx VVHEN all thynges neceſſary were pꝛepared, the mariners halſed vp their ankers and departed from Bas caſtell with this young pꝛince and Henry Percie ſonne to the Loꝛde Percie ſlayn beforе at Shꝛewesbury, and by vigoꝛ of tempeſt were dꝛyuen on the coſt of Holdernes called Flamboꝛough hed the.xxx. date of Marche, where the young pꝛince foꝛ to refreſhe hymſelf toke lande. He wꝛoughte not ſo pꝛiuely, but he was knowen and taken with all his company, and conueighed to the kyng beyng at Wyndſoꝛe where he with dew reuerence deliuered hys fathers letter. When the letter was redde and vnderſtand, the kyng aſſembled his counſaill to knowe what ſhould be done with this noble enfant. Some to whom the continuall warres and daily battail was both xxi diſpleſant and odious, affirmed that there could not happen a better oz a moze ſurer occaſion of peace and amitie betwene bothe the realmes, whiche being ſo offred, they would in no wiſe ſhould be reiected but take, conſideryng that this pꝛince was ſent thither, in truſt of ſauegarde, in hope of refuge, and in requeſt of aide and comfoꝛt againſt his cuill willers and malicious enemies: other (whoſe opinion toke place) affirmed hym to be a pꝛiſoner and ſo to bee oꝛdeꝛed, foꝛ almuche as he was taken the warre beyng open, and that hys father dyd not onely maintayne therle of Noꝛthumberland and other rebelles within his countrey and gaue them great honours, but alſo ſent a greate nomber of hys nobilite xxi againſt the kyng at the battaill of Shꝛewesbury. Wherfoꝛe it was agreed that he ſhould be deteined as a pꝛiſoner, lawfully taken and duely appꝛehended. When tidinges of this diſinitiue ſentence was ſhewed to his father, he tooke ſuche an inwarde conceit and ſo ſoꝛe a pencifenes, that he ended his naturall lyfe within a fewe monethes after. Although the takyng of this young pꝛince, was at the firſt tyme diſpleaſant to the realme of Scotlande: yet ſurely, after he and all his region

had greate cause to reioyse and thanke God of their fortunate chaunce and good lucke that insued. For where before that tyme the people of Scotlande were rude, rustical, without any vrbanitie, hauyng litle lernyng and lesse good maners, & good qualities least of all. This prynce being. xviii. yeres prisoner within this realme, was so instructed & taught by his scholemasters and pedagoges appointed to hym by the onely clemencie of the kyng, that he not onely florysshed in good learnyng & fresh litterature (as the tyme then serued) but also excelled in all poinctes of Marciall feates, Musicall instrumentes, Poeticall artes and lyberall sciences. In so muche that at his returne from captiuite, he furnished his realme bothe with good learnyng and ciuill policie, whiche before was barbarous, sauage, rude and without all good nurtur.

¶ The nyneth yere.

The. ix. yere.

THerle of Northumberlande, whiche had bene in Fraunce and other regions to obteigne aide against kyng Henry, and had missed of his purpose, now putte his whole confidence in the Scottes, and in especiall in his olde frende George Earle of Marche, and so assembled a greate power of the Scottishe nacion to inuade Northumberland, and recouered diuerse of his owne castels and seigniories, to whom the people without nombre dayly resorted. Wherfore he entendyng to be reuenged of his olde greues, accõpaignied with the lorde Bardolffe and diuerse other Scottes and Englysshmen entred into Yorke shire and there began to destroy and depopulate the countrey. Wherof the kyng beyng aduertysed, caused a great army to be assembled and marched toward his enemies, but or the kyng came to Notyngham Raufe Rekesbie shryfe of Yorke shire, in ỹ middest of Februarye with the power of the countrey, sodainly set on therle and his compaignie, at a place called Bramham Moore, where after long fightyng, the erle and the lorde Bardolffe and many other were taken and brought to Yorke and there executed, and their heddes sent to London.

AFTER this the kyng hauyng knowledge that diuerse pirates were wanderyng on the cost of Englande, prepared a greate armie furnished with men, vitaile and munitions of warre mete and conuenient for such an enterprice, and in the beginnyng of Marche sent to the sea, lorde Edmond Hollande erle of Kent, chieftain of that crewe and armie. When the erle had searched all the coaste of Fraunce, and had founde not one pirate or sea robber, he was aduertysed by his espials that they hearyng of his armie, were diuerted to the partes of Britayn. Wherfore thesaied erle entendyng to be reuenged on them whiche he sought for, made hys course thether, before his arriuall they had conueighed their shyppes in to the hauens, so that he could not fight with them on the sea, wherefore he launched out his botes and with his fierce souldiers tooke lande and fiercely assaulted the towne of Briake standyng on the Sea syde. The cytezens thrẽwe out dartes, cast stones, shotte quarelles and manfully defended their walles. In whiche conflicte the Earle receiued suche a wound in his head that he departed out of this worlde the. v. day after.

The

The assailantes not dismayed but set a fire with the death of their captaine like men desperate styll assaulted the towne and by fine force entered into the same and set it a fiet and slewe all that would make any resistence,and for lacke of a capitayn,the men of warre laden with prayes and prisoners returned againe into Englande.

THIS Edmond erle of Kent was in suche fauout with kyng Henry that he not alonely aduaunced and promoted him to highe offices and great preheminences,but also by his meane and no small coste obteigned for him the eldest doughter and one of the heires of the Lord Bar-
x nabo of Millaine brother to Lord Galeace whose sõne also called Galiace murderyng his vncle Barnabo made himselfe first duke of Millaine,for which mariage Lord Barnabo paied to him an hundred M. Duccattes at the churche of saint Marie Dueryes in Southwarke at the day of the solempnite, by doen Alphõs de Caniola. This Lucie after the death of her husband by whom she had no issue, was moued by the kyng to mary with his bastard brother the Earle of Dorcet a man very aged and il visaged,whose person nether satisfied her fantasy nor whose face pleased her appetite,wherfore she preferryng her own mind more then the kynges desire, delityng in hym the whiche shoulde more
xx satisfie her wanton pleasure then gayne her any profite, for very loue toke to husband Henry Mortimer a goodly youg Esquyer and a bewtifull Bacheler. For which cause the kyng was not onely with her displeased but also for mariyng withoute his licence he seassed and tined her at a great some of money, whiche fine kyng Henry the.v,bothe released and pardoned and also made him knight and promited hym to great offices both in England and Normandye, whiche sir Henry had issue by this Lady,Anne maried to sir Jhon Awbemond mother to Elizabeth Chandos mother to Phillis maried to sir Daute Halle captayne of Caen,she had also issue Mary maried to Jhon Cheddur and
xxx Luce espoused to sir Jhon Cressy. This yere by reason of Frost,shepe and birdes died without nomber,whiche continued fiftene weekes,

The.x.yere.

ABoute this time Jhon duke of Burgoine a man of a quicke witte,desirous of rule,& of an haute courage,being of great auctorite amongest the Frenche nacion to whome ctuill discorde was more pleasure then fraternall amitie and mutuall concorde,began sore to grudge and maligne against Lewes Duke of Orleance brother to the French kyng,because that he was chefe of the kynges councell and ordered al thinges by his discrecion, because the
xl king his brother was(as you haue heard)fallen into a frensy and therfore medled in nothyng. The duke of Orleance on the other side beyng highly set vp in pride, began to disdain and froune at the duke of Burgoin,because he perceiued that he aspired & gaped to haue the supreme regimente in the publike affaires and weighty causes, thus the one would haue no superior, and the other would haue no pere. This cancard disdain in shorte space grewe to suche a hate,that all the realme of

The.x.yere.

Fraunce was deuyded into two factiõs, thone parte fauozyng the duke of Dzleance, and the other enclinyng to the duke of Burgoyne, whiche deuysion had almoste bzought the realme of Fraunce to vttet ruyne and perpetuall confusion. The Frenche kyng beyng somwhat amended of his disease, heryng of this controuersie betwene these two pzinces, sent foz theim bothe to Paris, where he repzoued their pzide, rebuked their malice, and taunted their vngodly dooynges, in so muche that all the nobilitie beyng pzesent, iudged the displeasure to haue been bothe foz-gotten and fozgeuen. But high cozages are not so sone abated, noz ro-ted malice is not in hast plucked vp, foz the duke of Burgoyne still cõ- p
passyng the destruccion of the duke of Dzleance, appoynted a secrete frende called Raufe of Actouile to bzyng his purpose to passe. This Raufe fozgettyng not his enterpzise, assembled together a compaignie of suche persons as he moste trusted, & as a Wolffe gredy of his pzay, when the duke of Dzleance was comnyng from the court in the nyght season, he fiersly set vpon hym and shamefully slewe hym. When this murder was published, the king lamẽted, the nobles grudged, and the comon people cried to God foz vengeance. The duke of Burgoyne iu-stified this act by the mouth of Master Jhon Petit doctoz in deuinite, whiche wzested scripture and doctozs so fat out of course, that his iusti- pp
fication within fewe yeres after was adiudged heresy by the whole v-niuersite of Paris. The French kyng, lest that greater mischief should ensue, was compelled to hide and cloke his inward affeccion and dolo-rous herte and to dissimule the matter, doubtyng lest the duke of Bur-goyne whose herte and haute cozage he had well knowen befoze, (if he should pzoceade agaynst hym foz this euill acte) would ioyne and take part with the Englishe nacion agaynst the realme of Fraunce. Where-foze after long consultacion had by the entreatie of the kyng and other Pzinces of the bloud royall, Charles duke of Dzleance sonne to duke Lewes lately murdzed, and Jhon duke of Burgoyne were reconsiled ppp
and bzought to a fained concozd and a fainte agremente, eche of theim takyng a cozpozall othe vpon the holy Euangelistes, neuer after to di-sagre oz renewe any displeasure foz any thyng befoze passed. But what pzeuaileth an othe where hertes still burne & malice continually smo-keth, who careth foz periury whẽ apetite of reuẽgyng daily encreaseth.

IN this case was the duke of Dzleance whiche perceiuyng the kyng his vncle to beare with the duke of Burgoyne, and to let the detestable murder of his father so lightly passe without pain oz punishment, alied and confederated hymself with the dukes of Berry and Burbon, & the erles of Alaunson and Arminacke, whiche reised a greate puissance of q
people, and defied the duke of Burgoyn and his cõplices as their moz-tall foo and dedly enemy. The duke of Burgoine feryng the sequel of the matter (because ther was a mociõ of mariage to be had betwene the pzince of Wales and his doughter) was somwhat the bolder to send to the kyng of England foz aide and succozs against his enemies. Kyng Henry no lesse fozseyng then that whiche after ensued, whiche was that

the

the discord of these two great prynces might turne his realme to profit and honor, sent to the duke of Burgoine, Thomas erle of Arundell, sir Gilbert Umfreuile lorde of Kyne, sir Robert Umfreuile, and sir Jhon Grey with.xii.C.archers, whiche toke shippyng at Douer and landed at Sluce. When thenglishmen wer arriued in Flaunders, the duke of Burgoyn with thenglishmen and all his power, rode daie and night til he came nere to Paris, and ther the next daie after with hard fightyng and corragious shotyng, the Englishmen gat the bridge of saint Clow, whiche passed ouer the riuer of Saine, and toke and slewe all the soul-
x diers whiche the duke of Orleance had left there in garrison to defend the bridge. Emongest whom sir Hanlard de Boys a valiant capitain was taken prisoner by the Englishemen & highly raunsomed. But the duke of Orleãce and his compainy whiche wer like to haue been com-passed with their enemyes, so that almost al their wayes of refuge were stopped and enclosed, in the nyght tyme made a bridge ouer the riuer on the part of saint Denys strete, & so escaped & fled into the highe coũ-tries. And after this conflicte the duke of Burgoyn beyng now in hys ruffe thinkyng no man ether in aucthorite or bloud equiuolente to hys person, and blinded with a kall of vainglory before his yes, toke vpõ
xi him the hole rule and gouernance of the realme and ordered the kyng as pleased him, and not to the kynges wil, and thinkyng that in so tro-belous a season he had vnknit the knot of all ambiguities & doubtes perceiuyng all thynges to haue better succeded for his purpose then he before imagined, dimissed Thenglishemen into their countrey geuyng to them hartty thankes and great rewardes. Which doyng king Henry much disalowed, consideryng that he had sent away his defence before the great brunt of the war wer ouerpassed, & shuld haue taken hede be-fore what policie his enemyes had practised or what puissance they had assembled. For he well remẽbred that one faire day assureth not a good
xii Sommer, nor one flyng Swalow pronosticateth not a good yere.

¶ The eleue th yere.

KYng Henry now beyng quiet & not molested with ciuil discẽ- The.xi.yere.
cion nor domesticall faccions, called his high court of parlia-mente, in the whiche after he had concluded diuerse Actes mete and expedient for the publike welth of hys realme and people, he exalted and promoted his thre yonger sonnes to hie honors, as lorde Thomas to ỹ Duchie of Clarence, lord Jhon to the duchie of Bedford and lorde Humfrey to the duchie of Glocester, and lorde Thomas hys halfe brother erle of Dorcet he made duke of Excester. Howbeit some
xi writers saye he was erected to that estate and dignitie by kyng Henry the.v. in the first yere of his reigne, whiche thyng is nether materiall nor disputable consideryng he had none issue.

¶ The twelfth yere.

WHile these thynges wer thus doyng in England, Jhõ duke of The.xii.yere.
Burgoyn which ruled the rost and gouerned both kyng Char-les the Frenche kyng and his whole realme, so muche stomaked

and enuied the duke of Orliãce & his fautors that he caused the Frẽch kyng in person to arme himself against them and their adherentes, as trautors to hym and aparant enemies to the comon welth, & sent diuerse capitaines to inuade their landes and territories in the countrees of Poytiers and Angulesme, & other seigniories aperteignyng and belongyng to the homage and obeisance of the duchie of Aquitain & Guien. Wherfore the dukes of Orleance, Berrie, and Burbon with their frẽdes and alies, seyng that now their onely hope consisted in the kyng of England, sent to hym Alberte Aubemound a man of no lesse lernyng then audacite, & yet of no lesse audacitie, then wit and policie whiche in the name of the confederates offred certain cõdicions as you shall here after accordyng to myne author truly reported, whiche wer made & cõcluded in the yere of our Lorde. M.CCCC.xii. the. viii. daie of Maie.

FIRST, the said lordes offred that frõ thẽce furth thei should expose and set furth their owne persons, finances and landes to serue the kyng of England his heires and successors, when soeuer thei wer required or called in all iust quarelles: whiche iust quarelles the kyng of Englãde shall take to aperteigne to the duchie of Guyen with the appurtenances, affirmyng how the said duchie perteigneth and ought to apertain to hym of righte by lineall heritage and lawfull succession, manifestyng from thence furthe, that they should not blemishe nor spotte their truthe nor fidelite to assist and aide hym in recoueryng the same duchy.

ALSO the saied Lordes offered their sonnes, doughters, nephewes and neces, parentes and all their subiectes, to contract mariage accordyng to the discrecion of the kyng of Englande.

ALSO thei offred tounes, castles, tresures, & generally al their goodes to ayde the kyng his heires and successors for the defence of their rightes and quarels, so that the bonde of their allegiance might be saued, the which in another secrete apointment they before had declared.

ALSO thei offred to the kyng of Englãd generally al their frẽdes adherentes alies and well willers to serue him in his quarel for the recouery of the hole Duchie of Guien.

ALSO to cease al fraude, the sayd lordes recognised that they were ready, to affirme the sated Duchie of Guien to belong to the kyng of England in like and semblable wise in liberty and franchises, as euer any of the said kynges predecessors held or possessed the same.

ALSO the said lordes knowledged that al the townes, castels, and fortresses that they had within the Duchie of Guien, to holde them of the kyng of England as the very trewe duke of Guien, promisyng all seruice and homages after the best maner that in suche case myght be,

ALSO they promysed to deliuer to the kyng as much as laie in thẽ all townes and castelles apperteinyng to the roialtie and seignorie of England, whiche are in nomber. xx. what townes and castels, and as to the regarde of other townes and fortresses whiche were not in their puissaunce and seignory, they would helpe the kyng of England his heires and deputies to winne them with men in sufficiente number at

their

their propre charges and expences.

ALSO the kyng of Englande was agreed that the duke of Berry his trewe Uncle and * vassalle and the duke of Orleaunce his subiecte and vassalle and the Earle of Armynacke shoulde holde of hym by homage and fealtie the landes and seignioryes hereafter folowyng, that is to say the Duke of Berry to holde the Countie of Pontiew duryng his lyfe, and the duke of Orleaunce to hold the Countie of Augulesme duryng his lyfe onely, and the Countie of Perrigot for euer, and the Erle of Armynacke to holde. iiii. castels vpon certayn sureties and condicions as by indenture should be appointed.

* Vassal, is one that holdeth landes or preheminences by fealtie or homage.

FOR the whiche offers couenauntes and agrementes they affirmed that the kyng of England as Duke of Guien, ought to defend and succour them against all men as their very Lorde and soueregne, and not to conclude any treatie of leage with the Duke of Bourgoyne, his brethren, children, frendes or alies.

FVRTHERMORE, the kyng of England ought to aide the said Lordes as his trewe vassals in all their iuste quarels for recouerynge of damages for iniuries to them wrongfully done.

ALSO they required the kyng of England to send them. viii. thousand men to aide them against the Duke of Bourgoyne, whiche daily prouoked the Frenche kyng to make open warre on them, their landes and seignioryes, promisyng farther to disbourse and paye all the costes and charges whiche the said armie of Englishemen should expend duryng their warre, whiche letter was written the. viii. day of May.

KYNG Henry louingly receiued and gently entertayned this messenger Alberte. and when he had well debated and consydered the case, he fyrste detestyng the abhominable murder of the late Duke of Orleaunce and seyng no Justice ministred nor no Punishement done for so shamefull an acte, hauyng also approued experience that the Duke of Bourgoyne would kepe no longer promyse then he hym self lysted. And secondarily consideryng what large offers these Princes had made to hym bothe greatly to his honour and to the hygh profyt and commoditie of his realme and subiectes, though that he was bounde by the office of a kyng to ayde and succoure theym whiche cried for Justice and could haue none, and in especiall because they in that point beyng hys subiectes and vassalles ought to be defended in maintenaunce of hys superiorite and seignioryie: Wherfore he louyngly promised them ayde and relefe. This returne of the messenger was to them as pleasaunt as is the deliueraunce of a captiue from his sore imprisonment, or of a marchaunt passyng by the way beset about by Theues, beyng reskewed by his frendes or companions. And not without cause, for the French kyng not of his owne courage animated, but maliciously encensed by the duke of Bourgoyn, persecuted the faction of the Orleaunces from citie to citie from towne to towne, with suche power and extremitie that they were bothe of force and necessitie compelled to repaire to the Citie of Bourges in Berry, and there to appoynte theym selfes either to render or

defend

defend. Ye must vnderstand that pryces somtyme haue * Argus yes and ‡ Mydas eares. For this feate was not so secretly wrought in England but it was apparauntly espied in Fraunce, wherefore the Frenche kynges counsail sent the Erle of saint Paule the olde cankered enemy to the Englishmen into the parties of Picardy with fiften hundred horsemen and a great nombet of fotemen, he ordeined certain of his men to geue assaulte to the toune of Guisnes while he stode in a stale to lie in waite for the relefe that might come from Caleis. The furious Frenchmen brake a fewe old pales about poore mens gardens of Guisnes, but the men of warre of the Castell shotte so fiercely at them with arrowes and caste out wyldefier in suche abundaunce that the assailantes were fayne to retire. And so the Erle of sainct Paule which neuer wonne gain but lost honour at the Englishe mens handes, returned not onely wyth losse of his people but defrauded of his desyred pray, returned to the toune of saint Quintins.

* Argus, the son of Arestor the.v. kyng of the Argiues, ỹ poetes fain hym to haue had an hundred yes, signifying ther by hys wysedome and circumspeccion.

‡ Mydas, the Poetes faine to haue longe eares, signifying therby, ỹ kynges heare farre of.

¶ The.xiii.yere.

The,xiii.yere

The Frenche kyng in the meane season by the enticement of the duke of Burgoine laid sege to the cite of Bourges in Berry where the duke of Orleance and his confederates had included and fortified themselfes. When the kyng of Englande was thereof aduertysed, he with all diligence sent forthe his sonne Thomas duke of Clarence, and Edward duke of Yorke with. viii. C. horsemen and nine thousand Archers whiche toke land in the bay of Hogges in Normandy by sainct Waste in the territory of Constantine. Thenglishemen swarmed lyke Bees rounde aboute the Countrey, robbyng Marchauntes, spoilyng husbandmen and brennyng tounes, and were ioyously receiued of the Erles of Alaunson and Richemond fautors of the Orlienctall part. The counsaill of Fraunce not willyng that the Englishemen should ioyne or concurre with the Dukes of Orleaunce and Berry or their complices, caused a common fame (although it were not trewe) to be diuulged abrode that there was a finall peace and a perfit amitte concluded betwene the Frenche kyng and his lordes whiche lately were to hym aduersaries. When this fable was notified to the Englyshemen whiche were by hasty iourneis passed the ryuer of Leire, they spoyled the toune and Monastery of Beaulieu, and wasted with fyre and swerde the countreis of Touraine and Maine. Against whome the duke of Burgoyne sent the lorde of Rambures with a great armie, whyche in short time was before vanquished. The Dolphyn of Fraunce fearyng the doynges of the Englyshemen concluded a fayned peace betwene the dukes of Orleaunce and Burgoyne and their adherentes, so that the duke of Orleaunce should without delay dispatche out of the dominions of Fraunce all the Englishe armie. The duke was not ryche to paie, and the Englishemen were gredy to haue, in so muche that they marchyng toward Guien in good order what by sackyng of tounes and what with raunsomyng of ryche persones, gat greate treasure and many good prayes. Beside this to the aide of the duke of Orleaunce kyng

Henry

Henry sent to Calcis therles of Kent and Warwicke with. ij. thousande fightyng men whiche spoiled and defaced the countie of Bullenois, and brent the towne of Samer de Boys and toke with assaulte the fortresse of Russalte with diuers other. The duke of Orleaunce which was daily called on to dispatche the Englishemen out of Fraunce, came to the duke of Clarence and his army rendryng to them a. M. grameries and disbursed to them as muche money as either he or his frendes myght easely spare: And for two hundred and. ix. M. Frankes whiche remayned vnpaide he deliuered in gage his second brother Jhon erle of Angulesme wiche was Grandfather to Fraunces afterward French kyng and sir Marcell of Bourge, sir Jhon of Samoures, sir Archebault of Uilliers and diuers other, whiche earle long continued in Englande as you shall perceiue hereafter. When this agrement was taken, the dukes of Clarence and Yorke with greate pray (ryche prisoners, and welthy hostages) came to Burdeaux makyng warre on the frontiers of Fraũce, to their greate gayne and profitable lucre. So by the onely commyng of the Englyshemen into Fraunce the duke of Orleaunce was restored not onely to peace and quietnes with al persones saue the duke of Bourgoyne: But also fell in suche fauour with the kyng and the realme, that he was of all men welbeloued, muche honoured and highly esteemed, and so continued tyll wauering Fortune turned her variable whele. For after this he beyng enemy to the Englyshe nation was vanquished and taken prysoner and so remayned in England aboue. xxiiii. yeres, tyll the flower of his age was passed or sore blemyshed.

¶ The. xiiii. yere.

The xiiii yere

After these greate and fortunate chaunces happened to kyng Henry, he perfightly remembryng that there could be no more prayse geuen to a Prince then to execute his office in administryng Justice whiche aboue all thyng is the very necessary minister to all people, entendyng to lyue in quietnes, beyng now deliuered of al Ciuill deuision and intestine discencion, with the whiche almoste all Christendom was infected and disturbed, not onely to the gret decay of Christes religion and Christian creatures but to the greate exaltacion of Painym princes, by the dilating of the pestiferous sect of the false counterfait prophet vaingloryous Mahumet: called a great counsaill of the thre estates of his realme, in the whiche he deliberately consulted and concluded aswell for the politique gouernaunce of his realme as also for the warre to be made against the Infidels, and especially for the recouery of the holy Citie of Jerusalem, in whiche Christian warres he entended to ende his transitory life, and for that cause he prepared a great army, and gathered muche treasure, entendyng to set forward in thesame spryng tyme. But se the chaunce, whatsoeuer man intendeth God sodainly reuerseth, what princes will, God wil not, what we thynke stable, God sodaynly maketh mutable, to the entent that Salomons saiyng might be found trewe, whiche wrote that the wysdome of men is but folishnes before God. When this Prince was thus furnyshed with

treasure

treasure sufficient, with valiaunt capitaines and hardy souldiers, with tall shippes furnished with vitayles munitions and all thynges necessary for suche a iourney royall, he was taken with a sore sodayn disease and laied in his bed: whiche diseases was not Lepry stryken by the handes of God as folysh Friers before declared, for then he neither would for shame, nor for debilitie was able to enterprise so great a iourney as into Jewrie in his own person, but he was taken with a sore * Apoplexie of the whiche he languished tyll his appointed howre, and had none other grefe nor malady. During which sekenes as Auctors write he caused his crowne to be set on the pillowe at his beddes heade and sodainly x his pange so sore troubled hym that he lay as though all his vital spirites had bene from hym departed: suche chamberleins as had the cure charge of his body thinkyng hym to be departed and deade couered his face with a lynnen cloth. The prince his sonne being therof aduertised, entered into the chamber and toke away the crowne and departed: the father beyng sodaynly reuiued out of his traunce quickly perceyued the lacke of his crowne, and haupng knowledge that the prince his sonne had possessed it, caused hym to repaire to his presence, requiryng of hym for what cause he had so misused hymselfe. The prince with a good audacitie aunswered, sir to myne and all mennes iudgementes you semed xx deade in this worlde, wherefore I as your next and aparant heyre toke that as mine owne and not as yours: well fayre son saied the kyng (with a great sigh) what right I had to it and how I enioyed it God knoweth, well ye the prince if you die kyng I will haue the garland and trust too kepe it with the swerde against all mine enemies as you haue done: well said the kyng I comit al to God & remēber you to do well, and with that turned hymself in his bed & shortly after departed to God, in a chamber of the Abbottes of Westminster called Jerusalē the. xx. day of Marche in the yere of our lorde. M. iiii. C. xiii. and in the yere of his age. xl vi. whē he had reigned. xiii. yeres. v. monethes & odde daies in muche perplexitie xxx and littell pleasure, whose body with all funeral pompe was conueighed to Canterbury, and there solemply buried, leuyng behind hym by the lady Mary daughter to lord Humfrey erle of Herford & Northampton, Henry prince of Wales, Thomas duke of Clarence, Jhon duke of Bedford, Humfrey duke of Glocester, Blanche duches of Bauier, & Philip Quene of Denmarke, for by his last wyfe Quene Jane he had no children. This kyng was of a meane stature wel proporcioned and formally compact, quicke and deliuer & of a stout courage. After that he had apeased all ciuile discensions he shewed hym self so gently to all men that he gat hym more loue of the nobles in the latter daies then he had malice & yll will of them in the begynnyng. When tidynges of his death was related to the duke of Clarence beyng in Aquitayn, he with all diligent celeritie toke ship with therle of Angulesme, and other his hostages & returned into Englande to the great comfort of his brethren.

* Apoplexye is a sekenesse engendered of grose humors whiche fil the vessels of the heade from whence the feling of the body commeth. And therfore they whiche haue this disease are depriued of felyng, speache & mouyng.

The ende of the vnquiet tyme of kyng Henry the fourth.

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FINIS.

of Kyng Henry the fifth



HENRY Prince of wales, sonne and heire to kyng Hēry the.iiij. borne at Monmouth on the Riuer of Wye, after the obsequies of his noble parēt solēply celebrate and sūpteously finished, toke vpon him the high power & regiment of this realme of Englande the.xx.daye of Marche in the yere after that Christ our sauior had entered into the immaculate wōbe of the holy Virgin hys naturall mother a thousande foure hundred and.xii.and was crouned the.ix.daye of Aprill then next ensuyng, and proclaimed kyng by the name of kyng Henry the fifth. Before whiche royall possession so by hym obteyned, diuerse noble men and honorable personages did to hym homage, liege and swore dewe obeisance (whiche thyng had not been before experimēted) as to hym in whom they conceiued a good expectacion bothe of his verteous begynnynges and also of hys fortunat successe in all thynges whiche should be attempted or begonne duryng the tyme of his prosperous reigne and fortunate Empire.

THIS kyng, this man was he, whiche (accordyng to the olde Prouerbe) declared and shewed that honors ought to change maners, for incontinent after that he was stalled in the siege royall, and had receyued the croune and scepter of the famous and fortunate region, determined with hymselfe to put on the shape of a new man, and to vse another sorte of liuyng, turnyng insolencie and wyldnes into grauitie and sobernes, and wauerynge vice into constant vertue. And to thentent that he would so continue without goyng backe, & not therunto bee alluted by his familiar compaignions, with whom he had passed his young age and wanton pastime & riotous misorder (in so muche that for imprisonmente of one of his wanton mates and vnthriftie plaifaiers he strake the chiefe Justice with his fiste on the face. For whiche offence he was not onely committed to streyght prison, but also of his father put out of the preuy counsaill and banished the courte, and his brother Thomas duke of Clarence elected president of the kynges counsayll to hys great displeasure and open reproche) he therfore banished and seperated from hym all his old flatterers and familiar compaignions, (not vntewarded nor yet vnpreferred) inhibityng them vpon a greate payn not once to approche ether to his speche or presence, nor yet to lodge or soiourne within ten miles of hys courte or mansion. And in their places he elected and chose men of grauitiee, men of witte, and men of high policy, by

whose wise counsayll and prudente instruccion he mighte at all tymes rule to his honor and gouerne to his profite. This prince was almost the Arabicall Phenix, and emongest his predecessors a very Paragon: For that he emongest all gouernors, chiefly did remembre that a kyng ought to bee a ruler with wit, grauitie, circumspeccion, diligence and constancie, and for that cause to haue a rule to hym comitted, not for an honor, but for an onorarius charge and daily burden, and not to looke so muche on other mennes liuynges, as to consider and remembre his owne doynges and propre actes. For whiche cause, he not to muche trusting to the readinesse of his owne witte, nor to the iudgementes of his owne wauering will, called to his counsayll suche prudent and politique personages, the whiche should not onely help to ease his charge & payn in supporting the burden of his realme and Empire, but also incense and instruct hym with suche good reasons and fruitefull persuasions, that he might shewe hymselfe a synguler mirror and manifest example of morall vertues and good qualities to his comen people and louing subiectes. For it is daily seen, that a vicious prince doth muche more hurte with his pernicious exãple to other, then to hymself by his owne peculier offence. For it is not so muche euill as Cicero sayeth (although it bee euill in it self) a prince to do euill, as he by his euyll doynges to corrupt other, because it is daily seen, that as princes change, the people altereth, and as kynges go, the subiectes folowe. For certainly he that is preferred to high authoritee, is therefore muche exalted and had in honor, that he should rule, ouersee and correct the maners and condicions of the people, and vigilantly to foresee and dayly study how to assure to hymself laude and glory, and to other profite and comodite, and not to delight in worldly pleasures whiche are commen emongest the lowest sorte of the vile and rusticall people. And he that wyll do nothyng nor can do nothyng is more worthy to be called a seruant then a ruler, & a subiect rather then a gouernor. For what can be more shame or reproche to a prince, then he whiche ought to gouerne and rule other, shall by cowardnes, slouth and ignorance as a pupille not of .viii. or .x. yeres of age, but beyng of .xx. or .xxx. yeres and more, shalbe compelled to obey and folowe the willes of other, and be ruled and beare no rule, like a ward and not lyke a gardein, like a seruant and not like a Master. Suche a gouernor was kyng Richarde the seconde, whiche of hymself beeyng not of the moste euyll disposicion, was not of so symple a mynde, nor of suche debilitie of witte, nor yet of so litle herte and corage, but he might haue demaunded and learned good and profitable counsayll, and after adupse taken, kept retayned and folowed the same: But howsoeuer it was, vnprofitable counsaylers wer his confusion and finall perdicion. Suche another ruler was kyng Edwarde the seconde, whiche two before named kynges fell from the high glory of fortunes whele two extreme misery and miserable calamitee. By whose infortunate chance (as I thynke this kyng Henry beyng admonyshed, expulsed

sed from hym his old plate felowes, his preuye Sycophantes and vngracious gard as authors and procurers of al mischiefes and riot, and assigned into their places men of grauitee, persones of actiuitee, and counsayllers of greate witte and pollicie.

AFTER that he had laied this prudent and pollctique foundacio, he entendyng in his mynd to do many noble and notable actes, and remembryng that all goodnes cometh of God, and that all worldly thynges and humayn Actes bee more weaker and poorer then the celestiall powers & heuenly rewardes, determined to begyn with some thyng pleasaunt and acceptable to God. Wherefore he fyrst commaunded the Clergie sincerley and truly to preache the worde of God and to lyue after thesame, so that they to the temporaltye might be the Lanternes of light and mirrors of vertue. The laye men he willed to serue God and obey their prince, prohibityng to them aboue all thynges breche of matrimony vse of swerying & wilfull periury, exhortyng bothe to loue together as man with wyfe or brother with brother. Besyde this he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the realme to the offices of iustice, and men of good liuyng he preferred to high degrees and aucthorite.

THE madnes of the Welshemen and Scottes (whose often incursions and robberyes he wel had in his fathers daies experimented and assated) he studied to assuage and represse, to the intent that he beeyng quiet in his owne regions, might ether make outward warre without doubte or dangier, or els for the commen wealth of his realme to study how to encreace the glory of his seignory, & so both kepe & conserue it.

VVHEN all thinges were thus settled and framed to his purpose, he caused the body of kyng Richard the second to be remoued with all funerall pompes conueniente for his estate, from Langeley to Westminster, where he was honorably enterred with Quene Anne his firste wife in a solempne toumbe erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this noble prince kyng Henry.

ALTHOVGH this prudente prince & this pollitique gouernor had set and established all thinges beyng in difference and variaunce within his owne peculier realmes, countrees and territories and confines of thesame: yet he nothyng lesse forgetting nor no one thyng more myndyng or desiryng, then the ceassyng of the long scisme and deuision sprong & continued in the catholyke church of Christian religion by the moste ambicious desire and auaricious appetite of certayn persones callyng themselfes spirituall fathers, but in deede carnall coueteours and gredy glottons aspiryng for honor and not for vertue to the proud see of Rome, desiryng more to pylle then to profite Christes flocke or Christian religion, hauyng knowledge that a generall counsayll was somoned to bee celebrate and kept at the faire citee of Constance vpon the riuer of Reyne, thought that it was not his honor nor yet his duetie, beyng thereof warned by the Emperor Sigismond to bee as a hearer and no partaker in so high a cause, and in especiall in so high an assem-

ble. Wherefore he sent thether Richard erle of Warwike and thre bi-
shoppes with other famous prelates and doctors, besides knightes and
esquires to the numbre of eight hundred horses. They wer men so well
apparcled and their horses so richely trapped, and all the compaignie
so well furnished, that the Almaines wondred, the Italians gased, and
all other nacions were astonned to se suche an honorable compaignie
come from a countree so farre distant. At this Sinody were assembled
(as one author writeth) CCC.xlvi. bishoppes, Abbotes and doctors
v.C.lxiii. noble men, knightes and esquires. xvi.M. beside seruauntes
whiche (not accomptyng the townes men) wer numbred. lxv.M. perso-
nes. These Ambassadours were highly receiued of the Emperor Sy- E
gismond and of the Romishe bishop called Jhon the. xxiii. whiche in 24 Bee
thesame counsayll for greate and abhominable crimes and detestable hunc. 29
offences by hym perpetrated and comitted (of the whiche he could not
pourge hymselt nor make any defence) was by thesame Sinody accor-
dyng to his demerites put doune, and of his estate depriued. Gregory
the. xii. was one of the Scismatical numbre, fearyng shame more then
regardyng his worldly affeccion did putte doune hymselt of his owne
propre mocion from his foolishe vsurped name and Popishe dignitee.
But Benedict the. xiii. still and stifly affirmyng hym selt to be the very
Viker of God, so muche desired honor, and so muche was wrapped in xx
his owne folishe and fantasticall opinion, that no frend could perswade
hym, nor argumēt entice hym, nor no reason refrayn hym from thesame,
and so accordyng to his desert by open iudgement, agaynst his wil, lost
bothe name and honestie. And thre yeres after Otho Columbe a noble
Romaine borne was elected to the bishopricke of Rome and named
Martyne the fift.

IN this coūsaill Jhon Wicliffe borne in England, and Jhon Husse
and Jherom of Prage wer condēpned to death. During this firste yere,
sir Jhon Old Castle, whiche by his wyfe was called lorde Cobham, a
valiaunt capitain and an hardy gentelman, was accused to the Archbi- xxx
shop of Caunturbury of certayn poynctes of heresy. Whiche bishoppe
knowyng hym to be highly in the kynges fauor, declared to his high-
nes the whole accusacion. The kyng first hauing compassion of the no-
ble man, required the prelates that if he were a strayed shepe, rather by
gentelnes then by rigoure to reduce hym to his olde flocke. After that
he sendyng for hym, godly exhorted and louyngly admonished hym to
reconcile hymselt to God and his lawes. The lorde Cobham not onely
thanked the kyng of his moste fauorable clemencye, but also declared
firste to hym by mouthe and afterwarde by writyng the foundacion of
his faith, the ground of his belefe and the botome of his stomacke, af- xl
firmyng his grace to be his supreme hed and competent iudge & none
other persone, offeryng an hundred knyghtes and esquyres to come to
his purgaciō, or els to fight in open listes with his accusors. The kyng
not onely knowyng the lawes of the realme, but also perswaded by his

counsaill

counsayll,that hereticall accusations ought to be tried by the spirituall
pzelates,sente hym to the tower of London there to abide the determi=
nacion of the clergie accozdyng to the statutes in and foz that cace pzo=
uyded. After whiche tyme the.xxiii.daye of Septembze, a solempne ses=
sion was appoyncted in the Cathedzall churche of saincte Paule,and a=
nother the.xxv.daye of the said moneth in the hal of the Frierꝭ pzechers
in London,in whiche places thesayed lozde was examined,apposed and
fully heard,& in conclusion by the Archbyschop denounced an hereticke
and so remitted agayn to the toure of London: Frō whiche place,either
x by help of frendes oz coztupcion of kepers, he pzeuely escaped and cam
into Wales,where he remayned by the space of thze yeres and moze.

AFTER this tyme in a certayn vnlawfull assemble was taken sir
Robert Acton knight,a man of greate wit & possessions, Jhon Bzoune
Esquire, Jhon Beuerley clerke and a greate numbze of other whiche
were bzought to the kynges pzesence, and to hym declared the cause of
their commocion and risyng: and accused a greate numbze of their sozt
and societie(whiche confessiō because I haue not seen, I leaue at large.)
After this folishe acte, so many persones were appzehended that all the
pzisons in and about London wer replenysshed with people. The chief
xx of them whiche wer.xxix.wer condempned by the clergie of heresy, and
attaynted of high treason as mouers of warre agaynste their kynge by
the tempozall lawe in the Guyld hall the.xii.daye of December,and ad=
iudged foz treason to be dzawen and hanged,and foz heresy to be consu=
med with fyze galowes and all: Whiche iudgemente was executed in
Januer folowyng on thesayed Robert Acton and the.xxviii.other.

SOME saye that the occasion of their death was the conueighance
of the Lozde Cobham out of pzisone. Other wzite that it was bothe foz
treason and heresy as the recozd declareth. Certayn affirme that it was
foz feyned causes surmysed by the spiritualtie moze of displeasour then
xxx truth:the iudgement wherof I leaue to men indifferent. Foz surely all
coniectures be not true, noz all wzitynges are not the Gospel,and there=
foze because I was nether a witnes of the facte,noz present at the deedꝭ
I ouerpasse that matter and begyn another.

The seconde yere.

KYng Henry cōtinually studyng foz the honoz of hym selfe
xl and aduancement of hys people,called his high courte of
parliament the last daye of Apzil in the toune of Leicester
In the whiche parliamente many pzofitable lawes were
concluded: and many petitions moued wer foz that tyme
deferred. Emongest whiche requestes, one was, that a bill exhibited in
the parliamente holden at Westminster in the.xi.yere of kyng Henry
the fourth (whiche by reason that the kyng was then vexed and trou-
bled with ciuyll deuision & domesticall dissention, came to none effect)
might now bee well studied, pondered, regarded and bzought to some

a.iij. good

good conclusion. The effect of whiche supplicacion was, that the temporall landes deuoutely geué, and disordinatly spent by religious and other spirituall persones, might suffise to mayntayn to the honor of the kyng and defence of the realme, xv. erles, xv. C. knightes. vi. M. ii. C. esquires, and. C. almose houses for relief onely of the poore impotente and nedy persones, and the kyng to haue clerely to his cofers twentie thousande pounds, with many other prouisions and valewes of religious houses whiche I ouerpasse.

THIS before remembred bill was muche noted and feared emõgest the religious sort whom in effect it muche touched, in so muche that the fat Abbotes swet, the proude Priors frouned, the poore Friers cursted the sely Nonnes wept, and al together wer nothyng pleased nor yet cõtent. Now to finde a remedy for a mischief and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergy mynding rather to bowe then breake, a greed to offre to the kyng a greate some of money to staye this newe moued demaund. The cause of this offre semed to some of the wise prelates nether decente nor conuenient; for they well forsawe and perfightly knewe that yf the commõs perceiued that they by reward or offre of money would resist their request & petició, that thei stirred & moued with a fury would not onely cayle and despise theim as corruptours of Princes and enemyes of the publique wealthe, but would so crye and call on the kyng and his temporall lordes that they were lyke to lese bothe worke and oyle, cost and liuyng: Wherfore they determined to cast all chaunces whiche might serue their purpose, & in especiall to replenishe the kynges brayne with some pleasante study that he should nether phantasy nor regard the serious petition of the importunate commons.

VVHERFORE on a daie whẽ the king was present in the parliament, Henry Chicheley Archebishop of Caũturbury therto newly preferred, whiche beforetime had been a Monke of the Carthusians, a man whiche had professed wilfull pouertie in religion, and yet commyng abrode muche desired honor, & a man muche regardyng Godes law, but more louyng his owne lucre. After lowe obeysaunce made to the kyng he sayd after this maner in effect. Whẽ I consider our most entierly beloued and no lesse drad souereygne lorde & naturall Prince, the louyng mynd, the daily labor and continuall study whiche you incessantly imploye bothe for thaduancemẽt of the honor of your realme and also profite of your people: I cannot nor ought not, except I would bee noted not onely ingrate to your royall person beyng my patrone & preferrer, but also a neglecter of my dutye, a secrete mummer of suche thynges whiche touche both the inheritance of your croune & the honor of your realme ether holde my peace or kepe silence. For all authors agree that the glory of kynges consisteth not onely in high bloud and haute progeny, not in habundant riches and superfluous substaunce, nor in plesant pastyme & ioyous solace: But the very tipe of the magnificence of a prince resteth in populous riche regiõs, wealthy subiectes & beautiful

The oracion of Hẽry Chicheley Archebishoppe of Cauntorbery

ctees and toumes of the whiche thanked be God, although you be conueniently furnished both within your realmes of England & Ireland and principalite of Wales, yet by lineal discent, by progeny of blud and by very inheritance, not onely the duchy of Normandy and Aquitaine with the counties of Anjowe and Mayne and the contret of Galcoyn are to you as true and vndubitate heir of thesame laufully deuoluted and lineally discended from the high and most noble prince of famous memory kyng Edward the third your great grandfather, but also the whole realme of Fraunce with all his prerogatiues and preheminences, to you as heire to your great grandfather is of right belongyng
x and appertenyng. In whiche realme, to reherse what noble persons, what beautifull cities, what fertile regions, what substancial marchantes, and what plentifull riuers are conteigned and included, I assure you that tyme should rather fayle then matter shoulde wax skant. The fraudulent Frenchmen to defraude and take away your tyght and title to the realme of Fraunce, in the tyme of your noble progenitor kyng Edward the thirde, alledged a lawe, vntruly fayned, falcely glosed and Sophistically expounded, wherof the very wordes are these, In terram salicam mulieres ne succedant, which is to say, let not womē succede in the
xi land *Salicque. This land Salicque the deceitful glosers name to be the realme of Fraunce. This lawe the Logicall interpretouts assigne to directe the croune and regalitie of thesame region, as who would say that to that preheminente no woman were hable to aspire, nor no heire Female was worthy to inherite. The French writers affirm that Pharamond kyng of the Frenche Gaules, first instituted this lawe which neuer was, should or might be broken. See nowe howe an euell glose confoundeth the text, and a perciall interpretour marreth the sentence, for first it is apparantly knowen and by an hundred writers confirmed that Pharamond whom they alledge to be aucthour of this lawe was
xxx duke of Francouia in Germany, and elected to be kyng of the Sicambres, whiche callyng them selfes Frenchmen had gotten a parte of the Gaule Celtike betwene the riuers of Marne and Seyn. This Pharamond diseased in the yere of our Lord. iiii. C. and, xxvi. long after whose death, Charles the great beyng Emperoure and many yeres makyng warre on the Saxons dyd in bludy battaile disperse and confounde the whole puissaunce of that nation in the yere of our Lord. viii. C. and fiue, and broughte them to the catholique faith and christian conformitie. After whiche victory certayne souldiers as the Frenche Cronographiers affirm, passed ouer the water of Sala and there inhabited,
xl betwene the riuers of Elue and Sala, and wer commonly called Salt Frenchemen or saly Gaules, whiche countrey nowe is the lande of Misnie. This people had suche displeasure at the vnhoneft fashions of the Germain women, that they made a law that the Females shuld not succede to any inheritaunce within that land.

* The lande Salique.

NOVVE with indifferent eares yf you will note these two pointes

you

you shall easily perceyue that the lawe Salicque was only fayned and inuented to put yout noble progenitours and you from your lawfull ryght and true inheritaunce. For they saye that Pharamond made the lawe for the land Salicque, whiche the glose calleth Fraunce. Then I demaunde of master Gloser or rather master Doctor commenter, yf I may call a commenter an open lyer, whether Pharamond whiche died iiii.C.xxi.yeres before the Frenchemen possessed the Gaule Salicque and neuer sawe or knewe it, made a lawe of that thyng whiche at that tyme was not his nor inhabited by his people. Beside this, the realme of Fraunce whiche is your patrimony is compact of.iii. Gaules, Belgique, Celtique and Aquitayn, and no part of Salicque: then may the gloser expounde aswell that Gaule Belgique is the countrey of Bryttayn, as to glose that the lande Salicque is the whole realme and dominion of the croune of Fraunce. Wonder it is to see how the Frenchmen Juggle with this phantasticall lawe, folowyng the crafty hasarders which vse a play called seest thou me or seest thou me not. For whē kyng Pepyn whiche was Duke of Brabante by his mother Begga, and Master of the palayce of Fraunce coueted the croune and scepter of the realme, the Frenche nacion not remembryng this infringible lawe, deposed Chylderyck the.iii. the very heyre male and vndoubted chylde of the line of Pharamond and Clouis kynges of Fraunce by the counsayll of Zachary then Bishop of Rome, and set vp in trone thys Pepyn as nexte heyre generall discended of lady Blithyld doughter to kyng Clothayre the first. Hugh Capet also whiche vsurped the croune without ryght or reason on Charles duke of Lorayne the sole heyre male of the lyne and stocke of Charles the greate, after that he had shamefully murthered and in pitifull prison by the procurement of the Bysshop of Orleaunce destroied the sayd Charles, to make hys title seme true and apere good, where in dede it was bothe euell and vntrue, to blynd the opinions of the common people and to set a glasse before their éies, conueyghed hym selfe as heyre to the lady Lyngard doughter to the kyng Charlemayne sonne to Lewes the Emperor whiche was sonne to Charles the great kyng of Fraunce. Kyng Lewes also the ninth whome the Frenchmen call Sainct Lewes beyng very heyre to thesayed vsurper Hugh Capet, coulde neuer be satisfied in hys conscience howe he might iustely kepe and possesse the croune & regalitye of the realme of Fraunce tyll he was perswaded and fully instructed that Quene Isabell hys graundmother was lineally descended of Lady Ermengard daughter & heyre to the aboue named Charles duke of Lorayn, by the foresayed Hugh Capet of lyfe and realme wrongfully deprsyued: by the which mariage the bludde and line of kyng Charles the great was agayne vnited and restored to the Croune and Scepter of Fraunce, so that it more clearer then the sonne, openly appeareth the title of Kyng Pepyn, the clayme of Hugh Capet, the possession of kyng Lewes, ye and of all the French kynges to this day, are deriued, claymed and conueighed from

the

the heyre Female, and yet they would barre you as though your great graundmother had bene no woman nor heyre female, but a painted Image or fained shadowe. If so many examples, yf suche copie of preydentes collected out of your owne historyes and gathered oute of your owne writers suffice not to confounde your symple Salicque lawe inuented by false fablers and crafty ymaginers of you fablyng French menne, then here what God sayeth in the boke of Numeri. When a man dieth withoute a sonne, let the inheritance discend to the daughter: If your princes call theim selfes most Christian kynges, let theim folowe the lawe of God before the lawe of the Paynym Pharamond.

Are not all lawes discrepant from Goddes lawes euell, and to al Christen eares odious and noysome? Are Frenche women dyscended of the blud royall no Christians, and not worthye to inherite in the realme of Fraunce? Is the realme of Fraunce more noble then the kyngdome of Juda of whom Christ discended by a woman? When God sayed to Abrahaam that in one of his sede all nacions shuld be blessed, how came Christ of the seede of Abrahaam but onely by that immaculate Virgin his glorious mother? Likewyse, when the Prophet Michee sayd, thou tribe of Juda art not the leaste of estimacion emongest the Princes of
xx Juda, for oute of the shall come a capitayne whiche shall rule and direct my people of Israell. Howe discended Christ from the rote of Jesse, and howe was he duke and capitayn of the Israelites, and how discended he of the line of Dauid: But onely by his mother a pure virgin and a maried wyfe. Beholde, by goddes lawe, women shall inherite Behold in Fraunce, Frenchemen haue inherited by the onely lyne of the women, and yet Englishmen be prohibited to claime by the heyre Female contrary to the lawe of God and man. Wherfore regarde well my souereygne Lord your iust and true title to the realme of Fraunce, by Goddes lawe and mannes lawe to you lawfully dyuoluted as very
xxx heire to Quene Isabell your great graundmother daughter to kyng Philip the faire and suster and heir to.iii. kynges diseasyng without any issue. Whiche inheritaunce of the woman is declared to be iuste by the Mosaicall lawe and vsed and approued by the Gallican discent as I haue before declared. Therfore for Goddes sake leese not youre patrimony, disherite not your heires, dishonour not your selfe, diminische not your title, whiche your noble progenitors so highly haue esteemed, Wherfore auaunce forth your banner, fight for your ryghte, conquere your inheritaunce, spare not swerde, blud, or fire, your warre is iuste, your cause is good, and your claim true: and therfore couragiously set
xl forward your warre agaynst your enemyes. And to the entent that we your louyng chapleins and obedient subiectes of the spiritualtie would shewe our selfes willyng and desiryng to ayde you for the recouery of your auncient right and true title to the croune of Fraunce, we haue in our spirituall conuocacion graunted to your highnes suche a some of money as neuer by no spirituall persons was to any prince before your

daies

daies geuen or aduaunced, beside our daily praiers and continual precacions to God and his saintes for prosperus successe to ensue in your mercial exployte and royall passage. When the Archebishop had finished his prepared purpose, Raufe Erle of Westmerland, a man of no lesse grauitie then experience, and of no more experience then stomack, whiche was then high Warden of the marches toward Scotland, and therfore thinkyng that yf the kyng shuld passe ouer into Fraunce with his whole puissaunce, that his power should be to weake to withstand the strength of Scotland if they shuld inuade durying the kynges absence. Wherfore he rose vp, & making hys obeysance to the kyng sayd.

The Oracio of Rauf erle of Westmerland.

SVRELY sir, as my lord of Canterbury hath clerkely declared, the conquest of Fraunce is very honorable, and when it is gotten and obteigned very profitable and pleasant: But sauyng your graces reformacion, I say and affirme, that to conquere Scotland is more necessary, more apparante easie, and more profitable to this realme then is the gayne of Fraunce. For althoughe I am not so well learned as my lord Archbishop is, nor haue not proceded to degre in the Vniuersitie, yet I haue red, and heard great clarckes say, that strengthe knitte and combined together is of more force and efficacye then when it is seuered and dispersed. As for an example, sprinkle a vessell of water and it moisteth not, but cast it out wholy together and it bothe washeth and norisheth. This notable saiyng before this tyme hath encoraged Emperors, animated kynges and allured princes to conquere realmes to them adioynyng, to vanquyshe nacions to their dominions adiacent, and to subdewe people either necessary for their purpose, or beyng to thē daily enemyes or continuall aduersaries. For proofe whereof, beholde what was the chefe cause and occasion why rulers and gouernours so fore laboured, thirsted and coueted to bryng all regions to theim adioynyng into one rule or Monarchy? Was it not done to this entent that the conquerors might haue the onely power & entier gubernacion of all the landes and people within their climate, and gouerne thē in tyme of peace and also haue their aide in tyme of war? Whiche monarchie was of that mateistie and estimacion in the world, that no other forein prince or exterior potentate ether had audacitie or was able to attempte any thyng within the territory or region of the monarchiall prince and adourned kyng. Let the kyngdome of the assiriens be your example, and yf that suffise not, then loke on the Persians, after on the Grekes and lastly on the Romaines, whiche euer desired and coueted more to haue the littel Isle of Scicile, the territory of the Numidians and the mean Citie of the Samnites beyng daiely within their kennyng and smell, rather then to obteyn populous Gaule, plenteous Pannony, or manly Macedony lying farre from sight and out of their circle or compasse. This desire semeth to rise of a great prudent and vigilante policy, for as a prince is of more puissaunce when his countreis ioyne, so is he of more strength when his power is at hande. And as men lackyng com-

fort

foyte be moze releued by frendes whiche be preſente, then by kinſfolke dwelling in forein coũtreys & regiõs farre of. So pꝛinces haue cõmonly coueted and euer deſired to ſe and beholde their dominions lyng nere about them, rather then to here by repoꝛte from the countreis farre diſtant from them. If this hathe bene the pollicy of conquerours, thappetite of purchaſers and the ſtudy of gouerners, why doth your grace deſire Fraunce before Scotlande, oꝛ couet a countrey farre from your ſight, before a realme vnder your noſe? Do you not remember how the hole Iſle of Britayn was one entier Monarchi in the time of your noble auncetoꝛ kyng Brute firſt kyng and rulet of your famous Empire and glorious region: whiche deuidyng his realme to his thꝛe ſonnes gaue to Lothꝛyne his eldeſt ſonne that part of Britayn that your highnes now enioyeth, and to Albanact his ſecond ſonne he gaue the countrey of Albany nowe called Scotland, and to Camber his third ſonne he gaue the countrey of Cambꝛia nowe called Wales: reſeruyng alwaies to him & his heyꝛes homage, lege and feaultie totall foꝛ the ſame countreis and dominions. By this deuiſiõ, the glozy of the monarchie of Britayne was clerely defaced, by this ſeperacion the ſtrength of the Britiſhe kynges was foꝛe diminiſhed, by this diſperſion inteſtine war began, and Ciuill rebellion ſpꝛange firſt within this region. Foꝛ while all was vnder one, no nation durſte either once inuade oꝛ attempte warre agaynſt the Britons: but when the land was once deuided and the monarchie vndone, outward enemitie oꝛ foꝛeyn hoſtilitie not halfe ſo muche infeſted, greued oꝛ troubled the valiaunt Brittons as their owne neighboures diſcended of one parent, and come of one pꝛogeny. Foꝛ the Albanactes otherwiſe called the falſe fraudulent Scottes, and the Cambers otherwyſe called the vnſtable Welſhemen, did not a lonly withdꝛawe their fealtie, denie their homage, and refuſe their allegiance due to the kynges of this realme, but alſo made continuall warre and deſtroied their tounes and ſlewe the people of their neyghboures and Britons. Foꝛ whiche cauſe, diuerſe of your noble pꝛogenitoures haue not onely made warre and ſubdewed the Scottes foꝛ the denying of their homage and ſtirryng of rebellion, but alſo haue depoſed their kynges & pꝛinces and erected and ſet vp other in their eſtates and dignities. Seater kyng of Scottes, foꝛ his rebellion was by Dunwallo Molumeius your noble pꝛedeceſſoꝛ ſlayn and extincted. Kyng Arthure alſo the Glozy of the Brittons erected Angoſile to the ſcepter of Scotland and receaued of hym homage and fealtie. Yf I ſhuld reherſe how many kynges of Scotland haue done homage to your auncient pꝛedeceſſoꝛs, oꝛ reherſe howe many Scottiſhe kynges they haue coꝛrected and puniſhed foꝛ their diſobedience and denying of homage, oꝛ declare what kynges they as ſuperioꝛ loꝛdes and high Emperoures ouer the vnderkinges of Scotland, haue elected & made rulers to thentent that all people might manifeſtly perceiue that it was moꝛe glorious, moꝛe honourable and moꝛe famous to a kyng to make a kyng then to be a

kyng by natural discent, I assure you, your eares woulde be more wery of hearyng, then my tounge would be fatigate with open truth tellyng. Your noble progenitour kyng Edward the firste couetyng to be superior and to surmount in honour, or at the least to be equiuolent in fame with his noble ancestours and famous progenitors, daily studied and hourely compassed howe to bryng the whole Isle of Britteygne whiche by Brute was deuided into thre partes into one monarchy and one dominion. After longe studie and greate consultacion had, he subdewed Wales, and tamed the wylde people and broughte that vnruly parte to hys olde home and auncient degree, whiche thyng done he likewyse inuaded Scotlande and conquered the countreye to the towne of Perche called Sainte Jhons towne standyng on the ryuer of Tay, whiche he walled, diched and fortefied, rulyng that part with Englishe lawes, Englyshe customes and by Englishe Judges, and was all moste at a poynte thereof to haue made a perfighte conqueste and a complete Monarchie. But Oh Lorde, hasty deathe whiche maketh an ende of all mortall creatures, sodeynly bereste hym of hys lyfe and toke a waye his spirite, and so all thynges whiche he had deuysed, whiche he had ymagened and seriously pretended, the small momente of an houre turned vpside doune and sodaynly subuerted. Sith whose deathe your greate Graundfather, ye and your noble father haue attempted to bryng that runnegate region into hys auncient course and former lyne, as a thyng bothe necessary, conueniente and mete to bee ioyned and vnited to this realme, and so not only to reuiue the old empire and famous Monarchye, but also to vnite and cõbine that vertue and strẽgth whiche from the tyme of Brute was dispersed and seuered, in one body, in one hed and one corporacion. Wherfore, if to your high wisedome it seemeth not necessary takyng this terme necessary for nedefull to conquere the realme of Scotlande as a thyng that nedes muste be doen, yet will I not flye from my first saiyng, but proue it necessary (as the logicall paraphrasian and Philosophicall interpreters) do by a distinccion expounde this terme necessary to signifie a thyng conuenient: That the conquest in Scotlande before the inuadyng of Fraunce is moste expedient, for experience teacheth and reason agreeth that euery persone entẽdyng a purposed enterprice, or a determinate voyage should not onely prouide and make preparacion for al thinges requisite and nedefull for his purpose or exployte, but also ought vigilauntly to forsee with * Lincis yes, and preuẽt and study with the serpentyne policie how to auoyde and refell all thynges whiche might ether bee an impediment to his progression and settyng forward or occasion of his returne and losse of his enterprise, least he leuyng behynd hym an euill neighbour, a continuall aduersary & a secrete enemye, maye assone lese his owne propre realme, as conquere and gayne the dominion of another: wherfore the trite and common adage saith, leaue not the certayn for the vncerteyn. Wherefore it is necessary that I enucleate and open

* Lynx is a beast like to a wolfe, whose sighte dooeth perce all thinges.

to you

to you certain articles cõteined in the old league and amitie betwene the realmes of Fraunce and Scotlande, wherof the wordes be these.

THE warre or iniurie moued or done by the Englishemen to one of the said nacions, to be as a common wrong to bothe.

IF the Englyshemen make warre on the Frenche nacion, then the Scottes at the costes and charges of the Frenche kyng, shall ministre to theim succours.

LIKEVVYSE if the Scottes be molested by the Englysh warres, the Frenche nacion hauing their costes allowed, shall be to theim ayders & assisters.

AND that none of bothe the nacions shall either contracte or make peace with the realme of England without the consente and agrement of the other.

AND to thentent that this league and amitie should be kept inuiolate Robert le Bruse the vsurper of Scotlande willed by his testament twoo thynges in especiall to be obserued, the one, neuer to breake the treatie concluded with Fraunce: The second neuer to kepe peace or promes with Englishemen lenger then the kepyng therof were to theim either profitable or necessary. Yet Jhon Mayer and other Scottysh wryters coloure this cause, sayyng that he would haue no peace concluded with Englande aboue thre yeres. But whatsoeuer writers write or talkers saye, they be to hym moste faythfull executors and haue neuer yet broken his testament but daily kepe his precept and commaundement. And for the perfourmaunce of this wyl and kepyng of this league, none of your auncetours euer inuaded Fraunce, but incontinent the Scottes troubled and vexed Englande. None of your progenitors euer passed the sea in iust quarell against the Frenche nacion, but the Scottishe people in their absence entered your realme, spoyled your houses, slewe your people and toke great praies innumerable, only to prouoke your auncestors for to returne from the inuading of Fraũce. If I should declare to you their comen breakyng of leagues, their craftie and subtyll dissimulacion, their false faire promises often sworne and neuer kept, I doubt not but you would ten tymes more abhorre their doyng, then I would bee ashamed of the tellyng. Therefore I saye still, and affirme it necessary and conuenient to forese, that you leaue noenemies behynd at your backe when you go to conquere aduersaries before your face. Besyde this, if you cõsider the dayly charges &, the inconstant chances that maie happen, I thynke, yea and litle doubte but Scotlande shalbee tamed before Fraunce shalbe framed. For if you will inuade Fraunce, accompt what number of shyppes must transporte your armie, recon what charge of Ancors, what a multitude of Cables, and what innumerable thynges appertaigne to a naule. When you be there, if your men decay by sycknes or by sworde, if vitaill faile, or if money waxe skante, if the wynde turne contrary or an hideous tempeste aryse, you shall bee destitute of aide, prouision and treasure, which in a straunge region are the cõ-

fusion & defacyng of an armie. On the other syde, if you inuade Scotlande, your men bee at hande, your vitaill is nere, your aide is euer at your backe, so that in that voyage you shall haue haboundance in all thynges, and of nothyng you shall haue wante. See what an occasion fortune hath offered vnto you, is not their kyng your captiue and prisoner? Is not the realme in greate deuision for the crueltie of the duke of Albany, rather desiring to haue a forain gouernour, then a naturall tyraunt. Wherfore my counsayll is, firste to inuade Scotlande, and by Gods grace to conquere and ioyne that region to youre Empire, and to restore the renoumed Monarchy of Britayn to her old estate and preheminence, and so beautified with realmes and furnished with people, to entre into Fraunce for the recouerynge of your righteous title and true inheritaunce, in obseruing the old auncient prouerbe vsed by our forfathers, whiche saieth, he that will Fraunce wynne, muste with Scotland first beginne.

An Oracion of the duke of Excester.

NOw the Duke of Excester vncle to the kyng, (whiche was well learned, and sent into Italy by his father entendyng to haue bene a prieste) he that wyll Scotland wynne, let hym with Fraunce first begin. For if you call to remembraunce the common saiyng of the wyse and expert Phisicions, whiche bothe write and teache, that if you will heale a malady you muste firste remoue the cause: If you wyll cure a sore, you muste firste take awaie the humour that fedeth the place: If you wil destroye a plante, plucke away his sap whiche is his norisshyng and lyfe. Then if Fraunce be the norysshar of Scotlande, if the Frenche pencios be the sustainers of the Scottishe Nobilitee, if the education of Scottes in Fraunce be the cause of practise and pollicie in Scotlande, then plucke away Fraunce and the courage of the nobles of Scotlande shal be sone daunted and appalled: Take away Fraunce and the hertes of the comen people wil sone decay and waxe faint: Plucke away Fraunce and neuer looke that Scotlande wyll resiste or withstande your power. For when the hed is gone, the body sone falleth, and when the sap fayleth the tree sone withereth. Let men reade the Chronicles and peruse our Englyshe Chronographiers, & you shall sone fynde that the Scottes haue seldom of their owne mocion inuaded or vexed Englande, but onely for the obseruyng of the league in the whiche they bee bounde to Fraunce: For the Scottes are the shaft and dart of the Frenchemen to shote and cast at their pleasure against the Englishe nacion. And where they haue inuaded, as I can not deny but they haue done, what glory or what profite succeded of their enterprice, I reporte me to their peculier histories. kyng Malcolyn inuaded Englande, when kyng Willyam the second was makyng warre in Normandy. Dauid le Bruse also entered Englande, your greate graundfather kyng Edwarde the third lyng at the siege of Caleis. Was not Malcolyn slayne beside Tinmouth and kyng Dauid taken besyde Durham. Let the gouernours of Scotlande, (for the kyng is sure ynough) entre into Englande on that price

and

and se what he shall gaine therby. What notable acte were Scottes e-
uer able to do out of their awne countrey and propre climate? Or when
were they able to conueigh an armie ouer the sea at their awne costes &
expentes? Rede their awne historyes and you shall fynde fewe or none.
Their nature and condicion is to tary at home in idlenes, ready to de-
fende their countrey like brute beastes, thinkyng their rusticall fassion
to be high honestie, and their beggerly liuyng to be a welfare. Besyde
this, what auncient writer or autentike historyographier ether write of
them honoure or once nameth theim, except saiuct Jherom, whiche saieth
x that when he was yong, he sawe in Fraunce certain Scottes of the isle
of Britayne eate the flesshe of men, and when they came into the woodes
findyng there greate heardes of beastes and flockes of shepe, lefte the
beastes and cut of the buttockes of the heardmen and the pappes and
brestes of the shepehardes women, extemyng this meate to be the grea-
test deinties: And Sabellicus saieth that Scottes muche delighte and
reioyse in liyng. You may nowe apparauntly perceiue what puissaunce
Scotland is of it selfe, litle able to defende and lesse able to inuade lyke
a noune adiectiue that cannot stand without a substantiue. If Fraunce
be taken from them, of whom shall they seke aide? Denmarke will them
xx refuse because the kyng is your brother inlawe: Portyngall and Castell
will not them regarde, bothe the kynges beyng your cosyns germayn
and auntes sonnes: Italy is to farre: Germany and Hungary be with
you in league. So that of necessitie they in cõclusion destitute of al aide,
depriued of all succoure, bereued of al frendship (if Fraunce be conque-
red) muste without warre or dent of swoorde come vnder your subiection
and due obeisaunce. And yet I would not in this your conquest, Fraũce
should bee so muche mynded, that Scotlande should bee forgotten, nor
that your entier power shoulde be sent into Fraunce and no defence left
againlt the inuasions of Scotlande. For of that might ensue this mis-
xxx chief, that if your whole power were banquished in Fraunce, the Scot-
tes beyng elated by the victory of their frendes myght do more displea-
sure to your realme in one yere then you should recouer againe in fyue.
But sithe God hath sent you people, ryches, munitions of warre and all
thynges necessary, either to inuade bothe, or defende the one and pene-
trate the other. Passe the sea your selfe with an armie royall, and leue my
Lorde of Westmerlande and other graue Capitaynes of the Northe
with a conuenient nombre to defende the Marches if the subtill Scot-
tes encouraged by the Frenchemen will any thing attempt during your
voyage and absence. And this is to be remembred, if you get Scotland
xl you haue a countrey barayne almoste of all pleasure and goodnes, you
gayne people sauage, wauerynge & inconstant, of ryches you shall haue
litle and of pouertie muche: But if you get Fraunce, you shall haue a
countrey fertyle, pleasaunt and plentifull, you shall haue people, Ciuill,
witty and of good ordre. You shall haue ryche cities, beautifull townes
innumerable Castles, xxiiii. puyssaunt Duchies, lxxx. and odde popu-

lous Countreys, and an hundred and three famous Bysshoprickes, a thousand and more fat Monasteries, and parish churches (as the Frenche writers affirme) x. hundred thousande and mo. This conquest is honourable, this gayne is profitable, this iourney is plesaunte, and therefore neither to be left nor forsaked. Vntaill you shall haue sufficient frō Flaunders, aide of men you may haue dayly out of Englande, or els to leaue a competente crewe in the Marches of Caleis to refreshe your armie and to furnishe still your nūber. Although the cost in transportyng your men be greate, yet your gayne shalbe greater, and therfore accordyng to the trite adage, he muste liberally spende that will plentefully gayne. And because my lorde of Westmerlande hath alleged that the Romaines desired the dominion of suche as were vnderflight of their owne Egle, or whose possessions were a mote to their eye, as the Numidians and other whiche he hath wisely rehersed. Behold the condicions of the counsailers and the desire of the mouers, what persones were thei whiche coueted their poore neighbours rather then riche forreines: Men effeminate, more mete for a Carpet then a Campe, men of a weake stomacke desiring rather to walke in a plesaunt garden then passe the seas in a tempestuous storme, what should I saye: Menne that woulde haue somewhat and yet take litell paine, menne that coueted thynges noxthyng honourable nor yet greatly profytable. But I remember that the noble Cato the Censor which when it was alledged in the Senate at Rome that Affrike was farre of, and the Sea brode, and the iourney perillous, caused certayne newe figges to bee brought into the Senate, whiche grewe in the territory of Carthage, and demaunded of the Senators howe they lyked the Fygges: Some sayed they were newe, some saied they were swete and some saied they were plesaunt. Oh quod Cato, if they be newe gathered, then is not the region farof where they grewe (skant thre daies sailyng) and if it be of no longer distaunce then so nere to vs be oure enemies. If the Fygges be swete, then is the xxxsoile delicious and fertile. If the figges be plesaunt, then is the countrey profytable. If you gayne the Sicilians, you shall bee ryche men in corne. If you get the Samnites you shall haue plenty of oyle. If you vanquisshe the Numidians, you shall haue copie of beastes: But subdewe Carthage and conquere Affricke, you shall haue not onely Corne Oyle and Beastes, but gold, purple, precious stones, Oliphantes and all thynges bothe necessary and plesaunt. Therfore my counsaill is rather to seke riches beyng farre distant, then pouertie lyng at hande, for payne is forgotten euer where gayne foloweth. This noble saiyng of sage Cato so encouraged and inflamed the haute hartes and lusty courages of the manly Romaines, that they neuer desisted to persecute the people of Affricke tyll Carthage was vtterly destroied and the whole countrey subdewed and brought vnder the Romaine Empire. Julius Cesar also desyred rather to conquere the Britons deuided from the continent, ye and inhabityng almost in the ende of the worlde, rather then xl

to gayne the Pannonians adioynyng to Italy, saiyng breake the stronger and the weaker will bowe: Subdoue the riche and the poore wil yeld be lorde of the lordes and the vassalles must nedes be subiect, vanquish the Frenchemen and the Scottes be tamed. This counsayll of Cato, and this saiyng of Cesar maketh me bothe to speake and thynke that yf you get Fraunce, ye get twoo, and if you get Scotland you get but one. When the duke had saied and sat doune, his opinion was muche noted and well digested with the kyng, but in especiall with his three brethren and diuerse other lordes beyng young and lusty, desirous to win honor and profite in the realme of Fraunce, ensuyng the courageous actes of their noble progenitors, whiche gat in that region bothe honour and renoune. So that now all men cried warre, warre, Fraunce, Fraunce, and the bill put into the parliament for desoluyng of religious houses was clerely forgotten and buried, and nothyng thoughte on but onely the recouveryng of Fraunce according to the title by the Archebyshoppe declared and set furth. And so vpon this poinct after a fewe Actes for the publike wealth of the realme condiscended and agreed, the parliamẽt was prorogued to Westminster.

THE kyng like a wise prince and pollitique gouernour, entending to observe the auncient ordres of famous kynges and renoumed potentates vsed aswell emong Paynimes as Christians, whiche is, not to inuade another mannes territory with open warre and the cause of thesame not to hym published and declared, dispatched into Fraũce his vncle the duke of Excester and the erle of Dorcet, the lorde Grey Admirall of Englande, the Archebyshop of Deuelyn, the byshop of Norwiche with fyue hundred horsse, whiche were lodged in the Temple hous in Paris, kepyng suche triumphante chere in their lodgyng, and suche a solempne estate in ridyng through the citie, that the Parisians and all the Frenche men had no small meruell at their honourable fassions and lordly behaviours. The French kyng receiued them very honourably, and sumptuously banquetted them, shewing to them goodly iustes and martial pastymes, by the space of thre daies together, in the whiche iustes the kyng himselfe to shewe his courage and actiuitie to the Englishemen, manfully brake speres and lustely turneyed.

WHEN this greate triumphe and martiall disport was finished, the Englishe Ambassadours according to their commission, required of the French kyng to deliuer to the kyng of England the realme and croune of Fraunce with the entier Duchies of Aquitain, Normandy and Anjowe, with the countreys of Poytieu and Mayne and diuerse other requestes, offeryng that if the Frenche kyng would without warre or effusion of Christen bloud rendre to the kyng their Master his very ryghte and lawfull inheritaunce, that he would be content to take in mariage the lady Katheryne daughter to the Frenche kyng & to endewe her with all the duchie and countreis before rehersed. And if he entended not so to doo, then the kyng of Englande dyd expresse and signifie to hym that

with the aide of God and help of his people he would recouer his right and inheritaunce wrongfully with holden with mortall warre and dent of sworde. The Frenchemen were muche abalshed at these demaundes thynkyng them very vnreasonable and farre excessiue, and yet not wyl-
lyng to make any determinate aunswere till they had farther brethed in so weighty a cause, praied the Englysh Ambassadors to saie to the kyng their master that thei now hauing no opportunite to conclude in so hie a matter would shortly send Ambassadours into Englande which should certefie & declare to the kyng their whole mynde, purpose and aunswere.

THE Englyshe Ambassadours nothing content with this doyng de- ꝑ
parted into Englande makyng relacion of euery thyng that was sayed or done: Here I ouerpasse howe some writers saye that the Dolphyn thynkyng kyng Henry to be geuen still to suche plaies and lyght folyes as he exercised & vsed before the tyme that he was exalted to the croune sent to hym a tunne of tennis balles to playe with, as who saied that he could better skill of tennis then of warre, and was more expert in lyght games then marciall pollicy. Whether he were moued with this vnwise presente, or espying that the Frenchemen dalied and vaynely delayed his purpose and demaunde, was moued and pricked forwarde I cannot iudge, but sure it is that after the returne of his Ambassadours, he be- ꝑ
gyng of a haute courage and bold stomake, lyuyng now in the pleasaun-
test tyme of his age, muche desyrying to enlarge and dilate his Empyre and dominion, determined fully to make warre in Fraunce, conceiuyng a good truste and a perfight hope in this poynct whiche he had before experimented, whiche is, that victory for the moste part foloweth where right leadeth, auaunced forwarde by Justice and sette furth by equitie. And because many Frenchemen were promoted to Ecclesiastitall dignities, some to benefices, some to Abbeies and Priores within his realme and sent dayly innumerable somes of money into Fraunce for the relefe and ayde of their naturall countremen and lineall kynsmen, he therfore ꝑ
for the publique wealth of his realme and subiectes, ordeigned that no straunger hereafter, should bee promoted to any spirituall dignitee or degree within his realme without his especiall licence and royall consent, and that all they that should so be admitted, should fynde sufficient suretie not to disclose the secretes of this realme to any forain or straũge person, nor also to minister to them any aide or succour with money or by any other meane. Beside this he assembled a great puissaũce and gathe-
red a greate hoste through all his dominions, and for the more furny-
ture of his naute, he sent into Holand, Zeland and Ftizeland to conduct and hire shippes for the transporting and conueighyng ouer hys men ꝑ
and munitions of warre, and finally prouided for armure, vitaile, mo-
ney, artillary, carriages, tentes and other thinges necessary for so hie an enterprise: Whiche prouisions were sone blowen into Fraunce & quick-
ly knowen in Paris. Wherefore the Dolphin who had taken on him the gouernaunce of the realme, because his father was fallen again into his old

olde infirmitie, sent for the dukes of Berry and Alaunson and all the counsail of Fraunce, to conclude what should be done in so great a matter and so weightie a cause. After long consultacion, it was determined to assemble people through the whole realme of Fraunce, to resist and repulse the kyng of Englande and his puissaunce whensoeuer he would atiue or set foote into Fraunce, and also to fortifie their tounes & stuffe them with garrisons and men of warre, and farther by taxes & subsidies to leuy as muche money as by wit or policie could be deuised or imagined. Moreouer to staie the king of Englād at home, it was politiquely deuised to send to hym a solempne Ambassade to make to hym some offers according to the demaundes before rehersed. The charge of this Ambassade was committed to the earle of Vandosme, to master Wyllyam Bouratier Archebyshop of Boutgues and to master Petet Fremell byshoppe of Lisieux and to the lorde of Yury and Bzaquemōt and to master Gaultier Cole the kynges secretory and diuerse other. These Ambassadours accompanied with thre hundred and fifty horses passed the sea at Caleys and landed at Douer, before whose atriuall the kyng was departed from Wyndsor to Winchester, entending to haue gone to Hampton and to haue vewed his naue, but hearyng of the Ambassadours approchyng, taried styll at Wynchester, where the said Frenche lordes shewed them selues very honorably before the king and the nobilitie. And in the byshoppes hal before the kyng, sittyng in his throne imperiall and his lordes spirituall and temporal and a great multitude of the commons there for that entent assembled. At a tyme prefixed, the Archebyshop of Bourgesse made an eloquent and a long Oracion, dissuadyng warre, and praisyng peace, offering to the kyng of Englād a great some of money with diuerse base and pore countreis with the Lady Katherine in mariage, so that he would dissolue his armie and dismisse his souldiours whiche he had gathered and made ready.

When this Oracion was ended, the kyng caused the Ambassadours to be highly feasted, & set them at his awne table And at a daye assigned in the forsaid hal, the Archebyshoppe of Cauntorbury made to their Oracion a notable aunswere: The effecte wherof was, that if the Frenche kyng would not geue with his daughter in mariage, the duchies of Acquitain, Normandy, Aniowe, & al other seigniories and dominions somtyme appertaining to the noble progenitours of the kyng of England, he would in no wise retire his armie nor breake his iorney but would with all diligence entre into the realme of Fraunce & destroy the people, depopulate the countrey & subuerte the tounes, with sworde bloud fyre & neuer cease till he had recouered his auncient right & lawfull patrymony. The kyng auowed the archebishops saiyng & in ỹ word of a prince promised to perfourme it to the vtteremost. The byshop of Bourgesse being inflamed with anger that his purpose toke none effect, desiryng licence & pardon of the kyng that he might speake: whiche once attained he verye rashly and vnreuerently said, Thynkest thou to put doune and destroy

wrongfully the mooſt chriſten kyng, our moſte redoubted ſouerain lord and moſt excellētest prince of all chriſtiantie of bloud and prehemīnēce. Oh kyng, ſauyng thine honoure, thynkeſt thou that he hathe offered or cauſed to be offered to the landes, goodes, or other poſſeſſions with his awne daughter tor feare of the or thy Englyſh nation, or thy frendes or well willers or fautours. No no, but of truthe he moued with pitie, as a louer of peace, to the entent that innocent bloud ſhould not be diſperled abrode, and that chriſtian people ſhould not be afflicted with battaill & deſtroied with mortall warre, hath made to the this reaſonable offers & this Godly motion, puttyng his hole affiaunce in God mooſte puiſſaunt accordyng to right and reaſon, truſtyng in his quarell to be ayded and ſupported by his beneuolente ſubiectes and fauourable well willers. And ſith we be ſubiectes and ſeruauntes, we require the to cauſe vs ſafely and ſurely without dammage to be cōducted out of thy realme and dominions and that thou wilt write thyne aunſwere wholy as thou haſt geuen it, vnder thy ſeale and ſygne manuell.

THE kynge of Englande nothynge vexed nor yet moued with the preſumptuous ſaiynges and proude bragges of the vnordered and vnmanerly Byſſhop, but well remembryng kyng Salomon in the foure & twenty of his Prouerbes, whiche ſaieth, that with diſcretiō warres muſt be taken in hande, and where many can geue counſaill, there is victory, coldely and ſoberly aunſwered the byſſhop ſaiyng: My lorde, I littell eſteme your Frenche bragges, and leſſe ſet by your power and ſtrength I know perfightly my right to your region, and excepte you wyll deny the apparant truthe ſo do you, and if you neither do nor will know, yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The power of your Maiſter you ſee dayly, but my puiſſaunce you haue not yet taſted, If your maſter haue louyng frendes and faithfull ſubiectes, I am I thanke God not diſgarniſhed nor vnprouided of theſame: But this I ſaye vnto you, that before one yere paſſe I truſte to make the hyghest croune of your countrey ſtoupe and the proudeſt Witer to knele downe: And ſaye this to the vſurper your Maſter that I within three monethes wyll enter into Fraunce not as into his lande, but as into myne awne true and lawfull patrimonye entendyng to conquere it, not with braggyng wordes, flatteryng Oracions or coloured perſuaſions, but with puiſſaunce of men and dent of ſworde by the ayde of God in whome is my whole truſt and confidence. And as concernyng myne aunſwere to be written, ſubſcribed and ſealed, I aſſure you that I would not ſpeake that ſentence the whiche I would not wryte and ſubſcribe, nor ſubſcrybe that lyne to the whiche I would refuſe to put my ſeale. Therfore your ſauconducte ſhall be to you deliuered with myne aunſwere and then you may depart ſurely and ſafely I warrant you into youre Conntrey, where I truſte ſoner to viſite you then you ſhall haue cauſe to ſalute or byd me welcome. With this aunſwere the Ambaſſadours ſore diſmaied, but more diſpleaſed (although they were hyghly entertained & lyberally rewarded) departed into theyr countrey

countrey, relatyng to the Dolphyn and the kynges counsaill what they had done duryng the tyme of their Ambassade.

After the Frenche Ambassadours were departed, the kyng as I said before hauing a greate foresight and disposyng all thynges in an order forgetting not the old prankes and sodein trickes of the variable Scottyshe nacion, appointed the earle of Westmerlande, the lorde Scrope, the Baron of Greystocke and sir Robert Umfreuile with diuers other hardy personages, and valiaunt capitaynes to kepe the frontiers and Marches adioinyng to Scotlande, whiche sir Robert Umfreuile on the
f daye of Mary Magdalene entered with the Scottes at the Toune of Gederyng, hauyng in his company onely foure hundred Englyshemen, where he after long conflict and doubtfull battayle slewe of his enemies syxty and odde, and toke captiues thre hundred and syxty and discomfited and put to flight a thousand and mo, he folowed in chace aboue. xxii. miles, and so laden with praies and prisoners retuled agayn not vnhurt to the castle of Rokesbrough, of the which at that tyme he was chief capitayne and gouernour.

When the kyng had ordered all thynges for the tuition and sauegarde of his realme and people, he leauyng behynde hym for gouernour
xx of the realme, the Quene his mother inlawe, departed to the Toune of Southhampton, entendyng there to take ship, and so to transfrete into Fraunce. And to thentent he would steale on the Frenche kyng before he were ware of hym, he dispatched Antelop his pursuiuant at armes with letters, the whiche the Frenche cronographers declare to be these.

TO the right honourable Prince Charles our cosyn of Fraunce and
aduersary, Henry by the grace of God kyng of Englande and of Fraun-
ce &c. To deliuer to euery man his awne, is a worke of inspiracion and
a deede of sage counsaill, for right noble prince our cosyn and aduersary,
sometymes the noble realmes of England and of Fraunce were vnited,
xxx whiche nowe be seperated and deuided, and as then they were accusto-
med to be exalted through the vniuersall worlde by their glorious vic-
tories, and it was to them a notable vertue to decore and beautifye the
house of God, to the whiche appertained holynes, and to set a concorde
in Christes religion. And by their agreable warres they brought for-
tunately the publike enemies to their subiection: But alas this fratet-
nall faith is peruerted to fraternall occasion as Lot persecuted Abrahã
by humayne impulsion, but nowe the glory of fraternall loue is deade,
and the discent of auncient humaine condicion is departed, and mother
malice and Ire are resuscitate from deth to lyfe, but we call to wytnes
xl the souereigne iudge in conscience, whiche will not bow either for prayer
or for giftes, that we to out power for pure loue haue proceaded by all
meanes to peace and amitie. And sith we haue red in wrytyng and by
counsail haue learned the iust title of out inheritaunce from vs deteined
in preiudice of our auncient linage, we be not of so small a courage but
that we wyll fyght to death to obteyn right and iustice: But by the auc-
thorite

,, thozitie wzitten in the booke of Deuteronomy, all men are taught whi-
,, che come to beſiege oz aſſaulte any citie oz foztreſſe, fyzſte to offre peace.
,, And albeit that violence the rauiſher of iuſtice haue taken away of long
,, tyme the noblenes of oure croune and oure iuſte inheritaunce, yet we by
,, charitie haue done what we might to recouer and bzyng our olde inhe-
,, ritaunce to the fyzſte degree and auncient eſtate, and therefoze foz faute
,, of iuſtice we may returne to armes. Wherfoze, that our glozie may bee
,, witnes of oure conſcience nowe and alſo by perſonall requeſt, in the be-
,, ginning of our iourney to the whiche we are toward foz faute of iuſtice,
,, we exhozt you in the bowelles of our ſauiour Jeſu Chriſte, whoſe euan- x
,, gelicall doctrine willeth that you ought to render to al men that whiche
,, you ought to do, and ſo to do to vs is the will of God oure ſouereigne
,, lozde and creatoz. And to thentent that the deſtruccion of chriſten people
,, ſhould be exchewed whiche are the images of God, we haue demaunded
,, our right and reſtitucion of theſame from vs wzongfully withholden &
,, deteyned, oz at the leaſte of ſuche thinges whiche we haue ſo often tymes
,, by out Ambaſſadours and meſſengers required and inſtauntly deſyred,
,, wherwith we haue offered to be pleaſed, ſatiſfied and contented foz the o-
,, nely reuerence of almightie God and foz the vtilitie of a vniuerſal peace
,, whiche we thought ſhould haue enſued. And therefoze we for our parte xx
,, becauſe of a mariage to be had and concluded betwene vs. were deter-
,, mined to fozſake and refuſe the fifty thouſand crounes to vs laſt pzomi-
,, ſed and pzofered, pzeferryng peace befoze ryches, and choſing rather our
,, rightfull patrimony to vs by our noble pzogenitours lawfully deuolu-
,, ted and diſcended with our coſyn your daughter the fayze Lady Kathe-
,, rine, rather then foz treaſoure and deſyze of money the multiplier of ini-
,, quitie, ſhamefully to diſhenerite our ſelfe and the croune of oure realme
,, which God fozbid. Youen vnder our pziuy ſeale at our Caſtel of Hamp-
,, ton on the ſea ſyde, the fifft day of Auguſt.

VVHEN the letter was pzeſented to the French kyng and by his coũ- xxi
ſayll well ouerloked, he made aunſwere to thofficers of armes that he had well perceiued the content of the letters, whereupon he would take aduice and pzouide foz theſame in tyme and place conuenient, licenſyng the meſſenger to departe at his pleaſure.

¶ The third yere.

The.iii. yere.

THis noble pzince hauing his nauy furniſhed, and all thynges neceſſary foz ſuche a royall voyage, perceiuyng his freſhe capitaynes to complayn that they had loſt ſo many monethes of the yere in the whiche thei might haue done diuerſe haute en- xxi
terpzices in the landes of their enemies, and that nothing was to them moze odious then pzolõgyng & lingeryng of tyme, determined with all diligence to cauſe his ſouldiozs to entre his ſhippes and ſo to depart.

SE the chaunce, the nyght befoze the day of departure appointed, he was credibly infozmed that Rycharde earle of Cambzidge bzother too

Edward

Edward duke of Yorke and Henry Lorde Scrope & syr Thomas Gray knight hath compassed his deeth and final distruction: wherfore he caused them to be apprehended lamentyng sore his chaunce that he should be compelled to lose suche personages by whose valiauntnes and puissaunce he should be more dreadfull and fearefull to his foes & enemies. When these prisoners were examined, they not onely confessed the conspiracy, but also declared that for a great some of money which they had receyued of the Frenche kyng, they intended either to deliuer the kyng alyue into the hande of his enemies, or els to murther hym before that he
x should arriue in the duchy of Normandy. When kyng Henry harde all thinges opened whiche he sore desired, he caused all his nobilitie to assemble before his maiestie royall, before whom he caused to be brought the thre great offendours and to them sated: If you haue cõspired the death and destruction of me whiche am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, without doubt I muste of necessitie thynke that you lykewyse haue compassed the confusion of all that be here with me, and also the finall destruction of your native countrey and naturall region. And although some priuate Scorpion in your hartes, or somewild wormes in your heades hath caused you to conspire my death and cõfusion, yet you
xx should haue spared that deuelishe enterprise as lõg as I was within mine army whiche cannot continue without a capitayne, nor be directed without a guide, nor yet with the destruction of your awne bloud and nacion you should haue pleased a forein enemy & an auncièt aduersary. Wherfore seyng that you haue enterprised so great a mischiefe, so abhominable a fact, to thentẽt that your fautours being in the army may abhorre so detestable an offence by the punishement of you, haste you to receiue the payne that for your demerites you haue deserued, and that punishement that by the lawe for your offences is prouided.

VVHEN these noble men were executed, the kyng sayed to hys Lor-
xxx des, se you not the madd imagination of men whiche persecute me that dayly studye, and hourely labour, to my greate trauayle and vnquietnes for the aduauncement of the publique wealth of this Realme and region, and for that cause I spare no payne nor refuse no tyme, to thentent to doo good to all men, and to hurt no man, and thus to do is my duetie and to this as I thinke am I borne. I pray to God that there be none among you that be infected with so much vntruthe that had leuer se me destroied and brought to confusion, rather then to se his countrey florishe encreased with honor and empire. I assure you that I cõceiue no suche opinion in any of you, but put in you both trust & confidence
xl and if I may haue yout helpe to beautify my realme and to recouer againe the olde honoure of myne auncestours by subduyng the Frenche nacion, I for my selfe wyll forget all perill and paine and be your guide lodesman and conductoure. And if you drawe backe and will not moue forwarde, beleue me GOD wyll so dispose, that hereafter you shalbe deceiued and sore repent had I wist. When the kyng had finyshed hys

saiyng

saying all the noble men kneled doune and promised faithfully to serue hym and duely to obey hym, and rather to dye then to suffer hym to fall into the handes of his enemies.

THIS done, the kyng thought surely in his conceipte all sedicion to be drowned and vterly extincte. But if he had cast his eye to the fyre that was newly kyndled, he should haue surely sene an horrible flame incensed against the walles of his owne house and family, by the which in conclusion his line and stocke was cleane destroied and consumed to ashes, whiche fyre at that very tyme peraduenture might haue bene quenched and put out. For diuerse write that Richarde earle of Cambridge dyd not conspire with the lorde Scrope and Sir Thomas Graye to mutther kyng Henry to please the Frenche kyng withall, but onely to thentent to exalte to the croune his brotherin lawe Edmond earle of Marche as heyre to duke Lyonell. After whose death consyderyng that the earle of Marche for diuerse secrete impedimentes was not hable to haue generacion, he was sure that the croune should come to hym by his wife, or to his children. And therefore it is to be thought that he rather confessed him selfe for nede of money to be corrupted by the Frenche kyng, then he would declare his inwarde mynde and open his very entent. For surely he sawe that if his purpose were espied, the earle of March should haue dronken of the same cup that he did, and what should haue come to bys owne children he muche doubted. And therfore beyng destitute of comfort and in dispayre of lyfe, to saue his children he fayned that tale, desirying rather to saue his succession then him selfe, whiche he did in dede. For Richarde duke of Yorke his sonne not priuely but openly claymed the croune, and Edward his sonne both claymed and gayned it as hereafter you shall heare, whiche thyng at this time if kyng Henry had forsene I doubte whether euer that lyne should haue either claymed the garlande or gained the game.

xx

WHEN the wynde was prosperous and plesaunt for the nauye too xxx set forward, they waied vp the Ankers and hoysed vp their sayles and set forward with .xv.C. shyppes on the vigile of the Assumpcion of our Lady and toke lande at Caux, comonly called Kyd Caux (where the ryuer of Seine runneth into the sea) without resistence or bloudshedding. The kyng was lodged on the shore in a small priory with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren: the duke of Exceter and Yorke, the earles, Marshall, Oxforde, Suffolke, Warwicke and other lordes were lodged not farre from hym. The next day after, he marched toward the toune of Harflewe standing on the riuer of Seyne betwene two hilles and besieged it on euery parte. The Capitaine of the toune was the xl lorde Escouteuile with the lorde Blaynuyle of Yacqueuile, the lordes of Harmanuile of Galarde Boyes, of Clere de becton, of Adsanches, of Brian, of Gaucort, of Lisleadam and many other.

THE Frenche kyng beyng aduertised of the kynges arriuall, sente in all the hast the lorde Delabreche constable of Fraunce and the Lorde Bou-

Bonciqualt Marchall of Fraũce,the Seneschal of Henaude,the lorde Ligny and diuerse other capitaines, whiche fortefied tounes with men vitaile and artillary on all the sea coaste. And heryng that the kyng of England had besieged Harflew at hys first landyng, came to the castle of Cawdebec beyng not farre from Harflewe,to thentent to succor their frendes whiche wer besieged if thei might by any pollicy or inuencion, and if not,then they imagined how to greve and hurte the Englischemen when they wente into the countree on foragyng for beastes and vitayll and so trappe and destroye them, for thei cõstrued with themselfes that
x their vitaile would sone fayle because of the ayre of the sea and smell of the water. But they were deceiued,for notwithstandyng the prouision and pollicy of the Frenchemen, the Englischmen forrayed the countree, spoyled the villages and brought many a riche praie to the Campe before Harflewe.Thenglischemen daily ceassed not to assaile the toune,the duke of Gloucester to whõ the order of the assaulte was comitted,made thre mynes vnder the ground & approched the walles wyth ordinaunce and engynes, and would not suffre theim wythin to reste at any tyme. The kyng lyng on the hyll side with his battail did not onely kepe the Frenchemen from succoryng of the toune,but also toke awaie from the
xx tounes men all the hope and trust of their succor,aide and relief,and all so all the gonnepouder that was sent by the Frenche kyng to them that wer besieged was taken bi thenglischmen. The capitaines of the Frẽch men within the toune perceiued that they wer not able to resist the continuall inuasions and hourely assaultes of the fierce Englischemenne, and knowyng that their walles were vndermyned and shortely like to fal,& feryng that might happé of the chance if thei should fortune to be ouercome and takẽ by force,desired of the kyng of England only truce for thre daies,promisyng that if they were not reskewed within thesame tyme,then they to yelo themselfes and the toune their liues only saued.
xxx And to performe this, they deliuered into the kynges possession.xxx.of the beste capitaines and Marchauntes of the toune. The kyng of Englande accepted thys offre, least he entendyng greater exploites myght lese hys tyme in suche small matters. When thys composicion was agreed,the lorde Hacqueuile was sent to the French kyng to declare the necessite of the toune and the shorte time of the truce. To whom the dolphyn aunswered that the kynges power was not yet assembled in suche a nombre as was conuenient to raise so greate a siege. When the aunswer was reported to the capitaines,they seyng no hope nor similitude of aide and comfort to them commyng, after the third daie rendered to
xl the kyng of Englande the toune,beyng the.xxviij.daie after that it was besieged,whiche was the daye of sainct Mawrice,to the greate abashement of all Normandy,for it was the soueraigne porte of al that countree. The souldiours wer raunsomed and the toune was sacked to the greate gayne of the Englischemen. The kynge of Englande ordeigned capitain of the toune of Harflewe hys vncle Thomas duke of Excester

whiche eſtabliſhed hys leuetenaunte there Jhon Faſtolffe wyth.xb.C. men and.xxxb.knightes, wherof the Baron of Carew & syr Hugh Lutterell were two counſaillers. And becauſe diuerſe of hys nobles lyng before Harflew wer ſicke of the flixe and many wer ded, emongeſt whom therle of Stafford, the biſhop of Norwich, the lordes Molins & Burnell wer foure beſide other. The kyng licenſed the duke of Clarence his brother, Jhon erle Marſhall and Jhon erle of Arundel beyng infected with that deſeaſe to returne into Englande.

KYNG Henry not a litle reioyſyng of hys good lucke and fortunate ſucceſſe in the begynnyng of his pretenſed conqueſt, determined wythal diligence to ſet forward in perfornyng his intended purpoſe and warrely enterpryſe, but becauſe Wynter approched faſter and more furiouſly then before that tyme had been accuſtomed, he was ſore troubled and vexed. For the whiche cauſe he called together all the Cheuetaines and men of pollicy in his armie to conſult vpō the procedyng forward and to be ſure of waie and redy paſſage. After long debatyng and muche reaſonyng, it was as a thynge bothe neceſſary and conueniente and fully agreed and determined to ſet forwarde wythall diligence before the dedde tyme of Winter approched, toward the toune of Calcis. And becauſe their goyng forward ſhould be called of ſlaunderous tongues a rumnyng or flyng away, it was decreed that the whole armye ſholde paſſe the next waye by lande through the middeſt of their enemies, and yet that iourney was adiudged perilous by reaſon that the numbre was muche minyſhed by the flyxe and other feuers, whyche ſore vexed and brought to death aboue.xb.C. perſones, which was the very cauſe that the returne was ſonet concluded and apointed: but before his departyng he entered into the toune of Harflew and went on foote to the churche of ſainct Martynes and there offered. And all the men of warr which had not paied their raunſome, he ſware them on the holy Euangeliſtes to yeld themſelfes priſoners at Calcis by the feaſt of S. Martyn in Nouember nexte. diuerſe of the burgeſſes he highly raunſomed, and a greate part of the women and children he expelled the toune, geuyng to euery poore creature fiue ſowſe. The prieſtes had lycence to depart leuyng behynde them their ſubſtaunce. The goodes in the toune wer innumerable whiche were al prate to the Engliſhemen, whiche ſent the beſt into Englande as a remembraunce of good lucke. There were twoo ſtrong toures ſtandyng on the hauen ſide, whyche lokyng for aid did nat yelde ten daies after the toune was rendered.

VVHEN the kyng had repaired the walles, fortified the bulwarkes refreſſhed the rampiers and furniſhed the toune wyth vitail and artillary, he remoued from Harflew toward Pountoyſe, entendyng to paſſe the riuer of Some with his armie before the bridges were either withdrawen or broken. The Frenche kyng hearyng that the toune of Harflewe was gotten and that the kynge of Englande was marchyng forwarde into the bowelles of the realme, ſente out proclamacions and

assembled people in euery quarter, committyng the whole charge of hys armie to hys sonne the Dolphin & the duke of Aquitayn, whiche incontinent caused the bridges to be broken and all the passages to be defended, beside that they caused all corne and other vitaill to be destroied in al places where they conjectured that thenglyshemen would repaire or passe through, to thentent that they might either kepe thē in a place certain wythout any passage or departure, and so to destroye them at their pleasures, or els to kepe theim in a straite without vitailes or comfort, and so by famyne eithre cause them to dye or yelde.

¶ The kyng of Englande afflicted withall these incōmoditees at one tyme was nether dismaied nor discoraged, but keping furth hys iorney approched to the riuer of Some, where he perceiued that all the bridges wer by his enemies broken and vnframed: wherfore he came to the passage called Blanchetaque where kynge Edwardes greate graundfather passed the riuer of Some before ỹ battail of Cressy. But the passage was so kepte that he could not passe without greate daunger, considerynge that his enemies wer at his backe and before his face. Wherfore he passed forward to Araines, burnyng villages & takyng greate booties, and euery daye he sente his light horsemen abrode to spye and
¶ seke what perilles ther wer at hand, what embushmentes ther wer layd on the one side or thother, & to find out where he might most sauely pas the riuer. The espialles returned and declared for a truth that the cōtree swarmed with men of warre, whereof he beyng aduertised, set furth in good ordre, kepyng still his waie forwarde and so ordred hys armie and placed hys cariage, that hauyng his enemies on both sides of him, he passed so terribly that his enemies wer afraid once to offre hym battaill, and yet the lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall Bonneqault, the erle of Vandosme greate Master of Fraunce and the lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, the duke of Alanson and the erle
¶¶ of Richemonde withall the puyssance of the Dolphyn late at Abbeuile and durste not once touche his battailles, but euer kepte the passages and coasted alofe lyke a hauke that liketh not her praie. The kyng of Englande still kept on his iourney till he came to the bridge of saincte Marence, where he founde aboue .xxx.M. Frenchemen and there pitched hys felde, lokyng surely to be set on and fought withall. Wherfore to encorage his capitaines the more, he dubbed certain of his hardy & valeant gentlemen knightes, as Jhō lord Ferrers of Groby, Reignold of Greistocke, Piers Tempest. Christopher Morisby, Thomas Piketing, Williā Huddleston, Jhon Hosbalton, Henry Mortimer, Philip
¶l Halle & Williā his brother, & Jaques de Ormōd & diuerse other. But when he saw ỹ the Frenchemen made no semblance to fight, he departed in good ordre of battaill by the toune of Amiēce to a toune nere to a castle called Bowes, and there laie twoo daies, euery houre lookynge for battaill. And from thence he came nere to Corby where he was staied that night by reason that the comē people and peysantz of the countree

 assembled

assembled in greate nombre and the men of Armes of the garrison of Corby skirmished wyth hys armie in the morning, which tarying was to hym bothe ioyous and profitable, for there he discomfited the crew of horsmen & draue the rustical people euen to their gates, & also found there thesame daye a shalow forde betwene Corby & Peron, whiche neuer was espied before. At the whyche he, his armie & cariages the nyght ensuyng passed the greate riuer of Some without let or daungier, the morowe after sainct Lukes daye, determined withall diligence to passe to Caleis, and not to seke for battail except he wer therto constrained & compelled, because that hys armie by sickenesse was sore minished and appaired, for he had onely two.M. horsemen and.xvj.M. Archers, bill men and of all sortes. The Englishemen were afflicted in this iourney with an hundred discomodities, for their vitaile was in maner al spent, and newe they could gette none, for their enemies had destroyed all the corne before their comyng: Rest they could take none, for theyr enemies wer euer at hande, daily it reined and nightly it freesed, of fuell was skarcenes and of fluxes was plenty, money they had ynough but comforte thei had none. And yet in this greate necessitee the poore folkes wer not spoyled nor any thyng wythout paiment was of thē extorted, nor great offence was doen except one, whiche was that a foolishe souldier stale a pixe out of a churche and vnreuerently did eate the holy hostes within thesame conteigned. For whiche cause he was apprehended, and the kyng would not once remoue till the vessel was restored & the offender strangled. The people of the countrees there aboute hearyng of hys straight iustice & godly mynd, ministered to hym bothe vitailes & other necessaries, although by open proclamacio they wer therof prohibited.

THE Frenche kyng beyng at Roan, hearyng that the kyng of Englande was passed the water of Some, was not a litle discontente, and assembled his counsaill to the numbre of.xxv. to consult what woulde be doen, the chief wherof were the Dolphin hys sonne whose name was Lewes, callyng hymself kyng of Cicile, the dukes of Berry & Britayn therle of Pontieu the kynges yongest sonne and diuerse other, wherof xxx. agreed that the Englishemen should not departe vnfoughten with all, and fiue wer of the contrary opinion, but the greater numbre ruled the matier. And so Mountioye kyng at Armes was sent to the kyng of Englande to defie hym as the enemie of Fraunce, and to tell hym that he should shortly haue battaill. Kyng Henry sobrely aunswered: Syr myne entent and desire is none other, but to do as it pleaseth almighty God and as it becometh me, for surely I wyll not seke your Maistre at this tyme, but if he or his seke me I wil willyngly fight with him. And if any of your nacion attempt once to stoppe me in my iourney toward Calcis, at their ieoperdy be it, and yet my desire is that none of you be so vnaduised or harebrained as to be the occasion that I, in my defence shall coloure and make redde your tawny grounde with the deathes of your selfes and the fusion of Christen bloud. When he had aunswered

ted the harauld, he gaue to hym a great reward & licéced him to depart

VVHEN the Lordes of Fraunce heard the kyng of Englandes aunswere, it was incontinent proclaymed, that all men of warre should resorte to the Constable of Fraunce to fight with the kyng of Englande and hys puissaunce. Wherupon all men accustomed to beare Armure and desirous to wyn honor through the realme of Fraunce drewe toward the felde. The Dolphyn sore desired to bee at that battaile, but he was prohibited by the kyng hys father, likewyse Philip erle of Charolous sonne to the Duke of Burgoyn would gladly haue been at that
x noble assemble if the duke his father woulde haue suffred him, but many of his men stale awaye and went to the Frenchemen.

THE kyng of Englande informed by his espialles that the daye of battaill was nerer then he loked for, dislodged from Bompers & roade in good arrate through the faire plaine beside the toune of Blangy, where to the intent that his armie should not be included in a streight or driuen to a corner, he chose a place mete and conueniente for two armyes to darrayne battaile betwene the tounes of Blangy and Agincourte, where he pight his felde

THE Constable of Fraunce the Marshall, the Admirall, the Lorde
xx Rambures Master of the Crosbowes and diuerse lordes and knyghter pitched theyr banners nere to the banner royall of the Constable in the Countee of sainct Paule within the territory of Agincourte by the whyche wate the Englishemen must nedes passe towarde Caleis. The Frenchemen made greate fires aboute their banners, and they were in numbre had.lx.M. horsemen, as their owne historians and writers affirme, beside footemen pages and wagoners, and all that night made greate chere and were very mery. The Englishmen that night sounded their trompettes and diuerse instrumentes Musicall with greate melody, and yet they were bothe hungery, wery, sore trauciled and muche
xxx vexed with colde deseases: Howbeit they made peace with God in confessyng their synnes, requiryng hym of help and receiuyng the holy sacramente, euery man encouragyng and determinyng clerely rather to die then either to yelde or flie.

NOVV approched the fortunat faire daie to the Englishemen and the infest and vnlucke daye to the Frenche nobilitie, whyche was the fiue and twenty daye of October in the yere of our Lorde Jesu Christe a thousande foure hundred and fiftene, beyng the Fridaye and the daye of Crispin and Crispinian. On the whyche daye in the mornyng, the Frenche menne made thre battailes: In the Vaward were eight
xl thousande Healmes of Knightes and Esquiers and foure thousande Archers and fiftene hundred Crosebowes, whyche were guyded by the Lorde Delabret Constable of Fraunce, hauyng wyth hym the dukes of Orleaunce and Burbone, therles of Ewe and Richmond the Marshall Bouciqualt and the Master of the Crosebowes, the Lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce and other capitaines. And the erle of

The battaile of Agincourt

Uandosme and other the kynges officers with.xvj.C.men of Armes wer ozdzed foz a wyng to that battail. And the other wyng was guided by sir Guyshard Dolphyn and sir Clugnet of Bzabant and syz Lewes of Burbon wyth.viij.C.menne of Armes, of chosen and elect persones. And to bzeake the shot of the Englishmen wer appoincted sir Guyllia of Sauoiens with Hectoz and Philip hys bzethen. Ferry of Vaylley and Alen of Galpanes with other.xiij.C. men of Armes. In the midle ward wer assigned as many persones oz mo as wer in the fozmoste battaill, and therof was the charge comitted to the dukes of Barr and Alenson, therles of Neuers, Uawdemont, Blamoût, Salynges Graunt- r
pzee and of Roussy. And in the rerewarde weze al the other men of Armes, guyded by the erles of Marle Dampmartyne, Fawquenberge and the Lozde of Lourrey Capitayne of Arde, who had with hym men of the Frontiers of Bolonoys.

VVHEN these battailes were thus ozdzed, it was a glozious syght to behold thē, and surely they wer estemed to be in numbze sixe times as many oz moze then was the whole compaigny of the Englishmen wyth wagoners, pages, and all. Thus the Frenchmen wer euery man vnder his banner onely waityng foz the blouddy blast of the terrible trompet, and in this ozdze they continued restyng themselfes and reconcilyng e- rr
uery one to other foz all olde rancozs and hatredes whych had been betwene theim till the houre betwene.ix.and.x.of the daye. Duryng whyche season, the Constable of Fraunce sayed openly to the capitaynes in effecte as foloweth.

The ozacion of The Cõstable of Fraũce

FRENDES and companions in armes, I cannot but bothe reioyce and lament the chances & foztunes of these two armies whiche I openly se and behold with myne iyes here pzesente. I reioyce foz the victozie whyche I se at hand foz our part, and I lamẽt and sozow foz the misery and calamitee whyche I perceiue to appzoche to the othezside: Foz wee cannot but be victours and triumphãt conquezozs, foz who saw euer so rrr
flozisshyng an armie within any chzistian region, oz suche a multitude of valiaunt persones in one compaignie? Is not here the flower of the Frenche nacion on barded hozsses with sharpe speares and dedly weapons? Are not here the bold Bzitons with fiery handgõnes and sharpe swerdes? Se you not pzesent the pzactised Pickardes with strong and weightie Crossebowes? Beside these, we haue the fierce Bzabanders & strong Almaines wyth long pykes and cuttyng slaughmesses. And on the otherside is a smal handfull of poze Englishemen which are entred into thys regon in hope of some gain oz desire of pzoffite, whyche by reson that their vitaill is cõsumed & spent, are by daily kampyn soze weke- rl
ned, consumed & almost without spirites: foz their foze is clerly abated and their strength vtterly decaied, so ẏ oz the battailes shall ioyne they shalbe foz very feblenes vãquished & ouercom, & in stede of men ye shal fight with shadowes. Foz you must vnderstand, ẏ kepe an Englishmã one moneth from hys warme bed, fat befe and stale dzynke, and let him

that

that season tast colde and suffre hunger, you then shall se his courage a bated, hys bodye waxe leane and bare, and euer desirous to returne into hys own countrey. Experience now declareth thys to be true, for if famine had not pinched theim, or colde wether had not nipped them surely thei would haue made theyr progresse farther into Fraunce, and not by so many perilous passages retired towarde Calays. Suche courage is in Englishmen when fayre wether and vitaile folow them, and suche weaknes they haue when famine and cold vexe and trouble them. Therfore nowe, it is no mastery to banquishe and ouerthrowe
x them, beyng bothe wery & weake, for by reason of feblenes and faintnes their weapones shall fal out of their handes when they profer to strike, so that ye may no easelier kyll a poore shepe then destroye them beyng alredy sicke & hungerstaruen. But imagyn that they wer lusty, strong and couragious, and then ponder wisely the cause of theyr cõmyng hither, and the meanyng of theyr enterprice: Fyrst their king a yong stripling (more mete for a tenice playe then a warlike campe,) claimeth the croune, scepter and souereigntie of the verye substance of the Frenche nacion by battaile: then he and hys entende to occupy this countrey inhabite this lande, destroy our wiues and childzen, extinguishe our blud
xx and put our names in the blacke boke of obliuion. Wherfore remembre well, in what quarel can you better fight then for the tuicion of our natural countrey, the honor of your prince, the surety of youre childzen and the sauegard of your land and liues. If these causes do not encourage you to fight, beholde before your eyes the tentes of your enemies, wyth treasure, plate & Jewels wel stuffed and richely furnished, which pray is surely yours if euery man strike but one stroke, beside the great raunsomes whyche shalbe paied for riche capitaines and welthy prisoners, whyche as surely shalbe yours as you now had them in your possession. Yet thys thyng I charge you wythal, that in nowise the kyng
xxx him selfe be killed, but by force or otherwise to be apprehended & taken to the entent that wyth glorye & triumphe we may conuey hym openly through the noble citie of Paris to oute kyng and dolphyn as a testimony of our victory & witnes of our noble act. And of thys thyng you be sure, that fly they cannot, and to yelde to our fight, of necessitie they shalbe compelled. Therfore good felowes take courage to you, the victory is yours, the gaine is yours & the honor is yours without greate laboure or muche losse.

KYNG Henry also lyke a leader & not like one led, like a souereigne and not like a souldior ordred hys men for hys most aduantage lyke an
xl expert capitaine and a couragious warrier. And fyrst he sent priuely CC. archers into a low medowe whiche was nere to the forward of his enemies, but seperate wyth a great diche, and were there commaunded to kepe them selues clole tyl they had a token to them geuen to shote at their aduersaries. Beside this, he appointed a bawarde, of the whyche he made capitayne Edward duke of Yorke whyche of a haute courage

had of the kyng required and obteined that office: and wyth hym were the lordes Beaumond, Mylloughby and Fanhope, and this battaile was all archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the kyng hym self with hys brother the duke of Glouceſter, & the erles Marſhall, Oxford and Suffolke, in the whych wer al the ſtrong bilmen, The duke of Exceter vncle to the kyng led the rereward, whiche was mixed bothe with archers & bilmen. The horſemen like winges went on euery ſide of the battaile. When the kyng had thus ordred his battaile, like a puiſſaunt cõqueror without feare of hys enemies, yet cõſidering the multitude of them farre to excede the ſmal nombre of hys people, doubtynge that the Frenchemen would compaſſe and beſet hym aboute, and ſo fight wyth hym on euery ſide, to thentent to banquyſhe the power of the Frenche horſemen whyche might breake the order and arraye of his Archers, in whom the whole force of the battaile did conſiſt and in maner remaine he cauſed ſtakes bound with yron ſharpe at both endes of the length of v. or. vi. fote, to be pitched before the Archers and of euery ſide the foote men like an hedge, to the entent that if the barde horſes ranne raſhely vpon them, they might ſhortely be gored and deſtroied, & appointed certaine perſones to remoue the ſtakes when the Archers moued, and as tyme required: ſo that the fotemen were hedged about wyth the ſtakes, and the horſemen ſtode like a bulwerke betwene thẽ and theyr enemies without the ſtakes. This deuice of fortifyng an armye was at thys tyme fyrſt inuented, but ſence that tyme, they haue imagined caltrappes, harowes and other new trickes to defende the force of the horſmen ſo that if the enemies at aduenture runne againſt theyr engines, either ſodenly theyr horſes be wounded wyth the ſtakes, or theyr feete hurt wyth the other engines, ſo that of very neceſſitie for pane, the ſely pore beaſtes are compelled to fal and tumble to the ground. When he had ordred thus his battailes, he left a ſmal company to kepe hys campe & baggage, and then callyng his capitaines and ſoldiours about hym, he made to them an heartie Oracion in effect as foloweth, ſaiyng.

The oracion of kyng Henry the fift.

VVELBELOVED frendes and countrymen, I exhort you hartely thynke and conceiue in your ſelues that thys daye ſhalbe to vs all a day of ioy, a day of good lucke and a day of victory: For truely if you well note and wiſely conſidre all thynges, almighty God vnder whoſe protection we be come hither, hath appoincted a place ſo mete and ape for our purpoſe as we our ſelues could neither haue deuiſed nor wiſhed whyche as it is apt and conuenient for our ſmal nombre and litle army ſo is it vnprofitable and vnmete for a great multitude to fight or geue battaile in: and in eſpecial for ſuche men in whom is neither conſtant faith nor ſecuritie of promiſe, whiche perſons be of God neither fauored nor regarded, nor he is not accuſtomed to ayde and ſuccoure ſuche people whyche by force and ſtrength contrary to right & reaſon detain and kepe from other their iuſt patrimony and lauful inheritance, wyth whyche blotte and ſpotte the Frenche nacion is apparantly defyled

and

and distained: so that God of hys iustice wyl scourge and aflicte them for their manifest iniuries and open wronges to vs and oure realme dayly committed and done. Therfore puttyng your onely trust in hym,let not theyr multitude feare youre heartes, nor their greate nombre abate your courage:for surely old warlyke fathers haue bothe said and written that the more people that an army is, the lesse knowledge the multitude hath of materiall feates or politique practises, whyche rude rustical and ignorant persons shalbe in the felde vnto hardy captaines and lusty men of warre a greate let and sore impediment. And
x though they al were of like policy, like audacitie and of one vniforme experience in marcial affayres, yet we ought neither to feare them nor once to shrinke form them,considerynge that we come in the right,which euer of God is fauored,set furth and auanced:in whyche good and iust quarel all good persones shal rather set bothe theyr feete forward, then once to turne theyr one hele backward. For if you aduenture youre liues in so iust a battaile & so good a cause, whyche way soeuer fortune turne her whele, you shalbe sure of fame, glory and renoune: If you be victors and ouercome your enemies, your strength and vertue shalbe spred and dispersed through the whole worlde: If you ouerpressed with
xx so great a multitude shal happē to be slaine or taken,yet neither reproche can be to you ascribed, either yet infamy of you reported, considerynge that Hercules alone was not equiuolent vnto.ii.men,nor a smal handfull is not equal to a greate nombre,for victory is the gift of God and consisteth not in the puissaunce of men. Wherfore manfully set on your enemies at theyr fyrst encountre, strike with a hardy courage on the false hearted Frenchemen, whom youre noble auncestours haue so often ouercome and vanquished. For surely they be not so strong to geue the onset vpon you,but they be much weaker to abid your strēgth in a long fight and tyred battaile. As for me I assure you al,that Eng-
xxx land for my person shall neuer paye raunsome, nor neuer Frencheman shall triumph ouer me as his capitain,for this day by famous death or glorious victory I wyl wynne honor and obtaine fame. Therfore now ioyously prepare your selues to the battaile and couragiously fyght wyth your enemies,for at thys very tyme all the realme of Englande praieth for our lucke and prosperous succes.

WHILE the kyng was thus speakyng,eche armye so maligned and grudged at the other beyng in open sight and euident apparence, that euery man cried furth,furth,forward forward. The dukes of Clarēce, Gloucester and Yorke were of the same opinion,thinkyng it moste con-
xl uenient to marche toward theyr enemies wyth al spede & celeritie, least in prolongyng of tyme and arguyng of opinions, the Frenche armye might more and more increase & hourly multiply. Howbeit,the kynge taried a whyle least any ieopardy were not forsene, or any hazard not preuented.

THE Frenchemen in the meane season litle or nothynge regardynge

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the small nombre of thenglische nacion, wer of suche haute courage and proud stomackes that they toke no thought for the battaile, as who saye they wer victours and ouercomers before any stroke was striken, and laughed at the Englishmen,and for very prid thought them selues lifted into heauen iesting and boasting that thei had thenglishmen inclosed in a straight, & had ouercome & taken thē without any resistence. The capitaines determined howe to deuide the spoyle: the souldiors plaied the Englishemen at dice: the noble men deuised a chariot howe they might triumphantly conueigh kyng Henry beyng captiue to the cytie of Paris, criyng to theyr souldiors, haste your selues to obtaine spoyle,glory and honor,to thentent that we may study how to geue you thankes for the great giftes and rewardes which we hope to receiue of your great liberalitie. The folishe folye of this vaine solace brake out so farre, that messengers were sent to the cyties and tounes adioynyng, willyng them to make open playes and triumphes,(as though that the victory were to them certaine and no resistance could appeare) and also to geue God thankes for their prosperous act and notable dede, not remembryng that the whirlewynd shortely with a puffe blew awaye all their folishe ioy and phantastical braggyng.

Of thys doyng you may gather,that it is as muche madnes to make a determinate iudgement of thinges to come, as it is wisdome to doubt what wyll folowe of thynges begōne. I may not forget how the Frēchmen beyng in this pleasaunt pastyme, sent a herault to kyng Henry to inquyre what raūsome he would offre, and how he answered that within.ii.or.iii.houres he hoped that it should so happen that the Frenchemen should cōmen rather with thenglishmen howe to be redemed, then the Englishemen should take thought how to pay any raūsome or money for theyr deliuerance: asserteinyng them for him selfe that hys deadcation should rather be their pray,then hys liuyng body should pay any raunsome. When the messenger was departed, the Frenchemen put on theyr healmettes and set them in ordre vnder their banners, rychely armed and gorgeously trapped,and caused theyr trumpettes to blowe to the battaile.

THE Englishemen perceiuyng that,sette a lytle forwarde, before whom there went an olde knight called syr Thomas of Herpingham,a man of great experience in warre, with a warder in his hand,and when he cast vp his warder al the army shouted,at the which the Frenchmen muche maruelled, but that was a signe to the Archers in the medowe, whiche knowing the token, shot wholy altogether at the vaward of the Frenchemen. When they perceiued the archers in the medow,whō they saw not before, and sawe they could not come to them for a ditche, they with al hast sent on kyng Henryes forward, but or they ioyned,the archers in the forfront and the archers on the side whiche stode in the medow, so wounded the fotemen, so galled the horses and so combred the men of armes that the fotemen durst not go forward,the horsmen rāne

in

in plumpes without ordre, some ouerthrew his felow, and horses ouerthrew their maisters: So at the fyrst ioynyng, as the Frenchemen were cleately discouraged, so thenglishemen were muche chered. When the Frenche vaward was thus discomfited, the English archers cast away theyr bowes & toke into theyr handes axes, malles and swordes, billes and other weapons, and therwith slewe the Frenchemen tyll they came to the middleward. Then the kyng approched and encoraged his souldiors, that shortly the second battaile was ouerthrowen and dispersed not without greate slaughter of men: howbeit diuers beyng wounded
x were releued by theyr varlettes and cõueighed oute of the felde. for the Englishmen so sore labored with fightyng and slayng, and wer so busy in takyng of prisoners that they folowed no chace, nor would once breake out of ỹ battaile. The Frenchmen strongly withstode the fearcenes of the thenglishmen whẽ thei came to hãdystrokes, so that the fight was very doubtfull & perilous. And when one part of the French horsemen thought to haue entred into the kynges battaile, they were wyth the stakes ouerturned and either slaine or taken,

THVS this battaile continued .iii. long houres, some strake, some defẽded, some foyned, some trauersed, some kylled, some toke prisoners
xx noman was idle, euery man fought either in hope of victory or glad to saue hym selfe. The kyng that day shewed hym selfe lyke a valiaunt knight, whyche notwythstandyng that he was almoste felled with the duke of Alaunson, yet wyth plain strength he slew .ii. of the dukes company and felled the duke: but when the duke would haue yelded hym, the kynges garde cõtrary to the kynges minde outragiously slew hym. And in conclusion, mindyng to make an ende of that dayes iorney, caused hys horsmen to fetch a compasse about & to ioyne wyth hym against the rereward of Fraunce: in the whych battaile were the greatest numbre of people. When the Frenchemen perceiued hys entent, they wer so-
xxx denly amased and ranne away lyke shepe without aray or ordre.
When the king perceiued the banners cast doune & the aray was clerely broken, he encoraged his souldiors and folowed so quickely that the Frenchemen turnyng to flight, ranne hither and thither not knowyng whyche way to take, castyng awaye theyr armure and on theyr knes desired to haue theyr liues saued. In the meane season while the battaile thus continued and that thenglishemen had taken a great tõbre of prisoners, certain Frenchemen on horsbacke wherof were captaines Robinet of Bozneuile, Rifflart of Clamas and Iſambert of Agincourt and other men of Armes to the nombre of .vi. C. horsemen: whyche fled fyrst
xl from the felde at theyr fyrst commyng, and hearyng that the Englyshe tentes and pauilions were farre from the army wythout any great nõbre of kepers or persons mete and conuenient, for defence, partlymoued and styred with coueteous desire of spoyle and pray, and partly entendyng by some notable act to reuenge the damage and displeasure done to them & theirs in battaile the same day, entred into the kynges campe

beyng

beyng voide of men and foztified with varlettes and lackeys, and thei spoyled hales, robbed tentes, brake vp cheftes & caried awaie caskets and flewe fuche feruantes as they could find in the tentes & pauilions. Foz the whiche act thei wer long imprifoned and foze punifhed and like to haue loft their liues if the Dolphyn had longer liued.

VVHEN the king by a fearefull meffenger was of this euil act fodainly aduertifed, and when the outcry of the lackeys and boyes which rãne awaye foz feare of the robbers was heard into the felde, faying that the Frenchmen had robbed all the tentes and lodgynges of the Englifhemen, he fearyng leaft his enemies beyng difperfed and fcattered abzoad fhould gather together againe and begynne a new felde: and doubtyng farther that the prifõers would either be an aide to his enemies oz very enemies to him if he fhould fuffer thẽ to liue, contrari to his accuftomed gentlenes & pitie he commaunded bi the founde of a trompet that euery man vpon paine of death fhould incontinently fley his prifoner. When this dolozous decre and pitiful proclamacion was pronounced, pitie it was to fe and lothfome it was to behold how fome Frenchmen wer fodainly ficked with daggers, fome wer brained with polaxes, fome wer flaine wyth malles, other had theyr throtes cut and fome their bellies paunched: fo that in effecte hauyng refpecte to the greate nombze, few prifoners oz none were faued.

VVHEN this lamentable manflaughter was finifhed, thenglifhmen forgetting their woundes and hurtes and not remembzing what paine they had fuftained all day in fightyng with their enemies, as men that were freffhe and lufty, ranged them felues again in aray both preft and redy to abide a newe felde, and alfo to inuade and newly to fet on theyr enemies, and fo couragioufly thei fet on the earles of Marle & Faucombzige and the lozdes of Louray and of Thyne, whiche with .vi.C. men of armes had all day kept together and flew them out hand.

When the kyng had paffed through the felde & faw neither refiftence noz apparaunce of any Frenchemen fauyng the dead cozfes, he caufed the retrayte to be blowen, and brought al his army together about .iiii. of the clocke at after noone. And fyrft to geue thankes to almightie God geuer & tributoz of this glozious victozy, he caufed his prelates & chapelaines fyrft to fyng this pfalme In exitu Iſrael de Egipto. &c. commaundyng euery man to knele doune on the ground at this verfe. Non nobis domine, non nobis, fed nomini tuo da gloriam, which is to fay in Engliſh, Not to vs lozd, not to vs, but to thi name let the gozy be geuen: whiche done he caufed Te deum with certaine anthemes to be fong geuyng laudes and praifynges to God, & not boãftyng noz braggynge of him felfe noz his humaine power.

THAT night he toke refreſhyng of fuche as he found in the Frenche campe, and in the mozning Moũtioy kyng at armes and .iiii. Heraultes came to hym to knowe the nombze of prifoners and to defire burial foz them whiche were flaine. Befoze he could make any anfwere to the

Heraultes

Heraultes, he remembring that it is more honorable to bee praised of his enemies, then to be extolled of his frendes: and he that praiseth him selfe lacketh louyng neighbors: wherfore he demaunded of thē why thei made to him that requeit, consideryng that he knew not certaynly whether the praise & the victory were mete to be attributed to him or to their nacion. Oh Lorde of Mountioy kyng at Armes, thinke you vs officers of armes to be rude and bestiall persons? If we for the affection that we beare to our naturall countrey, woulde ether for fauor or mede hide or deny your glorious victory: The foules of the ayer, the wormes of
x the ground feoyng on the multitude of the dead carions, by your onely puyssaunce destroyed and confounded, will beare witnesse againste vs, ye and muche more the captiues whiche be liuing and in your possession with their Wiues and litle Infauntes will saie wee bee openly arts and vntrue taletellers: Wherefore accordyng to the dutie of our office whiche is or should bee alwaies indifferently to write and truely to iudge, we saie, determine and affirme that the Victory is yours, the honour is yours and yours is the Glorye, aduising you, as you haue Wankully gotten it, so polletikely to vse it. Well saied the kyng, seeyng this is your determinacion, I willingly accepte thee same, desiryng you too
xx know the name of thee castle nere adioining. When they had answered that it was called Agyncourt, he said that this conflict should be called the battaill of Agyncourte, whiche victorye hathe not been obteined by vs nor our power, but onely bi the sufferaunce of GOD for inury and vntruethe that we haue receaued at the handes of your Prince and hys nacion. That daie he feasted the Frenche officers of Armes and graunted theym their requeste, whiche busely soughte throughe the felde for suche as were slaine, but the Englishemen suffred theym not to go alone for they serched with them and founde many hurt but not in ieoperdy of their life, whom thei toke prisoners and brought them into their tentes.
xxi VVHEN the king of Englande had well refreshed hymselfe and his souldiers and had taken thee spoyle of suche as were slayne, he with hys prisoners in good ordre returned to his toune of Calice. When tydynges of this notable victory was blowen into Englande, solempne processions and other praisynges to almightie GOD, with Bonefiers and dances wer ordeigned in euery toune, cite and borough, and the Maire and the citizens of the citee of London wente thee morowe after the daie of sainct Simon and Jude from the Churche of Saincte Paule to the church of S. Peter at Westminster in deuoute manner rendring to god their moofte humble and hartye thankes for his haboundant grace and
xl forturnate lucke geuen and sent to the kyng their souereigne lord.

VVHEN the kyng of Englande was departed the sondaye toward Caleis, diuerse Frenchmen repaired to the plain where the battaill was and remoued agayn the ded bodies, some to fynde their lordes and masters and theim to conueygh into theire countreys there too bee buried, some to spoyle and take the reliques whiche thee Englishemen had lefte

behynde: For thei toke nothyng but gold, siluer iuelles, riche apparell and costly armure. But the ploughmen and peysantes spoyled the dead carcasses, leuyng them neither shette nor cloute, and so they laie starke naked till Wednesday. On the whiche daie diuerse of the noble menne wer conueighed into their countrees and the remnant were by Philip erle Charoloys (sore lamentyng the chaunce and moued with pitee) att his cost and charge buried in a square plot of xv.C.yardes, in the whi= ch he caused to be made thre pittes, wherin wer buried by accompt.v. M.and viii.C.persons beside them that wer caried awaie by their frēn= des and seruauntes, and other whiche beyng wounded to death died in x Hospitalles and other places, whiche groūd after was made a churche yarde, and for feare of Wolues enclosed with a high walle

AFTER this dolorous iorney and piteous, slaughter, diuerse clerc= kes of Paris made many lamentable Verses, complayning that the kyng reigned by will, and that counsaillers wer perciall, affirming that the noble men fled against nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigality, declaring also that the clergy wer domb and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble cōmons duely obeyed and yet e= uer suffered ponishment: For which cause by persecution deuine, the lesse numbre vanquished, and the great was ouercome. Wherfore thei xx concluded that all thynges were out of ordre, and yet there was no man that studied to bryng the vntuly to fraime. And no meruel though this battaill were doloyous and lamentable to the Frenche nacion, for in it were taken and slayne the flower of all the nobilitie of Fraunce, for there wer taken prisoners.

Charles duke of Orleaunce nephew to the Frenche kyng
Jhon duke of Burbon.
Jhon of Craon lord of Dommart.
The Lorde of Fossenx.
The Lorde of Humiers.
The Lorde of Roye.
The Lorde of Cauny.
Sir Borsqueret lorde of Hācourt.
The lorde of Noell called the whit knight and Bado his sonne.
Lorde Boncequalt Marshall of Fraunce which died in Englād
The young Lorde of Dynchy
Sir Jhon Vawcort.
Sir Arthure Bremier.
Sir Jenet of Poys. xxx
The sōne & heire of the lord Lygny
Sir Gylbert de lawney.
The Lorde Dancobe in Ternoys and diuerse other to the nombre of fiftene hundred knightes and Esquiers beside the common people

There were slain of nobles and gentelmen.

Charles lorde Delabreth hie Con= stable of Fraunce.
Jaques of Chastilon lord of Dā= pier Admirall of Fraunce.
The Lorde Rambures Master of the Crosbowes.
Sir Guysharde Dolphyn greate Master of Fraunce. xl
Jhon duke of Alaunson.
Anthony duke of Brabāt brother to the duke of Burgoyn
Edward duke of Barre.

Therle

Therle Neuers brother to ỹ duke of Burgoyn.
Syr Robert Barre erle of Marle.
The erle of Uawdemont.
The erle of Bawmont.
The erle of Graundpre.
The erle of Rouſy.
The erle of Fauconberge.
The erle of Foys.
The erle of Leſtrake.
The lord Boys of Burbon.
The Uidane of Amias.
The lord of Croye.
The lord Belly.
The lord Daurcy.
The lord of Brennew.
The lord of Pair ſtandard berar.
The lord of Crequy.
The lord of Lowrey.
The Baily of Amiẽce & his ſonne.
The lord of Kaynuale.
The lord of Lõguale his brother.
The lord of Mawley & his ſonne.
The lord of Diurie.
The lord of Newfile.
The lord of Galigny.
The lord of Rocheguiche.
The Uicedane of Lamoys.
The lord de Laltgier.
The lord Baſſtremont.
The lord ſainct Brys.
The lord of Contes and his ſonne.
The lord of Nannes & his brother
The lord of Kont.
The lord of Appincourt.
Thelord delariuer ẅ diuerſe other whiche I leaue out for tediouſnes

But ſurely by the relacion of the
xx Heraultes and declaracion of other notable Perſons worthy of credite as Enguerrant writeth, there wer ſlain on the Frenche parte aboue ten thouſande perſones wherof wer princes and nobles bearyng banners Cxxvi. and all the remnant ſauyng xvi. C. wer knightes, eſquiers and gentelmen: ſo of noble men and gentelmen were ſlain. viii. M. iiii. C, of the whiche. v. C. wer dubbed knightes the night before the battail. Frõ the felde eſcaped on lyue, the erle Dampmartyn, the lorde Delartuier, Clunet of Brabante, ſir Lewes of Burbon, ſir Galliot of Gaules, ſyr Jhon Dengermes and few other men of name.

OF Engliſhmen at thys battaill were ſlayne Edward duke of Yorke
xxx therle of Suffolk, ſir Richard Kikeley & Dauy gãme eſquire, & of al o= ther not aboue. xxv. if you will geue credite to ſuche as write miracles: but other writers whom I ſoner beleue, affirme that there was ſlayn a= boue. v. or. vi. C, perſons, whiche is not vnlyke, conſidring ỹ the battail was earneſtly and furiouſly foughte by the ſpace of three long houres wherfore it is not incredible nor yet vnpoſſible but more Engliſhemen then. xxv. were ſlain and deſtroyed.

THIS battail may be a mirror and a glaſſe to all Chriſtian princes to beholde and followe, for kyng Henry nether truſted in the puiſſaunce of his people, nor in the fortitude of his champions, nor in the ſtrength of
xl his barded horſes, nor yet in his owne pollicie, but he putte in GOD (which is the corner ſtone and immouable rocke) his whole confidence hope & truſt. And he which neuer leaueth them deſtitute that putt their confidence in hym, ſent to hym this glorious victory, whiche victory is almoſt incredible if we had not redde in thee booke of kinges that God likewiſe had defended and aided them that onely put their truſt in hym

and committed themselues wholy to his gouernaunce.

AFTER that the kynge of Englande had refreshed hymselfe and hys souldiours in the Toune of Calice, and that suche prisoners as he had lefte at Harflew (as you haue heard) wer come to hym to Caleys: the.vi. day of Nouembre he with all his Prisoners toke shippyng at Caleis, and the same day landed at Douer, hauynge with hym the dead bodies of the duke of Yorke and the erle of Suffolke, and caused the Duke to bee buried at his colledge of Fodrynghey, and the erle at Ewhelme. In this passage the seas were so rough and troubleous that two shyppes laden with souldiors apperteyning to sir Jhon Cornewall Lorde Fanhop, wer driuen into zelande, howbeyt nothyng was lost nor no person was perished. The kyng by soft iourneis with al his prisoners cam to London and so to Westminster, where he rested hymself a conuenient time to deliuer his Prisoners to their kepers, and to se them all in saue custody. Here I might declare vnto you if I woulde bee tedious and Prolixe, how the Mayre of London and the Senate appareled in orlēt grayned Skarlet, how .iij. C. comoners clad in beautiful Murrey well mounted and gorgeously horsed with riche collers and greate chaynes met the kyng at Blackhethe, reioysyng at his victorious returne. How the clergy of London with riche crosses, sūpteous copes & Wassy cēlers receiued hym at .s. Thomas of Watering with solempne procession lauding and prasing God for the high honor and victory to hym geuen & graunted: but all these thynges I omit and returne to the very matter.

WHEN the dolorous tidynges of this bloudy battaill was declared to the Frenche kyng beeyng then at Roan, and with hym the Dolphyn, the dukes of Berry and Bryteyne and his second sonne therle of Ponthew, if he lamented this chaunce and cursed that euill daie in the whiche he lost so many noble men, no man haue maruaill. And yet thee dolor was not onely hys, for the ladies sowned for the deathes of theyr housebandes, the Orphalines wept and rēt their heates for the losse of their patentes, the kayze damoselles defied that day in thee whiche they had lost their paramors, the seruātes waxed mad for destrucciō of their masters, and finally euery frend for his frende, euery cosyn for his alye, euery neighbor for his neighbor, was sory, displeased & greued. Where fore the Frenche kyng and his counsell perceiuing that the warre was but newely begon, and that toward them with euill spede, determined to prouide for chances that might folowe, and to forsee thynges or they sodainly happened. And first he elected his chief officer for the warres called the Constable, whiche was therle of Arminack, a wise and a politique capitain and an auncient enemye to thenglishmen, and sir Jhon of Corsey was made Master of the Crosbowes, and then they fortyfied tounes & furnished garrisons. While these thynges were thus in worckyng, either for Melancoly that he had for the losse at Agincourt or by some sodayn disease, Jhon Dolphyn of Vienoys heire apparaunte to Charles the Frenche kyng departed out of this naturall life without

issue

issue, whiche was an happy chaunce for Robynet of Bournouille and his compaignions as you haue heard before, for his deathe was their life, and his life would haue been their death.

¶ The.iiii.yere.

The iiii. yere

After this notable victory obteined by the Englishmē & ỳ kyng Henry was departed into England, & the Frē- che kyng had made newe officers in hope to relieue & set vp againe the old estate of his realme & countrey, Tho- mas duke of Excester capitain of Harflew accōpanied with thre M. Englishmen made a great road into Nor- mandy, almoste to thee city of Roan: In whiche iorney he gat great habundaunce bothe of riches and prisoners. But in his re- turne therle of Armynacke newly made Constable of Fraunce, enten- dyng in his first iorney to wynne his spurres, and in his compaignie a boue. v. M. horsemen, encountred with hym. The skirmishe was sore and the fight fierse, but because the Englishemen wer not able to resyste the force of the Frenche Horsemen, the Duke to saue his men was com- pelled to retire, as polletiquely as he could deuise: But for all that he could do he lost almost. ccc. of his fotemen. The Frenchmen not content with this good lucke folowed theim almoste too thee Barriers of Har- flew. When the Englishemen within the toune espied the chase, thei is- sued oute in good ordre and met with their enemies, and not onely slew and toke a greate numbre of theim, but also chased theym aboue eyghte miles toward the citee of Roan.

ABOVTE this season Sigismond Emperour of Almayne whiche had maried Barbara doughter to therle of Zilie cosyn germayn remoued to kyng Henry (as by the pedegree set out in the end of this boke you shall plainly perceiue) a man of greate vertue and fidelitie, whiche had nott only long labored to set an vnitie and concord in Christes Churche and christian religion, bnt also he sent diuers Ambassadors aswel to ỳ frēch kyng as to the kyng of Englande, because he was farre distaunt from their countreies and regions to encrease perfight peace and reasonable vnitie. Wherfore, seyng that his Ambassade broughte nothyng to con- clusion he in person came frō the farthest part of Hungary into Fraunce and after into England, intendyng to knit together all christian pryn- tes in one line and amitee, and so beyng frendes together, to make warre and reuenge their quarrelles against the Turk the persecutor of Chri- stes faithe and enemie to all christendome. With this noble Emperor came the Archebishoppe of Reynes and diuerse other noble men, as Am- bassadors frō the Frenche kyng into England. The kyng of Englande for old amitee betwene the hous of Englande and Beame, withall hys nobilitie hym receiued on Blackheth the. vii. date of Maie, and brought him through London to Westminster with greate triumphe, where Justes, tournayes and other marcyall feates were to hym with all ioye

and pleasure shewed and set furth. During whiche tyme there came in to Englande Albert duke of Hollande, whiche also was frendly entertetgned. And theese twoo pynces were by thee kyng conueihed to Wynsoze to. S. Geozges feast, and elected compaignions of thee noble ozdre of the Garter, and had the coloz and habite of the same to theim deliuered, satte in their stalles all thee solempnitie of thee feaste: by thee whiche ozdze thei knowledged themselues highly honozed and muche exalted. After this solempne feast finished, the duke of Holland well feasted and greatly rewarded, returned into his countrey. But the Emperoz tatied still, neuer ceasyng too declare & perswade what vtilitie, what goodnes and what ioye mighte ensue if bothe thee realmes of Englande and Fraunce wer brought to a finall concozd and perfighte vnitee But thee euell chaunce of the Frenche nacion was to his purpose a barre and a lette, because thei were predestinate to suffre yet moze plagues and detrimentes of thenglishe people then befoze thei had tasted. Foz when concozde was at hande and peace was enteryng into the gates, a newe cause of moze discozd and dissencion sodainly brake out and came to the kynges knowledge: foz he beyng infozmed of the losse of his mẽ at the conflict late had in the territozy of Roan (as you haue heard) was so displeased and vnquieted that he woulde heare of no treatye, noz haue once this word peace named.

THE Empiroz like a wise pzince, seyng then the aspect of the planet reigned contraty to his purpose, ceassed to talke of the matter any moze till an other daie when the coniũction should be in moze meker signes stirring to peace. And so when a meete & conuenient tyme came he bzoched again the vessell of concozd and amitee, & put it in so faire a cup and pzesented it with suche pleasant wozdes, that surely the kyng had tasted it sufficiently if ỹ Frenchmẽ had not sodaynly pzepared a new army. Foz thertle of Azmnacke puffed vp with his laste victozy, although the honoz wer small and the gain lesse, determined clerely to get agayne the toune of Harflewe, wherfoze as closely as he could, he gathered together men in euery parte, and appoynted theim all to mete at Harflewe at a daie assigned. The appointment was kept and the Toune was besieged bothe by water and lãd befoze the Capitaines of the toune knewe perfightly the first motion. Foz Jhon Vicount Narbon Viceadmirall of Fraunce had bzought the whole naup to the ruage and shoze adioynyng to the toune, entendyng pziuily to haue entered into thee toune on the water side oz he had been perceiued, But his subtle ymagmacion toke no place, foz thei whiche kept the wache toute, sodainly perceiuing their enemies to appzoche, rang the alarum bell. The duke of Excester incontinente caused all his men to repaire to thee walles, and fozti fied the gates, and dispatched a swifte Barke to kyng Henry with letters, requiring hym of ayde and succoz. Although thee Frenchemen perceiued that their wyly enterprice was knowen, and that the toune could not be taken and sodeinly stolen as thei had deuised, yet they con-

tinued

tinued their siege both by water and by lande, and made diuerse assaultes, at the whiche if thei nothyng gained yet euer somewhat thei lost.

When these newes were come to the eares of kyng Henry, and that hee knewe that his people were in greate ieopardy excepte greate diligence were vsed for their relief and deliueraunce, he without delay apparelled a greate nauy & intended in person to minister succours to his subiectes so besieged. The Emperor Sigismond sagely dissuaded him and wisely counsailed him not to aduenture him selfe in that iorney, but onely to
x send some valiant capitain whiche shortly mighte appease that furious storme & quickely to quenche that blasing flame: aduertising him that it was neither necessary nor honorabli for a prince in whome thee whoole waight and charge of the cõmon welth consisteth, to aduenture and hazard him self in euery peril and doutfull chaunce. The kyng beyng persuaded with the reasonable and louing aduertisement of his frende thee emperor, appointed the Duke of Bedforde his Brother, accompanied with therles of Marche, Marshall, Oxford, Huntyngdon, Warwycke, Arundell, Salisbury, Deuonshyre, and diuerse Barons with. CC. saile to passe into Normandy for rescew of the toune of Harflew. Whiche
xx makyng good expedicion shipped at Rye, and with a prosperous wynd and a freshe gale came to the mouth of the riuer of Seyn on the daye of the assumpcion of our Lady. When the Vicount Narbon perceiued the Englishe nauy to approche, hee geuing a token to all his company, corragiously set toward his enemies & gate the possession of thee mouthe of the hauen. When the duke of Bedford perceiued the nauy of his enemies to come forward so fiersly he set before certayn stronge and well made shippes, whiche at the first encounter vanquished and toke twoo Frenche shippes (whereof the capiteines were rashe and somewhat to bold) withal their souldioures and tackelyng. The duke folowed incõtinently with all his puissaunce and like a valiant capitain with greate
xxx courage and audacitie, set on his enemies: thee fighte was long, but not so long as perilous, nor so perilous as terrible, for battailes of the sea be euer desperate, for neither the assailauntes nor defendantes loke for any refuge, nor know any backdoze how to scape out. After long fighte the victory fell to the Englishemen, and they toke and sonke almoost all the whoole Nauy of Fraunce, in the whiche were many shippes hulkes and Carickes to the numbre of fiue hundred, of the whiche. iii. great Carickes were sent into England In the same conflict were slaine of thee Frenchmen no small nombre as it appered by their bodies which swarmed euery daie about the Englishe shippes.

xl AFTER this victory fortunately obteined, the duke of Bedforde sailed by water vp to the very toune of Harflew, and without let or impedyment landed and refreshed it both with vitaile and money. Which succors if they were welcome to the duke of Excester his vncle, I report me to them that haue bene in necessitie and woulde haue gladly bene refreshed.

When

VVHEN the earle of Armynacke heard that the puissaunt nauye of Fraunce was vanquished & taken, he raised hys siege before the toune and returned wyth smal ioy to Paris, as he that had no hope nor sawe any lykelyhod or meane to recouer again the toune of Harflew for whe che he so sore thirsted.

AFTER this discomfiture and great losse, the fortitude & strength of the Frenchmen began to decay, & their bragging beautie began to fade, For nowe the princes & nobles of the realme fel into diuision & discorde among them selues, as who saye, that the nobilitie studyng howe to reuenge theyr olde iniuries and displeasures, refused to take payne for thaduauncemēt of the publique wealth and sauegard of theyr countrey And for priuy displeasure or couert hatred, theyr power began to were so slender, & theyr libertie was brought into suche a malicious diuersitie and doubtfull difference, that as hereafter shalbe shewed, it was mery ueil that theyr coūtrey was not brought to a perpetual bondage: whyche thing no doubt had folowed if kyng Henry had lenger liued in this mutable worlde. For notwithstandyng that the duke of Orleaunce the capitaine and head of the one faction was at that tyme captiue and prisoner in England, yet there grewe so muche priuy displeasure & cankard hatred betwene Charles the Dolphyn and Jhon duke of Burgoyne, that while the one studied, compassed and deuised how to ouercome the other with armure or wyth policy, with dissimulacion or craftye cōueyaunce, euery torneiman of their faction, & euery noble man partaker wyth the one or the other put all theyr whole study and diligence to auance forward theyr sect and part, and not one of them would take hede howe to resist and refell the present icopardye whyche was comyng out of England. And as one incōuenience suffred many to folow so was it in Fraunce at this time, for the French kyng was not of good memory, the war that was toward, semed both doubtfull and perilous. the princes were vntrusty and at discord, and an hundreth mo thinges whiche might bryng the realme to extreme misery and vtter distructiō as after you shall heare.

VVHEN the Duke of Bedford had acheued hys enterprise and performed hys cōmission, bothe in raisyng the siege of Harflew and victayling of the toune, he with no smal nombre of prisoners and greate habundance of pray as wel in shippes as prouision for the sea, returned into England wyth great triumph and glory. For that victory he was not so much thanked of the kyng his brother, as lauded and praised by the Emperor Sigismond beyng to hym a straunger, whiche sayd openly, happy are those subiectes whyche haue suche a kyng, but more happy is the kyng that hath suche subiectes

VVHEN the Emperoure perceiued, that to moue farther a peace, was but a vayne request, and to tarye lenger in Englande to procure an amitie was but losse of tyme, because he sawe the Englyshemens myndes sore offended wyth the last siege of Harflew, with whyche facte,

he

he hym selfe was not welcõtent but gteatly moued: Therefoze leauing all treaty and persuasion, he entered into a league and amitie with the kyng of England. Whiche confederacy least it should be broken euery of the cõtractoys studied & deuised al waies and meanes possible howe to obserue it vnuiolated and preserue it vnbroken: whiche playne meaning and true dealing was to thẽ both after, not onely much honoz but greate cõmoditie. When the Emperoz had thus cõcluded a league with the kyng of England and had done al thynges in England accozdyng as was thought necessary, he toke his iozney homeward into Germany, and the kyng partely to shewe him pleasure, and partely because of his owne affaires, associated him to his toune of Calice. Duryng whiche tyme the duke of Burgoyn offered to come to Calice to speake with the Emperoz and the kyng because he heard speake of the League and confederacy that was concluded betwene them. The kyng sent to the water of Graueling the Duke of Gloucester his bzother, and the earle of Marche to be hostages foz the duke of Burgoyne, and sent also thee earle of Warwicke with a noble company to cõduct him to his presẽce At Grauelyng toozde the dukes met, and after salutacions done, thee duke of Burgoyn was conueighed to Caleys, where of the Emperoz & of the kyng he was highly feasted and welcommed. Duryng whiche tyme a peace was concluded betwene the kyng of England & the duke of Burgoyn foz a certain space, cõcerning onely the counties of Flaunders and Arthoys, foz the whiche cause the French kyng and hys sonne were highly displeased. The duke of Gloucester also was receiued at Grauelyng by the earle Charoloys sonne to the duke of Burgoyne, and by him honozably conueighed to S. Omers & there lodged that nyght The next day the Earle Charoloys came with diuers noblemen to visite the duke of Gloucester in his lodging, and when he entered into the chambze the Dukes backe was towarde him, talkyng with some of his seruauntes, and did not se noz welcome the erle Charoloys at the fyzste entrey: but after he saied to him shoztly without any great reuerence oz cõmyng toward him, you be welcome kayze cosyn, and so passed fourthe his tale with his seruantes. The earle Charoloys foz al his youth was not wel content, but suffred foz that tyme,

VVHEN the duke of Burgoyn had done all thynges at Caleys that he came foz, he after the ix day returned to Grauelyng, where the Duke of Glouester and he met agayne, and louingly departed the one to Caleys and the other to saincte Omers: foz the whiche voiage the duke of Burgoyn was suspected to be enemy to the croune of Fraunce. After all the dukes departyng, the Emperoz was highly feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sailed into Holand, and so roade into Beame. The kyng likewise toke ship and returned into England on Sainct Lukes euen, the yere of our Lozd, 1417.

In

The.v.yere.



N this yere the kyng assembled together his high Court of Parliament, and there in open Audience made to theim a shorte and pithy Oracion, declarynge vnto them the iniuries lately doone and committed by the Frenche Nacion, he showing also the iust and lawfull occasion of hys warres, signifieng furthermore the great discord and Ciuile dissencion whiche reigned amongest the Nobilitie of Fraunce, reherlyng many thynges for the whiche it were very necessary and nedefull to represse & ouercome them withal their power & puissaunce, & that without deferryng or prolongyng of tyme, desiryng thē to prouide for money & treasure out of hand for the conduct & wages of souldiors, to thentent that nothyng should lacke when they should be redy to set on their enemies. His causes wer so iust and his demaūdes so reasonable, that he had no soner spoken but it was assented, and he had no soner demaūded but it was graunted. And for to geue men a courage for to go furth, money was first gathered to make prouision for al thynges necessary for suche a royal voyage. for surely ther was no creature whiche with that warr was either discontented or displeased, for it semed to al mē no lesse profitable then honorable, nor no lesse honorable then conuenient. xlii

IN this Parliament also Jhon Duke of Bedford was made gouernor or regent of the realme and head of the publique welth, which office he should enioy as long as the kyng was making warre on the French nacion. The kyng before he would take hys voyage, sent the erle of Huntyngton to serche and skoure the seas, least any Frenchemen lyng in wayte for hym, might attrap him sodeinly or he had any knowledge of their settyng forward. This lusty earle called Jhon Holand, sonne to the Duke of Excester beheded at Circiter in the tyme of kyng Henry the fourth and cosyn to the kyng with a great numbre of shippes seatched the sea from the one coast to the other. And in conclusion he encoūtred with .ix. great Caricks of Jeane (which lord Jaques, the bastard of Burbon had reteined to serue the Frenche kyng) & set on thē sharpely, the conflict was great & the fight long, but in coclusion the Frenchemen wer ouercome and fled, and .iii. of the greatest Caricks, with their patrones, and Monsure Jaques de Burbon their Admiral wer taken with asmuche money as should haue payed the souldiors of the whole flete for halfe a yere, and .iij. other Caricks wer bouged and sent to the botome of the sea. xliii

THE kyng hearyng of this good chaunce, about the end of July toke his ship at Portesmouth, accōpanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester bretherne to the sayd kyng, the Earles of Huntyngdon, Mershall, Warwike, Deuonshyre, Salisbury, Suffolke, and Sōmerset: The lordes Rosse, Wyllowghby, Fitzhugh, Clynton, Scrope, Mautrivers, Bourchier, Ferreys of Groby and Ferreys of Chartley, Fanhope, Gray of Codnore, sir Gilbert Umfreuile, sir Gilbert Talbot & di- xlv

garde

uers other: and so hauing the wynd and wether to his desier, he lãded in Normãdy nere a castle called Touque, wher he cõsulted with his capitaines what wai was best to be taken cõcerning their high enterprice.

THE Normans hearyng of the kynges arriual wer sodaynly striken with a deadly feare and wer almost distracted frõ their sences for dred. wherfore like mad menne in desperacion they ranne out of their houses, tounes and villages with wiues ond chyldren, bag and baggage into the walled tounes and fortified garrisons, cariyng with theym corne, wyne and vitayle nessessary for their sustenance and lyuing, preparyng swordes, hatchettes, crossbowes and al other weapons mete to set back and resist their enemies, sent woord to Charles the Frenche kyng, requiryng hym to defend and preserue his louing subiectes against theyr cruell and fierse enemies. The men of warre whiche were left in euery place to skoure the countrey, went into walled tounes with the rurall cõminaltee, to thentent to aide and assist the tounes menne, for well they knewe that they were not able to resiste their enemies beyng abroade in the feld. So were al the walled tounes and castles in Normandy and Mayne wel furnished with men and vitaile. The names of the Frenche capitaines were to tedious to reherse, and therefore I ouer passe them.

WHEN kyng Henry had taken counsel, he laied siege to the castle of Touque beyng very wel fortified both with nature and mannes arte and began to assault it: & although that they within valiantly defended it, yet by fine force he ouercame it, & toke it, and them within to mercy, & made thereof capitayne sir Robert Ketkeley knight, and after determyned to besiege the strong toune of Caen, remembryng accordyng to thee dutye of a good capitaine, that the Frenchemen woulde come to healpe their frendes beynge in nede and extreame necessitte: whiche thyng hee moste desired and wished. And vpõ ỹ purpose he set furth toward Caen after thewarlikest fashion, depopulatyng the coũtrey, & destroyeng thee villages on euery part as he passed. The toune of Caen standeth in a playne fertile coũtrey, no stronger walled then depe Diched, wel vitayled and replenished with people. For the citizens fearyng the kynges cõmyng had prouided for al thynges necessary & defensible. And assone as the kyng was come, he cast a depe trenche with a high mount to prohibite theym within the toune to haue any egresse or outwarde passage: and that done, began fiersly to assault the toune. But the men of thee toune wer nothyng abashed and stode manly to their defence, abydyng al chaunces which might ensue. The fight was fierce and euery man toke hede to his charge. The Englishmen studied all the waies possible to daunmage their enemies, some shot arrowes, some cast stones and other shot gonnes: some brake the walles with engynes and other undermined: some set skalyng ladders to the wall, and other cast in wylde fyre, euery man laboured to come to handstrokes, whiche was their desyre, On the other side, the Normans threw doune great stones, barres of yron, dartes, hote pitche and burnyng brymstone and boyling lead.

Diuers

diuers daies this assault cõtinued, not to the litle losse of the Englyshemen, whiche toke more harme of the defẽders then they gat hurte of thee assailantes. When kyng Henry perceiued that the dice ranne not to his purpose, he abstained from the assault, and determined by vnderminyng to subuert and ouerthrowe the walles and towers of the toune. Wherefore withal diligence the pyoners cast trenches & the labozers broughte tymber, so that within a fewe daies the walles stode onely vppo postes, to fall when fire should be put to it. The kyng caused his people to approche the walles and to kepe thee Citizens occupied, leaste either they shoulde make a coũtremyne or be an impediment to his workemen and labozers. Wherfore he caused thassaulte to be cried agayne: then euery man ranne to the walles, some with skalyng ladders, some with hookes and some with cordes and plommettes, euery man desieryng to get vpõ the walles and with hand to hand to graple with his enemy: The citezens manfully defended. While the fight was quicke and feirse on both partes, the Englishmen in diuers places perced and brake through thee walles, and diuers ouertures and holes were made vnder the Foundacion by the pyoners, by the whiche thenglishmen mighte easely enter in to the towne. The kyng hauyng cõpassion on the tounes men, desyryng rather to haue them saued then destroyed if they wold humbly submitte thẽ selues to his grace, & fearyng that if the toune by fine force shoulde be spoyled and taken, that he should be compelled to geue it as a pray to his men of warre to be sacked and destroied, sent them woorde by an Herault that yet the tyme of mercye and clemency if thẽy woulde incontinently render them selues & the toune: But they obstinately hoppynge of succouz, answered that thei would stand at their defence. Then the Englishmen agayn skaled the walles and enterpzised to enter through the trenches. The fight was soze by the space of an houre, the Englishmen couragiously enfozced to enter, and the Nozmans manfully defended, but in conclusion the Englishmen obteined.

WHEN the kyng was possessed of thee toune, he incontinently commaunded all harneys and weapons to bee brought into one place whiche with al diligence was done with out any resistence. Then the miserable people knelyng on their knees, holdyng vp their handes & cried mercy mercy, to whome the kyng gaue certayne comfortable woozdes & bad them stand vp. And then as he was euer accustomed to do he went on fote to the chief churche in the toune and rendzed to God his moste hearty thankes foz his prosperous successe and foztunate chaunce. And yet that same night he would not slepe, but commaunded al his army to watche in aray, either leaste his men of warre in the nighte tyme myghte fal to spoyle & sacke, oz els the citizens featyng thee sequele that myght ensue would pzively steale and conueigh theim selues away.

IN the mozning he called althe magistrates and gouernozs into the Senate House, wheare some foz their stony stubbernes and mad obstinacye were adiudged to dye, other were soze fined and highly raunsomed.

somed. Then he callyng together his souldiors and men of war, boths gaue to thē high laudes and prayses for their manlye doynges, and also distributed to euery man accordyng to his desert the spoyle & gaine taken of the toune & the tounesmen, chiefly because at that assault he had tried to his honor their valiant corages and vnfearfull hertes.

It is to be imagined that kynge Henry in this conflict would principally shewe aswell his owne force as the puissance and experience in warres of his nacion, ether to the intent that the Frenchemen shoulde know that they mette with suche an enemy as both was able to inuade
f their countrie and defend their strength & malice, or els not obliuious that in makyng of warre euery prince muste study to obtaine fame and renoune: and as the old prouerbe saieth, of a thyng well begone, succedeth a prosperous ende and a happy conclusion.

Although the toune were wonne: yet the castle whyche was strong and well fortified bothe with men and all thynges necessary for the defence, was yet in the Frenchemens possession: The capitayn where of, to thentent to shewe hymselfe valiante and not willyng to breake hys othe, neither to wauer frō hys allegeance, bosted that he would rather dye in the defence then frely yeld the castle. Kyng Henry was not mu-
ff ded to subuert the Castle (without whiche waie it was not easy to bee wonne) because it was beautifull and necessary, both to kepe the toune frō goynge backe, and also to defend thesame when opportunite shoulde serue: Whyche Castle yf he destroyed, he of very necessitee must agayn build and reedifie, or els another in the place. Wherfore he sent worde to the lorde Mountayny beyng capitain, that if he would yelde the castle by a daie, he should depart without dammage. And yf he would be foolishe and obstinate, all clemencye and fauor shoulde be from hym requestred. When the capitain and his compaignions had well digested his message, beyng in dispaire of cōfort, vpon the condicions offred, ren-
fff dred the Castle and yelded themselfes. And so kynge Henry obteigned bothe the toune and castle of Caen.

While the Kyng of England was besiegyng this toune, the Frenchmen had nether a conuenient hoste to resist their power, nor were readye or able to releue their frendes in this miserable necessite, because thei had such deuision and dissencion emongest themselfes, and a good cause why: for kyng Charles was of so small wit by reason of hys sicknes, that he could not rule, and so he was spoyled both of hys treasure and of his kyngdome, and euery man spente and wasted the common treasure. Charles the Dolphin beyng of the age of.xvj.or.xvij.yeres
fl onely lamented and bewailed the ruyne and decaye of his countrie: He onely studied thaduauncemēt of the comon wealth, and he onely deuised how to resist his enemies: but hauyng nether menne nor money, he was greatly troubled and vnquieted. And in conclusion, by the counsaill of therle of Armynacke Constable of Fraunce, he founde a meane to get all the treasure and riches whiche quene Isabell his mother had

gotten and hoxded in diuerse secrete places: and fox the comon vtilite of his countrie he spente it wisely in wagyng of souldiozs and pzeparyng of thinges necessary fox ỹ war. The quene foxgettyng the great perell that the realme then stode in, but remẽbzyng ỹ displesure to her by this act dooen, declared her sonne and the Constable to be her moztall enemies, & promised that they should be persecuted to the vttermoste. And eue fox very womanlye malice, she set in the highest authozitie aboute the kyng her husband, Jhon duke of Burgoyn geuynge hym the regiment and direccion of the kynge and hys realme with all pzeheminence and souerauntie. The duke of Burgoyn hauyng now the swozde of au- x thozitie, fox the whiche he so soze longed, and glad to be reuenged of his old iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphyn: and when he had once tamed and framed to his purpose this younge vnbzideled gentleman, then he determined as he might to refel and withstande the comẽ enemies of the realme. Thesame oz like reason moued the Dolphin, fox he myndyng firste to repzesse and extincte the ciuill dissencion at home, befoze he woulde inuade foxain enemies, pzepared warre to subdew & destroy duke Jhõ of Burgoyn as the chief hed & leader of that wicked and great mischief: Wherby the realme was muche vnquieted & moze decayed, and in maner bzought to a finall ruyne and otter destruccion. xx So Fraunce was inflamed and in euery part troubled with warre and deuision, and yet no man would ether pzouide in so great a danger, noz once put furth their finger to hynder the mischief.

Kynge Henry not myndyng to lye still in Nozmandye, noz to leaue his enterpzice vnperfozmed, sent the duke of Clarence to the sea coaste, whiche with greate difficulty gatte the toune of Bayeux. The duke of Glocestre also with small assault and lesse defence toke the citee of Liseaux. In the meane ceason Kyng Henry taried still at Cane fozteficynge the toune and the castle, & put out of the toune. xv. C. women and impotent persons, and replenished the toune with English people. While xxx the kyng soiourned at Caen, he kepte there a solempne feast and made many knightes, and be beside that, he shewed there an example of great pitee & moze deuocion. Foz in searchyng the castle he found there innumerable substance of plate and money belongyng to the citezens, wher of he would not suffre one peny to be touched oz conueighed away, but restozed the goodes to the owners & deliuered to euery mã his owne. When the fame of gettyng of Caen was blowen thzough Nozmandy, the Nozmans wer so soze afraied & so muche abashed that you shoulde not onely haue seen men, women & childzen tonnyng in euery waye by great plõpes frõ toune to toune, not knowyng whether to flie: but also xl the rurall persones and husbande men dzaue the beastes out of the villages into suche places where thei hoped of refuge oz defence: so that a man would haue thought that Nozmandy had sodainly been left desolate and voyde of people and catell. But when the rumoz was spzed abzoade of his clemency shewed to captiues and of his mercye graunted

to

to suche as submitted themselfes to his grace, all the capitaines of the tounes adioynyng came willyngly to his presence, offryng to him them selfes, their tounes and their goodes. Wherupon he made proclamacion that all men which had or would become hys subiectes and swere to hym allegeance should enioy their goodes and liberties in as large or more ample maner then they did before. Which gentle entreteinyng and fauorable hādlyng of the stubburne Normans, was the very cause why they wer not only contēt, but also glad to remoue and turne from the Frenche part and become subiectes to the croune of Englande.

x When kynge Henry had set Caen in a good ordre, he left there, for capitaines, the one of the toune and the other of the Castle, sir Gilbert Umfreuile erle of Kyne, and sir Gilbert Talbot: and made bailife there sir Jhon Popham, and so departed frō Caen to Argenton which was shortly rēdred to hym. Then all these tounes folowyng without strokr strikē yelded to hym, in whom he made capitaines these persons whose names ensue.

At Creuly, sir Henry Tanclux an Almaine.
At Thorigny, sir Jhon Popham to whom the toune was geuen.
At Boyeux, the lorde Matrauerse.
xx At Argenton, the lorde Grey Codner.
At Chamboy, the lorde Fitzhugh, and made him lord of thesame.
At Vernoyle in Perche, sir Jhon Neuell.
At Alāson ỹ duke of Gloucester & his leutenant sir Raufe Lental.
At Essay, sir William Hoddelston baylif of Alanson.
At Faloys, sir Henry Fitzhugh.
At Cruly, sir Loys Robsset.
At Conde Noxean, sir Jhon Fastolffe.

¶ Diuerse tounes likewyse yelded to the Duke of Clarence wherin he putte th ese Capitaynes.

xxx At ỹ cite of Lisieux, sir Jhō Kikley
At Cowrton, Jhon Awbyn.
At Barney, William Houghton.
At Chambroys, James Neuell.
At Becheluyn, therle Marshall.
At Harecort, Richard Woduile esquyer.
At Fangernon, Jhon saint Albon.
At Creuener, sir Jhon Kerby to whom it was geuen.
At Annilliers, Robert Horneby.
At Ragles, sir Jhon Arthure.
At Fresheney le Vicount, sir Robert Brent.

¶ Likewise diuerse tounes in the countrie of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoyncted these capitaines.

xl At Cauenton, the lorde Botraux.
At Seint Clow, Reignold West.
At Valoines, Thomas Burgh.
At Chiergurg, ỹ lorde Grey Codner & after his decease, sir Water Hungerford.
At Pont Done, Dauy Howel.
At the Hay Dupayes, sir Jhon Alston Bayly of Constantine.
At Cōstāces, ỹ lorde of Burgainy.
At Seint Saluior le Vicount, sir Jhon Robsset.

At Pōtoyſon, ſir Robert Gargraue
At Hambery the erle of Suffolke, loyde of theſame place by gyft.
At Bziqueuile, theſayed Erle by gift alſo
At Auranches, ſir Phylipp Halle Bayly of Alanſon.
At Uire the loyde Watrauers.
At Sainct James de Bewyon, ſame loyde.

When the kynge of England wanne thus in Noymandy, hys nauy loſte nothynge on the ſea, but ſo ſkowred the ſtremes that nether Frencheman nor Briton durſt once apere, howbeit one day there aroſe ſo hideous a tempeſt and ſo terrible a ſtoyme, that nether cable held noz anker pzeuailed, ſo that yf the erles of Marche and Huntyngdon had not taken the hauē of Southamptō, the whole nauie had periſhed and the people had been deſtroyed, and yet the ſauegard was ſtraunge: Foz in theſame hauen two Balyngers and two great Carickes laden with marchaundiſe wer dzouned, and the bzoken Maſte of another Caricke was blowen ouer the wall of Hāpton (as diuerſe writers affirme) ſuch is the power of the wynd, and ſuche is the rigoure of the tempeſt. Whē the fury of the wynd was aſſwaged and the ſea waxed calme, therles of Marche and Huntyngdon paſſed ouer the ſea with all their compainy and landed in Noymandy marchyng towarde the kynge, befoze whom the Noymans fled as faſt as the fearfull hare dooth befoze the gredye Greyhounde, oz the ſely Partridge befoze the Sparowhauke. And ſo they paſſed thzough the countrie deſtroiynge of villages and takynge paynes tyll thei came to the kyng goyng towarde Roan. Duryng this marciall feactes and greate conqueſtes in Noymandy, ſir Jhon Oldecaſtle Loyde Cobham whiche as you haue heard befoze was conuicted of hereſy, and proclaimed a rebell, and vpon theſame outlawed, and bzake out of the toure, was now as his foztune chaunced apprehended in the Marches of Wales by the Loyde Powes, and ſo reſtoyed to hys olde lodgyng in the toure, where hys kepers looked moze narowly to hym then thei dyd befoze. After whyche takynge, he was dzawen from the toure on a hardell to Sainct Giles felde, and there hanged in chaynes, and after conſumed with fire. Well nowe leauyng the matters of Englande let vs returne to the affaires in Noymandy.

The.vi.yere.

The.vi. yere

After kyng Henry had thus victoziouſly obteined ſo many tounes and ſo many foztreſſes from the poſſeſſion of his enemies, and that his great fame and litle perſonage was the whole terroz and feare of the Frenche nacion, he ymagined with hymſelf that he had nothyng doen noz anye thyng gotten excepte he bzought the famous citie of Roan beyng the Empery and diademe of the Duchy of Noymandy into his poſſeſſion & dominion, to the whiche out of euery parte the Noymans had conueighed their money Jewelles and houſhold ſtuffe: And whyche

whiche citie sithe his firste arriual thei hadde not onely walled and for-
tressed with many rampiers & stronge bulwarkes, but also with valiãt
capitaines and hardy souldiours to no small numbre. Wherfore he set
forward his army toward the toune called Pontlarche standyng vpon
the Riuer of Seyne. viij. mile from Roan betwene Paris and Roan.
When the Frenchemen whych kepeth the passage heard of the kynges
approchynge, thei gathered together a great numbre of men of warre
redy to defend and prohibite the passage, appointynge another band of
men if thei failed to kepe the farther side of the bridge and to watche
x and hourely attend that he nether by bote nor by vessell shoulde eskape
any maner of waye. When he came to the toune, first he sette forwarde
towarde the bridge, whiche when he sawe it so well defended that it
would not without greate losse be obteigned, sodainly he blewe the re-
traite and reculed almoste a myle backward, where in a pleasant place
by the riuers side he pitched his Campe: and in the night season, what
with botes and barges, what with hoggeshedes and pipes he conuei-
ghed ouer the brode ruer of Seyne a greate compaignie of his armie
without any resistaunce of his enemies. For they which wer on the he-
therside of Seyne, thynkyng that thenglishmen had gone to conquere
xx some other place folowed thẽ not, but studied how to defẽd their toune
(which was ynough for them to do.) When the kyng sawe that his men
wer on the other side of the water, he the next day earely returned to ỹ
toune and assauted it on bothe the sides. When thinhabitantes perceiued that cõtrary to their expectaciõ they wer cõpassed & beset by their enemies & sawe no hope of refuge or succor, with humble herte and no
great ioy rendered vp the toune. And so the kyng hauyng no let or im-
pediment determined to besege and assault the citie and castle of Roan
for the whiche he had taken diuerse longe and tedious iornayes, & sent
before hym his uncle the lorde Thomas duke of Excester with a great
xxx compaignie of horssemen and Archers, whiche with banner displayed
came before the toune and sent to the capitaines Wyndsore a heraulte
at armes, willyng them to deliuer the toune to the kyng his Master, or
els he would persecute them with fire, bloud and sworde. To whõ they
proudly answered, that none thei receiued of hym, nor none thei would
deliuer, except by fyne force thei wer therunto cõpelled. And to declare
thẽselfes valiant capitaines & hardy men of war, there issued out of the
toune a great band of men of armes & encoũtred fiercely with thẽglish
men, whiche like men nether afraied nor astonied manfully them recei-
ued, & with fyne force draue them into the toune again, leuyng with the
xl Englishmen. xxx. of their compaignie prisoners and ded persons. The
duke with this good spede and proude aunswer of the Frenche capitai-
nes, returned to the kynge to whõ was rendred a litle before ỹ toune of
Louyers, which he gaue to his said brother the duke of Clarẽce, which
made there his deputie sir Jhon Godard knight. The duke of Exce-
ster also had newly taken the citie of Eureux and made capitain ther

sir Gilbert Halsall knight. When the duke of Excester was returned to Pontlarch as you haue heard, the capitaines of Roan set fire on the suburbes, bet doune Churches, cut doune trees, shede the bushes, destroyed the vines round about the citee, to thentent that thenglishmen should haue no relief nor comfort ether of lodgyng or fewell.

The citie of Roan besieged.

When the kynge heard of their dispitefull doynges, he wyth hys whole army remoued from Pontlarche, and the last daie of July came before the citie of Roan and compassed it rounde aboute wyth a strong siege and a fearfull assaute. The kynge laye with a greate puissaunce at the hous of Charitee on the East side of the citie, & the duke of Clarence lodged before the port of Caux on the West part of the citie. The duke of Excester toke his place on the Northside at the porte Denise: betwene the dukes of Excester and Clarence was appoynted the erle Marshall euen before the gate of the castle, to whom wer ioyned therle of Ormond and the Lordes of Haryngton and Talbot. And from the duke of Excester toward the kyng were encamped the lordes of Rosse, Willoughby, Fitzhugh and sir William Porter with a great bande of Northrenmē euen before the port sainct Hillary. Therles of Mortaint and Salsbery wer assigned about the Abbey of saint Katherines. Sir Jhon Grey was lodged directly against the Chapel called Mount S. Michell, sir Philip Leche treasorer of the warres kept the hil next the Abbey, & the Baron of Carew kept the passage on the riuer of Sayne, and to hym was ioyned a baliaunt esquire called Jenico, whyche twoo capitaines baliauntly kept the riuage of the water of Sayne. On the farther side of the riuer wer lodged therles of Warren and Huntyngdon, the lordes Neuell and Ferrers, sir Gilbert Umfreuile with a well furnished company of warlik souldiors directly before the gate called port du Pont. And to the intent that no aide shoulde passe by the riuer toward the citie, a greate chaine of yron was deuised at Pōtlarche and sette on piles from the one side of the water to theother, and beside that chayne he sette vp a new forced bridge, sufficient bothe for cariage and passage. At whyche therle of Warwicke whiche had gotten Dampfrōt was sent to the toune of Cawdebeck standyng on the riuerside betwen the sea and the citie of Roan, whyche toune he so hardly assaulted, that the capitaines offered to suffre ỹ Englishe nauy to passe by theyr toune wythout hurte or detriment to the citie of Roan: And also yf Roan yelded, they promised to rendre their toune without anye fayle or farther delaie. And this composicion they sealed, and for performaunce of the same thei deliuered pledges. Thys appoynctment the Englishe nauy to the numbre of. C. sailes passed by Cawdebeck and came before Roan and besieged it on the waterside. To this siege came the duke of Glouceter with therle of Suffolke and the lorde of Burgainy whych had taken the toune of Chierburgh and wer lodged before the porte of Sainct Hillarij nerer their enemies by fortie roddes then anye other persones of the armie.

During

Duryng this siege arriued at Harflew the lord of Kylmaine in Ireland with a band of.xvj.hundreth Iryshmen armed in mayle with dartes and skaynes after the maner of their countrey, all talle, quicke and deliuer persons, which came & presented them selues before the kynge lyng stil at the siege: of whom they were not onely gently entertained but also (because that the kyng was informed that the Frenche kynge & the duke of Burgoyn would shortly come, and either rayse the siege or bitaile or man the toune at the Northy gate) they were appoynted to kepe the Northsyde of the army, and in especial the way that commeth
x from the forest of Lyons. Whiche charge the lord of Kylmaine and his cõpany ioyfully accepted & did so their deuoire, that no men were more praised nor did more damage to their enemies then they did, for surely their quicknes and swiftnes did more preiudice to their enemies, then their great barded horses did hurt or damage the nimble Irishmen.

Thus was the fayre cytie of Roan compassed about wyth enemyes besieged by princes, and beset about both by water and lande, hauynge neither comfort nor aide of kyng nor dolphyn. And although the army were strong without, yet within there lacked neither hardy capitaines nor manful souldiors. And as for people, they had more then ynow, for
xx as it was written by him that knew the nombre and had no occasion to erre from the trueth, there were at the tyme of the siege within the cytie, of christen people CC.and.x.thousand persons. Dayly were issues made out of the cytie at diuers portes, sometyme thenglishmen gate, at another time the Frenchmen saued, somtime neither of both either got or saued: for surely the capitaines and men of warre within the toune setting more by honor then by life, preferryng fame before worldly rythes, dispising pleasure & vilependyng fearfull heartes, sware ethe to other neuer to rẽder or deliuer the toune while they might either hold sworde in hand or put spere in rest. The kyng of England beyng aduer-
xxx tised of their haute courages and high stomackes, determined to conquere them by famyne whiche would not be tamed by weapon.

Wherfore he stopped all the passages both by water and lande that no bitaile could be cõueighed to the cytie, he caste trenches rounde about the walles, and set them ful of stakes and defended thẽ with archers, so that they within could haue no way out ether to inuade their enemies (or yf they coulde) to depart and relinquishe their fortresse and cytie. One day tidynges wer fayned that the Frenche kyng approched with al his power to raise the siege, & reskew the cytie: Wherfore kyng Hẽry cõmanded al men to lye in their harneys lest they might by some sub-
xl tile cautel be surprised vnware and taken vnprouded. But the Frẽche kynge neyther came nor sent, to the great wonder of the Englishemen. This siege thus continuyng from Lammas almost to Christmas, diuers enterprises were attempted and diuers polices wer deuised how euery part might damage and hurte his aduersary and enemy, but no part muche reioysed of their gaine. Duryng whiche tyme, bitayle be-

gan

gan sore to faile within the toune, so that onely vineger & water serued for drinke. If I should reherse accordyng to the writynge of diuers authors, not onely howe deare dogges, rattes, mise and cattes wer solde within the toune: but how gredely they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and also how the people died daylye for faute of foode, and how yong infantes lay sucking in the stretes on their mothers brestes lyng dead, staruen for hunger, you would more abhorre the lothsome doynges then reioyse at their miserable mischãce. The riche men wichin the toune put out at the gates the pore and indigent creatures whirhe were by thenglishemen that kept the trenches beaten & driuen backe againe to the gates of the toune, whiche against them were closed and barred. So this miserable people vncomfortably forsaken and vnnaturally dispised of their owne nacion and housholde felowes, betwene the walles of their cytie and the trẽches of their enemies lay stil cryynge for helpe and relief, for lacke wherof innumerable sely solles dayly died and hourely starued. Yet kynge Henry moued with pitie & stirred with cõpassion in the honor of Christes natiuitie on Christmas day refreshed all the poore people with vitayle to their great comfort & relief: for the whiche act they not onely thanked, lauded and praised the kyng of England, but also praied to God for his preseruacion and furtherance, and for the hynderance and euill successe of their vnkynd citezens & vncharitable country men. This miserable famyne dayly more and more encreasyng so daunted the heartes of the bolde capitaynes, & so abated the courages of the riche burgesses, and so turnẽted the bodies of the poore citezens, that the stout souldiour for faintnes coulde skase welde his weapon, nor the riche marchaunt for money coulde not bye a sheuer of bread: so that the cõminaltie cried to the captaines, and the nedy people besought the lordes to haue compassion on them, and to inuent some waye for their succor and comfort. The gouernours of the toune, after long consultacion had, considerynge the great necessitie that they were in, and seyng none apparence of succour or relief, determined it both necessary and conuenient to treate with the kyng of England. And so vpõ Newyers euen ther came to the walles at the gate of the bridge diuers cõmissioners appointed by the capitaines, whiche made a signe to the Englishemen lyng wythout to speake wyth some gentlemen or other person of authoritie. The Earle of Huntyngdon whiche kept that part sent to them sir Gilbert Umfreuile, to whõ they declared that yf they might haue a guyde or a safeconduite, they would gladly speake with the kynge. Syr Gilbert promised not onely to do theyr message, but also to certifie thẽ of the kynges pleasure & purpose. Which communicacion ended, he repaired to the duke of Clarence and other of the kynges counsaill, aduertisynge thẽ of the request of the citezens, which incontinent assembled thẽ selues in the kynges lodgyng. where sir Gilbert Umfreuile wysely and soberly declared to the kynge the myndes and intentes of the citezens. The kyng like a graue prince

consi-

considerynge that a thynge gotten without effusion of Christen bloud is both honorable and profitable, and sawe that the haute corages of the braggynge Frenchmen wer now by his hard besiegynge sore abated and almost tamed, thought it conuenient to heare their lowly peticion and humble request, and so willed sir Gilbert to aduertise them that he was content to heare.xij. of them whiche should be safely cõueighed to hys presence: With this answere sir Gilbert departed and made relacion therof to the capitaynes standynge at the gate. Whiche on the next day in the mornynge appoynted.iiij.knightes.iiij.lerned men and.iiij.sage
x burgesses all clothed in blacke to go to the kyng of Englãd. These.xij. persons wer receiued at the port saincte Hillarij by sir Gilbert Umfreuile accompanied wyth diuers gentlemen and yomen of the Kynges housholde, comonly called yomen of the croune, and conueighed to the kynges lodgynge, whõ they found at Masse. When the deuine seruice was finished, kyng Henry gorgeously apparelled and sumpteously adourned came out of hys trauers, fiersely and princely beholdynge the Frenche messengers & passed by them into his chambre. After hym incontinently the.xij.ambassadours wer conueighed, amongest whõ one learned in the ciuile law, more arrogant then learned, & yet not so arro-
xx gant as indiscrete sayd these wordes. Right high and mightie prince, right noble and puissant kyng, if you wyll with your selfe diligently cõsider wherin consisteth the glory of victorye and the triumphe of a conquerour, you shall plainly perceiue, that the type of honor is in the tamyng of proud men, ouercõmyng of valiant souldiors and subduynge of strong cyties and populus regions, and not in slaiynge christen people by hunger thirst and famine, in whiche consisteth neither manhod, wit nor pollicy. Alas, regard you your honor, and se yonder great multitude of miserable people cryng for meat and wepynge for drinke and dyng for lacke of succour and relief: hat Wglorye shall you obtayne in
xxx killyng of wretches by famyne, whiche death of all deathes is moste to be dispised and abhorred. If you wyl shewe your selfe charitable before God, or mercifull before men, let al our poore people which wyll depart out of our cytie passe through your campe to get their liuynge in other places, and then manfully assaut our cytie, and by force (if you dare) subdue and conquere it. And if your enterprise succede fortunately (as a thinge that is very doubtfull) in this doyng you shall not onely obtaine worldly glory and terrestrial victory for ouercommyng the strong and puissant men of armes and the riche cytie, but also merite muche before
xl God for deliueryng and hauynge compassion of the poore nedy and indigent persons. When this Orator had sayd, the kynge, whiche no request lesse suspected then that whiche was thus desired, began a while to muse: And when he had wel perceiued the crafty cautell and fraudulent inuencion of the Frenche messengers, he with a fierse countenance and a bolde spirit made to thẽ this answer saiyng: Thynke you O fantasticall Frenchmen that I am so ignorant and so brutall that I cannot

perceiue

perceiue your double dealyng and crafty conueighaunce: Judge you me so simple that I know not wherin the glory of a cõqueror cõsisteth: Esteme you me so ignoraunt that I perceiue not what craftes and warlike pollices by strong enemies are to be subdued and brought to subiection: yes, yes, I am not so loiterynge a truand as to forgette so good a lesson. And if these thinges be to you blynd and obscure I wyll declare and open them to you. The goddesse of warre called Bellona, (which is the correctrice of princes for right witholdyng or iniurie doyng, and the plage of God for euill liuyng and vntrue demeanor amongest subiectes) hath these. iij. handmaides euer of necessitie attendynge on her, bloud, fyre, and famine, whiche thre damosels be of that force & strength that euery one of them alone is able and sufficient to turment and afflict a proud prince: and they al ioyned together are of puissance to destroy the most populous countrey and most richest region of the world. If I by assaultyng of your toune should seke your bloud (although I gained as I doubt not but I should) yet my gaine wer not cleare without some losse of my people. If I set your cytie on fyre, and so consume it and you also, then haue I lost that precious iewel for the whiche I haue so fore longed and so long laboured. Therfore to saue myne owne people (whiche is one poinct of glory in a capitaine) and to preserue the toune whiche is my lauful and iust inheritaunce: And to saue as many of you as wil not willyngly be destroied, I haue appointed the mekest maide of the thre damosels to afflict and plage you tyll you be bridled and brought to reason, which shalbe when it shal please me and not at your appointment: And therfore I say and affirme that the gayne of a capitaine by any of these thre handmaides is bothe glorious, honorable and triumphant, but of all thre the yongest maide is in all thinges most profitable and cõmodious. Now to answere to your demaundes, as touching the pore people liynge in the ditches, I assure you I more lament your lacke of charitie toward your christen brethre ye and your owne nation of one language and one countrey, then I reioyce at the vndoyng of so many creatures and castyng away of so manye enemies. You like tirantes put thẽ out of the toune to thentẽt that I should slay them, and yet I haue saued their liues. You woulde neither geue them meat nor drinke, and yet I beynge their mortall enemy haue succoured and releued them: so that yf anye vncharitie be, it is in you, yf any shame or reproche be taken, receiue it youre selfe, for you be the doers. If I haue done them good let God rewarde me, for I loke of thẽ for no thankes, yf you haue done thẽ euill so shall you be done to. And as to suffre your pore people to passe out of the cytie through my campe, no no, I wyll not so accomplishe youre cloked requeste, but you shall kepe them styll to helpe to spend youre vitailes: And as to assault your toune, I wyl you know it that I am therto both able and willyng as I se tyme & occasion: but seyng the choice is in my hand to tame you either with bloud, fyre, or famyne, or with all, I wyll take the choice at my

Bellona, the Goddesse of battaile.

my pleasure & not at yours. And with that the kyng with a frownyng countenaunce departed frō them to his chambre and cōmaunded them to dine with his officers.

When he was departed, the Frenchemen began to marueill at hys excellent wit, and to muse at the hautnes of his courage, and after they had dined and consulted together, they required once agayne to haue accesse to hys royall presence, which when it was to thē graunted, they humblynge them selues on their knees besought him to take a truce for .viij. daies, in the whiche they might by their commissioners take
x some ende and good conclusion with hym and his counsaill. The kynge like a piteous prince rather couetynge the preseruacion of the people, then their distruction, after good deliberacion taken, graunted to thē their askyng, with the whiche answere they ioyously returned.

After their departure were appointed and set vp. iij. riche tentes, the one for the lordes of Englande to consult together, ỹ second for the commissioners of the cytie, & ỹ third for both partes to argue and debate the matter. The cōmissioners for the Englishe part wer the erles of Warwike & Salsbury, the lord Fitzhugh, sir water Hungerford, sir Gilbert Umfreuile, sir Jhon Robsert & Jhon de Uasques de Almada.
xx And for the French part wer apointed sir Guy de Butteler & .vj. other.

Duryng this truce, euery day the commissioners met, the Englishemen accused and the Frenchmen excused, the Englishmen demaunded muche, and the Frenchmen profered lytle. Thus with arguyng & reasonyng the .viij. day came and nothyng was done, nor one article concluded. Wherfore the Englishmen toke doune the tentes & the Frenchmen toke their leaue, but at their departyng, they remembrynge them selues required the Englishe lordes for the loue of God that the truce might continue tyl the sunne risyng the next day, to the whych the lordes sone assented. Whē the Frenchmen wer returned to Roan, sodenly
xxx in all the toune sprong a rumour that the truce was expired and nothyng determined. Then the poore people ranne about the stretes like frantike persones, shoutyng and cryng and callyng the captaines and gouernors murtherers and manquellers, saiyng that for their pride & styffe stomacke al this misery was happened in the toune, threatenyng to slay them if they would not agre to the kyng of Englādes demaund and request. The Magistrates beyng amased with the fury of the people, called al the toune together to knowe their myndes and opinions. The whole voice of the cōmons was to yelde, yeld, rather then starue. Then the Frenchmen in the euenyng came to the tent of sir Jhon Rob-
xl sert, requiryng him of gētlenes to moue the kyng that the truce might be prolonged for .iiij. dayes. The kynge therunto agreed and appointed tharchbishoppe of Cantorbury and the other .vij. before named for his part, and the citezens appointed an egal nomber for them. So the tentes were againe set vp, dayly was assembles and muche treaty on both parties, and on the fourth day by the helpe of God, the treaty was

concluded

concluded and finished to the great reioysyng of the poore citezens, the copy wherof folowethe worde by worde.

¶ The appointmentes of the yeldyng vp of the cytie and castle of Roan.

1 ¶ Firste it is accorded that Guy de Botellier capitaine of the Cytie and castle of Roan with the consent of the noble citezens & other dwellynge and beyng in the sayd cytie and castell shall yelde and deliuer into the handes of the full excellent kyng of England or other what so he be by him deputed, the cytie, & castle aboue sayd without fraude or male engine, what tyme after the middes of the .xix. day of this present moneth of January our sayd lord the kyng wyll the cytie and the castel to be deliuered vnder maner and forme within writen. &

2 Also it is accorded that the day and houre the sayd nobles and citezens & other what so they be dwellyng & beyng in the sayd cytie & castel shal submit them in all thinges to the grace of our sayd lorde the kyng.

3 Also it is accorded that from this houre vnto reall & effectuall yeldyng of the sayd cytie & castle, none of the sayd nobles or other beynge in the sayd cytie or castle shal not go out of the forsayd cytie and castle without speciall grace of our sayd lord the kyng.

4 Also it is accorded that from this houre vnto the deliuerance of the cytie, euery of the parties shall abstaine from all deedes of warre to make againe that other partie of them. xx

5 Also it is accorded that the forsayd nobles, citezens and other beynge in the sayd cytie & castle shall pay to our forsayd lorde the kynge .CCC. thousand scutes of golde, wherof alwayes two shalbe worth an Englishe noble, or in the stead of euery scute .xxx. great blankes whyte or .xb. grotes. Of whiche .CCC. thousand scutes, the one halfe shalbe payde to our sayd lord the kyng or to hys deputies within the cytie of Roan beforesayd the .xxij. day of this present moneth of Januarye, and that other halfe shalbe paied to our sayd lorde the kynge or to his deputies in the feast of sainct Mathew the Apostle next cõmyng that shalbe the .xxiiij. daye of Februarye next, without any vtter delay. xxx

6 Also it is accorded that all and euery horse, harneys, armures, artilleries for shot and all other habilimentes of warre longynge to souldiors or other straungers beynge in the sayd cytie and castle, shalbe put together by them in two houses by our sayd lorde the kyng to be assigned, & they shalbe beliuered by the capitaine of the sayd cytie to our forsayd lord the kyng after the middes of the .xix. day of January therupõ to be required.

7 Also it is accorded that all and euery armour, artilleries and all habilimentes of warre of the sayd castle shalbe put together in one house within the same castle, and they shalbe deliuered to oure sayd lorde the kyng or to his deputies in that partie, the day that the same castle shall be fallen to be deliuered to our sayd lord the kynge. xl

8 Also it is accorded that all and euery armures, artilleries and other habilimentes

habilimentes of warre of thesayd citie or of al maner of citezens and of al other dwellynge therin, by them shalbe brought and put together in one hous or mo houses there by theim to be deliuered to our Lord the kyng, & by the captain of thesame citie shalbe deliuered to our forsayde Lorde the kinge or to his deputie in what tyme thesaid capitain by the partie of our most doubtful lorde the kynge, after the middaye of thys present moneth of January therupon be required, out take the armuries that belonge to Marchanntes which were wonte for to sell theim ceassyng fraude and male engine. And yf it befal any marchauntes any such armuries that be not theirs, vnder colour of theirs to colouren or hidē in any maner, tho armures so hid and coloured and al other what that thei been that diden, to our Lorde the kyng shal been forfeted, and the body of thesame marchaunt to been punished at the kynges wil.

Also it is accorded that in no maner shalbe made, brenuyng, hynderyng, harming or appairyng, wastyng or destroiyng of horsse, of armures or artilleries or of anye other habilimentes of warre within the forsaid citie and castle beynge, but that all and euery wythoute fraude or maleengine shalbe kept whole and vnhurt to oure lorde the kynge as it is beforsayd to be deliuered. 9

Also it is accorded that al & euery chayne that were wont to be laid ouerthwarte the stretes and lanes of thesayde citie, shalbe put into an hous to be turned to the profite of the citezens of thesame citie. 10

Also it is accorded that our forsayd lorde the kynge shall haue place and space of lande, of the frewyll of his highuesse to bee chosen to hym a paleys to be made within thesayde citie or wythin the walles of the same citie where it shall seme moste behouefull. So neuertheless that yf it shal within thesaid place or space to be included any hous or edefice or place or ground longynge to any of thesayde citezens or dwellers of thesame citie, our said lorde the kyng to hym whome that suche maner of houses, edefices or places of ground longeth or apperteneth shal satisfye, & of other houses & edefices or places cōgruely shal recompence. 11

Also it is accorded that al and euery subiectes of our sayd lorde the kyng that now be or were prysoners to any persone beyng in thesayde citie and castle in their pledges, shalbe vtterly fre as aneyntz their persones and the somes that they are bounde in at the day of thys present date and accorde. 12

Also it is accorded that al and euery souldier and stranger beynge in thesayd citie and castle shall swere on the Euangelies of God before their departyng, that they shall not beare armes agaynst our lorde the kyng or his, vnto the first day of January next to come, for no maner of commaundemēt that to theim or to any of them of any maner of persone in contrary may be done and enioyned. 13

Also it is accorded that all and euery reliques & other goodes longyng to the Abbey of saynct Katheryn wythin the sayd citie and castle beyng al holy, shal bene deliuered to hym whome the kyng shall depute 14

them to receyue the deliueraunce of thesayde citie.

15 Also it is accoꝛded that thesayd nobles, citezens and other wythin thesayde citie and castle beynge, shall cause thesame citie and Castle beꝼoꝛe thesaid the.xix.day of this present moneth of January sufficiently and honestly to be made cleane, and also diligently and honestly all the ded bodies now ded and to be ded vnto that day of deliuerance of the sayd citie honestly and diligently shal do to be buryed.

16 Also it is accoꝛded that the foꝛsayd nobles, citezens, & all beynge in thesayd citie and castle furthwyth shal receyue and suffre to entre into thesame citie all & euery pooꝛe persone beynge in the dyches oꝛ aboute ꝼ the diches of thesame citie, which foꝛ penury did go out of thesame city whome they shalbe bounde to succoꝛ vnto the.xix.daye of January aboue sayd, as they wyl answere to God and to the kyng, and elles they shal receyue none other person into thesame citie oꝛ castle vnto the foꝛsayd day without specyal lycence of our sayde loꝛde the kyng, but yf it happe any messenger oꝛ herauld of the party aduersary to the kyng to come to the gates oꝛ diches of thesayd castle oꝛ citie.

17 Whyche articles and appoyntmentes as it is beꝼoꝛesayd, al & euery in maner as it is accoꝛded, the foꝛsayd capitain, nobles, citezens & other within thesaid castle and citie beyng, wel and truly wythout fraude oꝛ ꝼ malengine to hold, obserue and kepe they behoten, and tho to be kept & fulfilled they bynden them. So but yf it befall our foꝛsayd moste doubt full loꝛde the kynge that God foꝛbid, to be ouercome in battayll to hym ymade by Charles his aduersary of Fraunce oꝛ the duke of Burgoyn oꝛ any other to come, the siege of our loꝛd the kyng to remoue from the foꝛsayd cyty, that neither the foꝛsayd captayn ne none of the nobles, citezens, souldiours oꝛ other beyng within thefoꝛsayd cyty and Castle shal gone out, ne no maner of help thei shal deliuer, noꝛ leane to them againe our loꝛde the kyng commyng in no maner woyse.

18 Also that all these appoyntmentes, couenauntes and accoꝛdes and xx euery of theim as it is beꝼoꝛsayd wel and truly and vnbꝛoken bee kept, and foꝛ the moꝛe suretie of thesame couenauntes and accoꝛdes, thefoꝛsayde capytayne nobles and citezens and other abouesayde shalbe taken at the time immediatly into the handes of our loꝛd the kinge. lxxx. notable pledges, wherof. xx. shalbe knyghtes and esquiers and the rẽnant citezens of thesame cyty, at their owne costes to be sustayned.

19 Also foꝛ the partie sothly of oure moste Doubtful loꝛde the kynge aꝼoꝛsayde, graciously and beningly consideꝛyng the meke submitting and yeldyng of thesame citie and Castle aboue sayd, hath graunted that all and euery person of what estate oꝛ degree oꝛ condicion that he be with xl in thesayd cyty and castle being, except certayn persons within expꝛessed that will become lieges and subiectes of our loꝛd the kyng, and frõ hencefurth will dwell vnder his obedience, shall haue their heritages and goodes, moueables and vnmoueables wythin the duchy of Noꝛmandy constitute, and whiche beꝼoꝛe the day of these pꝛesent letters by

our foꝛsayde loꝛd the kyng to other perſones haue not bene graunted,
except armurs & artillaries abouesaid, making and doing foꝛ their he-
ritages and their vnmouable goodes to our foꝛsayd loꝛd the kinge the
ſeruice therof accuſtomed, oꝛ to other to whom ſuch mauer ſeruices of
the graunt of our loꝛd the kyng owen to long.

Alſo it is graunted on our loꝛde the kinges behalfe that all the cite- 20
zens and dwellers of the citie of Roan that now ben oꝛ in tyme to come
ſhal bene, ſhal haue all and euerye franchiſes, liberties and pꝛiuileges,
which of woꝛthy minde the pꝛogenitoꝛs of our loꝛde the kynge kyngs
x of Englande and Dukes of Noꝛmandy, to them and to theſaide citie
were graunted in poſſeſſion, wherof they weren the firſt day that oure
foꝛſaid loꝛde the kinge came befoꝛe theſaid citie. And alſo of oure large
grace of his benignitie hath graunted, that the ſelfe citezens and dwel-
lers of the citie ſhall hane at theyꝛ liberties, fraunchyſes and pꝛiuileges
wherof they were in poſſeſſion thefoꝛſayd firſt day of the coming of our
loꝛd the kyng befoꝛe the cyty, of the graunt of any of hys pꝛogenitours
kinges of Fraunce whiche were befoꝛe the tyme of Phillip de Valoys,
aduerſary to our ſayd loꝛd the king & daily warryng vpon his realme.

Alſo it is graunted and accoꝛded on our Loꝛde the kynges behalfe,
xx that all the ſtraungiers ſouldioures and other in the foꝛſayde citie and
caſtle beyng at thys tyme, not willing to become lieges of our loꝛd the
kyng, thefoꝛſayd cyty and caſtle ſo yeldyng as it is befoꝛſayde, frelye to 21
departen, ieuyng to our ſayd loꝛd the kyng all their armures, hoꝛſſe ar-
tillaries and other thinges and harneys and goodes, except the Noꝛ-
mans will not be lieges of our loꝛde the king, whiche all and euery ſhal
abyde pꝛiſoners to our loꝛde the kyng, and except Luca Italico, which
alſo ſhalbe pꝛyſoner of our loꝛde the kyng, and alſo other whoſe names
be not ſet in this boke, foꝛ it longeth not to clerckes to intermete of thē.

Alſo it is graunted on our loꝛd the kyngs behalf, that the warr and
xxx alſo ſhewed ſpeches that duryng this ſiege the folk aboue mencyoned 22
of what condycyon that they bene agaynſte hys royall perſone haue
done, oꝛ with defamed lyppes haue ſpoken aganiſt our moſt dereſt loꝛd
the kyng, conſideryng the day of pitie, mekely ſhalbe foꝛgeuen, out take
the pꝛyſoners that abouen in ſpecial be excepted.

Alſo it is accoꝛded on our loꝛde the kynges behalfe that thefoꝛſayd 23
ſouldiours and ſtraungers by the foꝛme of thys pꝛeſent treaty and ac-
coꝛde willynge foꝛ to departen, our Loꝛde the kyng ſhall oꝛdayne and
make a ſafe conduyte in foꝛme accuſtomed.

¶ And ſo thefoꝛſayd citie was yelden to oure ſoueraygne loꝛde the
xl kynge vpon ſ. Wolſtones day beynge the. xix. daye of January.
and then afterward he gat many ſtrong tounes and Caſtles as
Depe, Caudebec, Toꝛney, & many mo as ſhalbee after wꝛytten.

¶ When the day of appoinctmet came, which was the day of S. Wol-
ſton, Sir Guy de Butteler and the burgeſſes of the toune in good oꝛ-
dze came to the kynges lodgynge, and there deliuered to hym the ke-

yes of the citie and castle, besechinge him of fauor and compassion. The kyng incontinent appoynted the duke of Excester wyth a greate compaignie to take possession of the toune, whiche like a valiaunt capitayne mounted on a goodly courser and entred into the toune and so into the castle, and appoincted watche and ward in euery toure, bulwarcke and fortresse, and garnyshed the walles wyth banners, stāderds, & penons of the kynges armes, badges and deuises. The next daye beynge Fryday the kyng in greate triumphe lyke a conqueror, accōpaignyed wyth iiij. Dukes, x. Erles, viij. Byshoppes, xvj. Barones and a greate multitude of knightes, esquiers and men of warre entred into Roan where he was receyued of the Clergie with. xlij. Crosses whichsang dyuerse swet songes, outwardly reioysing whatsoeuer inwardly they thought Then met him the Senate and the burgesses of the toune, offeryng to him diuerse fair and costly presentes. In this maner he passed through the citie to our Lady Church, where with al solempnitie he was receiued by the bishop and Cannons, and after he had sayd his Orysons, he caused his Chapelaynes to synge thys Antheme. *Quis est magnus dominus?* Who is so great a Lorde as is oure God, &c. And that done he came to the Castle where he contimued a good space after, receiuinge homages and fealties of the burgesses and tounes men, settyng ordres emongest them, and reedefied diuerse fortresses and toures. During which time he made proclamacion that all men which would become his subiectes shoulde enioye their goodes, landes and offices, whiche proclamacyon caused many tounes to yeld, and many men become English. At whych ceason the duke of Britayn seyng that the power of Fraunce beganne to decaye, came to the kyng to Roan and concluded with hym a league of his owne mere mocion: Fearyng that ether he should afterward be compelled therunto, or els yf he offred to late it would not be accepted.

When the renderynge of Roan was blowen throughe Normandy, and the kinges proclamacyon diuulged through the countreye, it is in maner incredible to heare how manye tounes yelded not once desired, & how many fortresses gaue vp wythout contradiccion, wherof I wyll shewe you a small nombre and the names of theim who were appoincted captaines of the same.

At Caudebec, sir Loys Robsert.
At Depe, William Lord Burcher erle of Ewe.
At Ewe, thesame erle
At Aubemerle, therle of Warwycke, and his deputie there sir William mountford.
At Bel Encomber, Sir Thomas Rampston lorde by gyft.
At Longeuyle, the captayn of Beffe erle therof by gyft.
At the Roch Guyō, sir Guy Butteler late capitain of Roan, and by the kyng lorde of thesame.
At Dāuile, sir Christopher Bourden.
At Couches, sir ober Rtmarbury
At Chierburgh, sir Jhō gedding
At Barquiuile, the lorde Rosse, thereof by gift.
At Gaylard, the same lorde.
At Dāgew, Richard Wooduile.

At

At Arques, sir James Fines bay-
ly of Caulx.
At Newcastle, sir Philip Leche
At Monceaux, the same sir Philip
At Gourney, sir Gilbert vmfreuile
At Estripagny, Richard Abraham
esquire.
At Senclere Surgette, Wyllyam
Basset.
At Maunt, therle of Marche.
At voncouilliers, Jhon Aburgh
Bailife of Gisors.
At Vernon, sir William Porter.
At Melans, sir Thomas Rampstō
after him sir Jhon Fastolfe.
At Homflew, therle of Salisbury,
and after the Duke of Clarence
by gyft.
At Bretnell, sir Henry Mortimer
baylyfe of Homflew.

x At Nanfle, therle of Worcester.
At Gisors, the said erle.

If I should here reherse what tounes were cōquered, what fortres-
ses were yelded, and who were made capitaines of the same, thys Pā-
phlet would turne to a volume more tedious then pleasaunt, and ther
fore I ouerpassyng small names and much doyng, will returne agayne
to the prncypall thinges touchynge the sequele of thys hystorye. And
who so desireth to know all the circumstances of the deliuery, lette him
ouerloke the Frenche wryters, whiche to aduoyde shame confesse and
write the veritie.

xx ¶ The.bij.pere.

WHen the gettyng of Roan and the deliuery of the other tou- The.bii.pere
nes were blased and blowen through the whole Realme of
Fraunce wonder it is to tel and more to beleue how the her-
tes of the Frenchmen were sodainly heauy and their courā-
ges sone coled, mourning and lamentyng the imminent mis-
chiefe whiche they sawe by the diuision of the nobilitie lyke shortelye to
fall on their heddes: and the more sorowyng their euyl chance because
they sawe no remedy prepared, nor yet none help at hand thought on.
xxx But who soeuer kycked or wynched at thys matter, Jhon Duke of
Burgoyn raged and swelled, yea and so much freated that he wyst not
what to saye and lesse to do. And no meruayll, for he was vexed and
troubled with a doble desease at one onely time. For he only ruled both
kyng Charles and his, and did all thinges at hys wyl whether reason
agreed or no, and for that cause he knewe that he was neither fre from
disdain nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice. And therfor he ima-
gined that all mischiefes and calamities whiche chaunced in the com-
mon wealth should be imputed and assigned to his vnpolitike doynge
or to his negligent permyssyon: wherfore he ymagined it profitable to
xl the realme and to hym selfe most auaylable, yf he by anye meanes possi-
ble could deuyse, practyse or inuent any way or meane by the which he
might reconcile and ioyne in amitie the two great and mighty kynges
of Englande and of Fraunce. Whyche thynge once obteygned and be-
ynge deliuered from all feare of exterior hostilitie, he determined firste
to reuenge hys quarel agaynst Charles the Dolphyn, and after to re-

pʏesse all causses of grudge oʏ disdayne, and to recouer agayn both the fauoʏ of the commonaltie and also to put awaye all causes of suspycion oʏ imagined infamy agaynst hym and his pʏocedynges. And intēdinge to buyld vpon this fraile foundacion, sent letters and Ambassadoʏs to the kyng of Englande, aduertisyng hym that yf he woulde personally come to a communicatyon to bee had betwene hym and Charles the French kynge, he doubted not but by hys onelye meanes, peace shoulde be induced and blouddy battayl clersly exiled.

Kyng Henry heard gentely the Ambassadoʏs and agreed to their request and desire, and so came to Maunte, where at the feaste of Pen- ʏ
tecost he kept a liberall hous to al commers, and sat hym selfe in greate estate. On which daye eyther foʏ good seruyce befoʏe by them done, oʏ foʏ good expectatyon of thinges to come, he created Gascoyn de Foix a valiant Gascoyn erle of Longeuile, and sir Jhon Grey was lykewyse made erle of Tankeruyle, and the Loʏde Burshier Erle of Ewe. After this solempne feast ended, the place of the enteruiewe and meting was apoynted to be beside Melaus on the ryuer of Seyne, in a fayʏe plaine euerye parte was by commissioners appoynted to their grounde. The Frenchmen diched, trenched and paled their lodgynges foʏ feare of af- ʏ
terclappes: But the Englishmen had their parte onely barred and poʏ- ʏʏ
ted. The king of Englande had a large tent of blewe beluet and grene richly embʏodered with two deuises, the one was an Antlop, dʏawing in an hoʏse mil, the other was an Antlop sitting in an highe stage wyth a bʏaunche of Olife in his mouthe: And the tente was replenyshed and decked wyth hys posye. *After busie labour commeth uictorious reste*, and on ỹ top and heygth of the same was set a great Egle of gold, whose iyes were of such oʏient Diamōdes that they glystered and shone ouer the whole felde.

The Frenche kynge lykewyse had in hys parcke a faire pauilion of blew beluet rychely embʏodered wyth flower delise, on the toppe of ỹ ʏʏʏ
same was set a whyte Harte slynge, made all of fyne syluer wyth win- ges enameled. Betwene these two Campes oʏ enclosers was apointed a tent of purple beluet foʏ the counsaylers to mete in & euery parte had an egall nombʏe to watch on the night and to se good oʏdʏe on ỹ daye.

When the day of appoinctment appʏoched, the kynge of Englande accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Glouceʃter his bʏethʏen and the duke of Exceʃter hys vncle, and Henry Beaufoʏd Clercke hys other vncle which after was bishop of Winchester and Cardinalll and the Erles of Marche, Salisbury and other to the nombʏe of a thou- sand men of warre, entered into his parke and toke his lodging. Lyke ʏl
wyse foʏ the French part, thether came Isabell the Frenche Quene be- cause the kyng her husbande was fallen into his old frenatieall desease hauyng in her company the duke of Burgoyne and the Erle of sayncte Paule, and she had attendyng on her the faire lady Katheryn her dou- ghter and .xxvj. ladies and damoselles, and had also foʏ herf oʏniture

a thousand men of warre.

After these estates had reposed them selfes one nyght in their tentes, the next day all such as were appointed repaired toward the pauilion ordayned for the consultacion. Where the kinge of Englaude, lyke a prynce of great stomacke and no lesse good behauor receiued humbly the French quene annd her doughter and them honorably embraced & familierly kissed. The duke of Burgoyn made low curtesy and bowed to the kynge, whome the kynge loungly toke by the hand and honorably entertayned. After salutacions and embraslinges fynyshed, they fell
x to counsel wy thin the pauilion assigned, whych was kept with a gard appoynted by bothe the parties that none but commissioners shoulde once attempt to enter. After the kinges requestes made & his demaũdes declared, the French quene and her company toke leaue louynglye of the kyng of England and returned to Ponthoyse to certifie her husband of her demaundes and claymes. And kynge Henry returned to Mante. The next day after, they assembled agayne, & the French part brought with them the lady Katherin, only to thentẽt that the king of England seyng and beholdyng so faire a lady and so minion a damosel, should so be inflamed and rapte in loue, that he to obtayne so beautifull
xx an espouse, shoulde the soner agre to a gentle peace, and louing composicion. This company met together. viij. seuerall times, sometyme the one parte was more, and some tyme the other. And notwithstandyng that the Englishmen and Frenchmen were lodged no great distance a sunder, yet was there neuer fray nor occasion of tumulte or riot prouoked or stirred of any of both the parties, whiche bothe their natures cõsidered) is somwhat to be marueyled at.

In this assemble many wordes were spẽt and no dedes done, many thinges required and few offered, many argumentes made and no cõclusion taken. Some authors wryte that the dolphin to let this treatie
xxx sent to the duke of Burgoyne sir Taueygny du Chastel, declarynge to him that yf he would let this agrement, he would commõ with hym & take such an order, that not only they but the whole realme of Fraunce should therof be glad and reioyce: But what was the very cause of the breche, no man certainly declareth. When no effect ensued of this long consultacyon both parties after a princely fashyon departed, the Englishmen to Mantes anh the Frenchmen to Ponthoyse.

¶ The king of England was nothyng pleased nor yet contented that this cõmunicacion came to none ende. Wherefore he mistrustynge the duke of Burgoyne to be the verye let and stop of his desires and requesxl tes, sayd vnto him before his departyng: fayre cosin, we wyl haue your kynges doughter and al thinges that we demaund with her, or we wil dryue your kyng & you out of hys realme. Well sayd the duke of Burgoyne, before you dryue the kyng and me out of his realme, you shalbe wel weryed, and therof we doubt lytle.

After thys departure, the duke of Burgoyne beynge nobly accom-

 panied

panied, roade to the toune of Melune wher the dolphyn then soiorned where in the playne feldes thei.ij. like frendes cõmoned together, & cõcluded apparantly an open amitie & sure frendship, which was writtẽ by notaries and signed with their handes and sealed wyth their great seales and armes, but as the sequele sheweth, heart thoughte not that tong talked, nor mindmeant not ẏ hand wrote. This treaty was concluded the .vj. day of July in the yere of our lord 1419 and was proclaimed in Paris, Amience and Ponthoyse.

This newe alyence notified shortly to the kinge of Englande lynge at Maunt, which therwith was sore displeased, and not wythout cause & For he perceyued that the forte of these two princes were much stronger now beyng vnited in one, then they were before beyng seperated & deuided. Yet notwithstanding this great sworne and sealed amitie, he nothing more minded thẽ to set forward his intented enterpryse wyth the ayde of God to performe his conquest maugre the euyll wyll and puissance of his enemies. Wherfore he sent the captayne of Bueffe brother to the erle of Foys newly created earle of Longuile wyth. xv. C. men secretlye to the toune of Ponthoyse, whyche on Trinitie sondaye erly in the morning came to the toune, and so sodainlye and so shortlye set vp their skalynge ladders to the wall, that they were entered into xx the toune or the watche perceyued them, criyng s. George, s. George. The lord Lisleadam captayn of the tonne perceyuinge the walles skaled and the market place gayned, opened the gate toward Paris, at ẏ which he withal his retinue and diuers of the tounes men to the nombre of. viij. thousande fled. For the Englyshmen durst not because their nombre was smal ones deuide them selfes or fal to pilfryng, tyll aboute prime the duke of Clarence came to their ayde with. v. thousande men and by the way he encountred dyuers burgesses of the toune flyng wꝫ al their substance toward Beauuoys whõ he toke prysoners & brought them agayne to their olde dwellynge place. When the duke was come xxx to Ponthoyse, he muche praysed the valyantnes of the assailantes and gaue to them the chiefe spoyle of the toune and marchaunts, of ẏ which they had great plenty and foyson. Then the duke wyth a greate puyssance came before Paris and laye before the cytye two dayes and two nightes without any proffre either by yssue of his enemies or of defẽce yf he had thesame assauted, whyche he could not well do because it was long and ample, and hys nõbre small, and for so great an enterprise not furnished: Wherfore seynge that hys enemies durste not ones looke on him, he returned agayne to Ponthoyse, for the takyng of whiche toune the countrey of Fraunce, & in especiall the Parisiens were sore dismaid xl and astonied, for there was no fortresse able to resist or wythstande. In so much the Irishmen ouercame all the Isle of Fraunce and did to the Frenchemen dammages innumerable (as their writtes affirme) and brought dayly prayes to the Englyshe armye. And besyde that, they would robbe houses and lay beddes on the backes of the kine and ryde

vpon

bpō them, and cary yong childzen before them and sell them to the Englishmen foz slaues: Whiche straunge doynges so feared the Frenchemen within the territozy of Paris and the coūtrey about, that the rude persons fled out of the villages withal their stuffe to the citie of Paris.

The French king and the duke of Burgoyn liyng at S. Denyse hearynge of all these doynges, departed in all the hast with the quene and her doughter to Troys in Champaigne, there takyng great delyberacion what was best to be done, leauinge at Paris the Erle of S. Paule and the lozde Lisleadam with a great puyssance to defend the citie. At
x the same tyme the duke of Clarence toke the strong toune of Gylozs, & after that was taken the toune of Gayllard: and all the tounes of Nozmandy shortly after were eyther taken by foyce oz rendzed, excepte the Mount sainct Michel, which because the gayne therof was very lytle and the losse in assautyng semed to be very muche, and also it coulde do small harme oz none to the countrey adioyuing, was neither assaulted noz besieged.

And thus as you haue heardе, was the duchy of Nozmandy reduced agayn into the ryght lyne and restozed to the possession of the right heyze, which had bene frō the tyme of kyng Henry the third, in the yere
xx of our lozd 1255 wzongfully detayned from the kynges of Englande.

The wyselmen of Fraunce soze lamentyng the chaunce of their coū trey and the misery of their people sawe and perceyued that they had puyssance ynough to defend their enemies yf they were at a perfyte cōcozd amongest them selfes. Foz they apparantlye sawe that although there wer a peace openly concluded betwene the dolphin and the duke of Burgoyn, yet they imagined that no good fruit succeded of the same foz the duke eyther foz secret displeasure that he bare to the dolphyn, oz foz the doubt that he had of thenglyshmen, neuer assayled by hym self & army of kyng Henry, noz neuer sent ayde oz succours to the Dolphyn.
xxx Wherfoze by meanes of frendes a newe cōmunicacion was appoynted to thentent that the cozrupt dzegges of their olde malice and inwarde grudges myght be clearely cast oute and extinct. The place of this metynge was appoynted at the toune of Monstrel faulte Yoau, so called because a small bzoke called Yoau runneth there to the ryuer of Seine ouer which riuer was made a bzidge, with diuers barres ouerthwart so that the pzinces openyng the barres myght eche embzace oz touche other, and keping the barres shut, eche might se & common wyth other at their pleasur. The day was apoynted when these two great pzinces should mete on this bzidge, to thentent that all ciuile discozd shoulde by
xl this cōmunicacion be cleare forgotten, oz at the least shoulde be suspended, tyl the enemies were banquished and dzyuen out of their coūtries and confines. But thys mocyon wozse succeded thē the entreatozs deuysed, foz while euerye man was fulfilled wyth hope of peace and concozd, crafty imaginacion crepte out of cancard displeasure, had almoste bzought al thynges from libertie into bondage.

When

When the day and place of the solempne enteruiewe was agreed & assigned, Tauagny du Chastel, a mã prompt and prone to all mischiefe, called to his remembraunce the shamefull murder of Lewes Duke of Orleaunce (vnder whom he had long bene a captain) done and compted by this duke of Burgoyne as before you haue hearde, determyned wyth him self to reuenge the death of his olde master and Lord. Som say that he was therto stirred & prouoked by the dolphyn (and not vnlyke) for the dolphyn whiche bare a contynuall hatred to the Duke of Burgoyne, imagyned paraduenture by thys meanes to represse and subdue the whole power and high pride of this duke, wythout any sus- & pection of fraude or reproche of vntruth or vilany. Wel the daye came which was the.xij.day of August, and euerye prince wyth hys nombre appointed came to this bridge. The duke of Burgoyne beyng warned by his frendes to kepe his closure and the barres on his side shut, lytle regarded hys frendes monicion, as a man that coulde not auoyde the stroke for him prouided, and so opened the barres and closur & came to the dolphins presence, whych was cleane armed, and kneled doune on the one kne, shewing to him great reuerẽce and humilitie. The dolphin shewed him no louyng countenaunce, but reproued him, laiynge to his charge much vntruth and greate dishonor. The duke agayne boldely & defended his cause. Now the duke duryng this cõmunication kneled styll and his swoorde was at this backe with often turning and mouing in answeryng the dolphin and his counsel, and so he put his hand backe to plucke his swoord forward: what quod sir Robert de Loyer, wyl you drawe your swoorde against my loorde the dolphin? when Tauagny du Chastel appercyued that an occasion was geuen to performe hys enterprise, incontinẽt he strake him with a hatchet on the head, so that he could not speake, other standyng by shortly dispatched him of hys lyfe. Diuers of his part, thinking him not dead, began to drawe weapon amongest whom the lord Nouale was slaine, and the other taken. For & this murther were condempned (but not apprehended) by Parliamẽt the presidente of Prouince, the vicount of Narbone, Guilliam Battelier, Tauagny du Chastel, Robert Loyze and.iiij.other. This was the ende of Jhon called the proude duke of Burgoyne, whych more regarded ciuile warre and intestine dissencio, then his owne life and welfare. And this sodeyn death as I thynke came to him not wythout deserte, for shamefully murtheryng Lewes duke of Orleance the Frẽch kings brother. Such is the iustice of God, that bloud for the most parte is recompenced wrth bloud, & vnnatural homicide is requited with shamefull death or soden destruccyon.

After this heynous murder thus committed, I might reherse how the dolphynes seruauntes despoyled the duke of all his garmentes to his sherte, and couered hys face with his hosen. I coulde declare howe the dolphin sent his letters to Paris and other cities and tounes, publishing vntruely diuers opprobrious woordes spoken, & diuers greate

and

and outragious offences done by the duke againste the kynge and the whole realme. I could further declare howe the wyſemen of Fraunce deteſted and abhorred thys abhominable act, perceyuyng the end that was like to enſue, and how the contrary ſide, whiche was the linage of Orleance reioyſed and laughed at this miſerable chaunce and ſodayn fal: but becauſe thenglyſh nacyon was partie neither to the facte nor to the counſel, I wyll declare what the kinge of Englande dyd after thys notorious dede done and committed.

¶ The.viij.yere.

x When Philip Erle of Charoloys ſonne and heyre to thys duke Jhō, & now by this murther & death of hys father duke of Burgoyn and erle of Flaunders was enformed lyng at Gaunt of this miſfortune and final ende of hys noble parent and louing father, he toke the mater as he had cauſe, greuouſly and heauily, inſomuch that no man of his counſel durſt ones ſpeake to him, & in eſpeciall the lady Michel his wyfe, ſiſter to the dolphin & Doughter to the king, was in great feare to be forſakē & caſt out of his houſe and fauour: But as al xr thinges ende, ſo ſorowe aſſwageth. When hys doloure was somewhat mittegat he fyrſt by thaduyſe of this counſail receiued to his fauor and company the fayre duches his louing wyfe, and after ſent diuers notable ambaſſadoures to the king of Eugland lyng at Roan to treat and conclude a peace betwene them both for a certayne ſpace: To which requeſt in hope of a better chaunce kynge Henry agreed. After that knot knit, he kept a ſolempne obſequy for his father at ſainct Uaas in Arras where were. xxiij. prelates wyth croſſes: Duryng which tyme the erle of ſaynct Paule and the Pariſians ſent to him ambaſſadours to know what they ſhould do, and how they ſhould defende them ſelfes agaynſt xxr the Englyſhmen. He gently anſwered the meſſengers, that he truſted ſhortly by the ayde of God and licence of the kyng to conclude a peace and perpetual amitie to their great comfort & releſe. When theſe Ambaſſadors were departed to make relacio to the Magiſtrates and gouernors of the citie of Paris, he after long conſultacion had aſwel with men of the ſpiritualty as temporall and lay perſones, ſent the biſhop of Arras and two notable perſones to the kyng of England with certain articles and clauſes which the duke of Burgoyne offred to hym for very loue as he ſayd. The kyng of England conſidering wyth hym ſelfe that the duke of Burgoyne was a cōuenient organe and a neceſſary inxl ſtrument to conueygh his deſyres to hys purpoſe, louyngly receyued & honorably entertayned the dukes ambaſſadours, declarynge vnto thē that he would wythout prolongyng of tyme ſend to him hys Ambaſſadours, whiche ſhould open his lawfull requeſtes & reaſonable deſires. Wyth thys anſwere, the dukes meſſengers departed toward Arras, and incontinente after their departure, kynge Henry ſent the earle of

Warwicke

Warwicke and the bishop of Rochestre with many knightes & esquiers to the duke of Burgoyn, whych to him declared the effect and purpose of their ambassade and commyng: he gently heard their requestes, and some he alowed and some he augmented, and some he altered or disalowed, but in conclusion, by often sendyng betwene the duke & the king they were agreed, so the kynge and his commons would assent. Nowe was the Frēch kyng & the quene and his doughter Katherin at Troys in Champaigne, gouerned and ordred by them which would rather. x. tymes spurre forward the purpose & ententes of the duke of Burgoin then once wyth a bridle to pul backe any one iote preferred by him. x

What should I say, a truce tripertited betwene the. ij. kynges and the duke and their countreys was determined, so that the kyng of Englād should send in the cōpany of the duke of Burgoyne his ambassadors to Troy in Chāpaigne sufficiētly authorised to cōclude so great a matter. The king of England beyng in good hope that all his affaires shoulde prosperously succede and go forwarde, sent to the duke of Burgoin his vncle the duke of Exceter, the erle of Salisbury, the bishop of Ely, the lord Fanhope and lord Fitzhugh, sir Jhon Roblert and sir Phillip Halwyth diuers doctors to the nombre of. CCCCC. horse, whych in ꝑ cōpany of the duke of Burgoyne came to the citie of Trois, the. xxj. daye xx of Marche. The king, the quene and the lady Katherin them receiued and hertely welcōmed, shewynge great signes and tokens of loue and amitie. After a fewe dayes they fel to counsell, in the which it was concluded that kyng Henry of England shoulde come to Troys and mary the lady Katherin, and the kyng shoulde make him heyre of his realme croune and dignitie after hys death or departure out of this naturall lyfe wyth many other articles whych hereafter in a place more conuenient you shal heare rehersed.

When these thynges were done and concluded, the Ambassadours of England departed towarde their kynge, leuynge behynd them Sir xxi Jhon Roblert to geue hys attendaunce on the lady Katherin. When kyng Henry had heard hys Ambassadors reherse the articles & pointes of the treatie and amitie concluded, he condiscended & agreed with al dylygence to set toward Troys, lōgyng for the syght of his darlyng the fayre lady Katheryn. And althoughe he reioysed that all thynges succeded more luckely to his purpose then he before imagyned, yet he trusted not so much to the glosyng wordes and golden promises of the French nacyon beyng hys auncyent enemies, that he would rashely auenture his person wythout a perfite searche and diligent inquyry of ꝑ doynges and attemptes of hys doubtful and new reconciled frendes, xl beyng warned and admonyshed by the late mischance of Jhon duke of Burgoyn yet recent in euery mannes eye. But when he saw the sunne shyne and ayre clere on euerye syde, he accompanyed with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester hys brethren, the Earles of Warwicke, Salisbury, Huntyngdon, Ewe, Tanberuile and Lōguile and. xb. thousande

men

men of warre, departed from Roan to Ponthoyse, and from thence to
sainct Denis two leagues from Paris, and from thence to Pontcha-
renton where he left a garison of menne to kepe the passage, and from
thence by Prouynce, he came toward Troys, where the duke of Bur-
goyn accompaignied with many noble men receiued hym two leagues
without the toune and cõueighed hym to his lodgyng and his princes
with hym, and all his armie was lodged in small villages theraboute.
And after he had reposed himself, he went to visete the kyng, the quene
and the Lady Katheryn, whom he founde in Sainct Peters Churche
x where was a ioyous metyng, honourable receiuyng and a louyng em-
brasyng on bothe partes, whiche was the twenty daye of Maye. And
ther wer the kyng and the lady Katherin made sure together before ỹ
high Aultare, and on the third daye of June nexte folowyng, thei were
with all solempnite espoused & maried in thesame Churche. At whiche
mariage the Englishemen made suche triumphes, pompes and pagi-
auntes as though the kynge of all the worlde had been present. In so
muche (as three Frenche writers affirme) that the nobles of Fraunce
more merueled at the honor & glorye of the Englishemen, then thei dis-
deigned or maligned at their owne fortune.

xx And when these solempne ceremonies wer honorably finished and
the mariage consummate, the twoo kynges and their counsaill assem-
bled together diuerse daies, wherin the former league and treatie was
in diuerse poyntes altred and brought to a certaintie by the deuice of
the kyng of Englande and his brethren. When this great matter was
finished, the kynges sware for their part to observe this agrement and
league in all poynctes. Likewise sware the Duke of Burgoyne and a
great nombre of princes and nobles whiche were presente, and that the
soner because they marueiled before at his noble Actes dooen by kyng
Henry, of whom thei had knowledge onely by report, & now thei more
xxx marueled whē thei sawe and beheld the honor, estate & wisedome of his
persone. But whether thei sware with outward countenaunce and in-
wardly thought the contrary, let them which knowe the Frenche con-
stancye iudge and tell truthe. But assuredly thei perceiued hym to bee
prudent bothe in askyng and geuyng counsaill. Thei sawe hym expert
and apt to marciall feates, and nymble in all thynges apperteignynge
to warre. Thei thought hym strong against all perelles and imagined
hym fortunate in all chaunces and doynges, wherfore as I saied, they
muche marueled at him, and more regarded his persone. Then was he
named and proclaimed heire & Regent of Fraunce. And as the French
xl kyng sent the copie of this treaty to euery toune in Fraũce, so the kyng
of Englande sent thesame in Englishe to euery citie and market toune
to bee published and deuulged, the very copie whereof as it was then
written, woorde by woorde ensueth.

¶ The Articles and appoynctmentes of the peace betwene
the realmes of Englande and Fraunce.

HEnry by the grace of God Kynge of Englande, theire and Regent of Fraunce, Lorde of Irelande, to perpetuall mind to Chriſten people and all tho that be vnder oure obeiſance we notefie and declare that though there hath been here afore diuerſe treaties betwene the moſte excellent Prince Charles our father of Fraunce and hys progenitors for the peace to be had betwene the twoo realmes of Fraunce and Englande the whiche here before haue borne no fruite: We conſiderynge the greate harmes the whiche hath not onely fallen betwen theſe twoo realmes for the great deuiſion that hath been betwene thē, but to all holy churche. We haue taken a treaty with our ſaied father, in whiche treaty betwixt our ſaied father and vs, it is concluded and accorded in the forme after the maner that foloweth.

1 Firſt it is accorded betwixt oure father and vs, that foraſmuche as by the bond of Matrimony made for the good of the peace betwene vs and oure moſte dere beloued Katheryn doughter of oure ſaied father and of oure moſte dere mother Iſabell his wife, theſame Charles and Iſabell been made father and mother, therfore them as our father and mother we ſhall haue and worſhip as it ſitteth and ſemeth ſo a worthy prince and princeſſe to be worſhipped principally before all other tem- xx
porall perſones of the world.

2 Alſo we ſhall not diſtroble, diſſeaſon or letten our father aforſayed, but that he holde and poſſede as longe as he liueth as he holdeth and poſſedeth at this tyme the croune and the dignitee royall of Fraunce, and rentes and proffites for theſame of the ſuſtenance of his eſtate and charges of the realme. And our forſaid mother alſo hold aſlonge as ſhe liueth theſtate & dignitie of Quene, after the maner of theſame realme with conuenable conueniente part of theſaied rentes and proffites.

3 Alſo that the forſaid lady Katherin ſhall take and haue dower in our realme of Englande as Quenes of Englande here afore wer wont for xxx
to take & haue, that is to ſay, to ỹ ſome of .xl. M. Scutes, of the whiche two algate ſhalbe worth a noble Engliſhe.

4 Alſo that by the waies maners and meanes that we maie without tranſgreſſion or offence of other made by vs, for to kepe the lawes, cuſtomes, vſages and rightes of our ſaied realme of Englande ſhall doen our labor and purſute that the ſaied Katheryn alſo ſone as it maye be doen, be made ſure to take & for to haue in our ſaid realme of Englande from the tyme of our death theſaied dower of .xl. M. Scutes yerely, of the whiche twayne algate be worth a noble Engliſhe.

Alſo yf it happ theſaid Katheryn to ouerliue vs, ſhe ſhall take and xl
5 haue the realme of Fraunce ymediatly, from the tyme of our death, dower to the ſome of .xx. M. Frankes yerely of and vpon the landes, places and lordſhippes that held and had Blaunch ſomtyme wife of Philip Boſeele to our ſaied father.

6 Alſo that after the death of oure father aforſaied, and from thence

for

forwarde, the croune and the realme of Fraunce with all the rightes and appurtenaunces shal remain and abide to vs and been of vs and of our heires for euermore.

Also forasmuche as oure saied father is wytholden with diuerse sickenes, in suche maner as he maie not intende in his owne persone for to dispose for the nedes of theforsaied realme of Fraunce: therfore duryng the life of our saied father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposicion of the publique and common proffite of thesayed realme of Fraunce with counsaill and nobles and wise men of thesame realme of Fraunce shalbe and abide to vs: So that from thencefurthe we maie gouerne thesame realme by vs. And also to admit to our counsaill and assistence of thesaied nobles suche as we shall thynke mete, the which faculties and exercise of gouernaunce thus being toward vs, we shall labor and purpose vs spedefully, diligently and trulye to that that maie be and ought for to be to the worshipp of God and oure saied father and mother, and also to the common good of thesaied realme, and that realme with the counsaill and help of the worthye and great nobles of thesame realme for to be defended, peased and gouerned after right & equitie. 7

¶ Also that we of oure owne power shall do the courte of the Parliament of Fraũce to be kept & obserued in his authoritie and soueraignte and in all that is doen to it in all maner of places that now or in tyme commyng is or shalbe subiect to our saied father. 8

Also wee to oure power shall defende and helpe all and euery of the Peres, nobles, citees, tounes, cõmonalties and synguler persons now or in tyme commyng subiectes to our father in their rightes, customes, priuileges, fredome and fraunchises longynge or dewe to them in all maner of places now or in tyme commyng subiect to our father. 9

Also we diligently and truly shall trauaile to our power and do that ¶ iustice be administred and doen in thesame realme of Fraunce after the lawes, customes and rightes of thesame realme, without personalx exception. And that we shal kepe & holde the subiectes of thesame realme in tranquilitie and peace, & to our power we shall defende them against all maner of violence and oppression. 10

Also we to our power shall prouide, and do to our power that able persones and proffitable been taken to the offices alwell of iustices and other offices longyng to the gouernaunce of the demaynes & of other offices of thesaid realme of Fraunce for the good, right and peaceable Justice of thesame, and for thadministracion that shalbe comitted vnto ¶ theim, and that they be suche persons that after the lawes and rightes of the same realme and for the vtilitee and proffite of our saied father shall minister, and that the forsaied realme shal be take and departed to the same offices. 11

Also that wee of oure power so sone as it maye commodiously bee doen, shall trauaile for to put into the obedience of oure saied father, all 12

maner of cities, tounes & Castles, places, countrees & persones within the realme of Fraunce disobedient and rebelles to our saied father, holdyng with them whiche been called the Dolphin or Arminack.

Also that we might the more comodiously, surely & frely doen exer-
13 cise and fulfill these thynges aforsaid. It is accorded that all worthye nobles and estates of thesame realme of Fraunce aswell spirituals as temporalles, and also citees notables and commonalties, and citezens, burgeis of tounes of ỹ realme of Fraunce, that been obeysaunt at this tyme to our saied father shall make these othes that folowen.

First to vs hauyng the facultie, exercise, disposicion & gouernaunce
14 of the forsaied common proffite to our hestes and commaundementes thes shall mekely and obediently obeye & intende in all maner of thyng concernyng the exercise of gouernance of thesame realme.

15 Also that the worthy great nobles and estates of thesaid realme aswell spirituals as temporalles and also citees & notable commonalties and Citezens and Burgeses of thesame realme in all maner of thinges well and truly shall kepe & to their power shall do to be kept of so much as to theim belongeth or to any of theim all, those thynges that been apoyncted and accorded betwene our forsaied father and mother and vs, with the counsaill of them whom vs lust to calle to vs.

16 Also that continually from the death and after the death of oure saied father Charles, they shalbe our true liegemẽ and our heires, and they shall receiue and admit vs for their liege and souereigne and verie kyng of Fraunce, and for suche to obeye vs without opposiciõ, contradiccion or difficultie, as they been to our forsayd father duryng his life, neuer after this realme of Fraũce shall obey to man as kyng or regent of Fraunce, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsaill helpe or assente that we lese life or lymme, or be take wyth euyl takyng, or that we suffre harme or diminicion in person, estate, worship or goodes, but yf thei knowe any such thing for to be cast or ymagined against vs, thei shall let it to their power, & they shall doen vs to weten thereof as hastely as they maye by themself, by message or by letters.

17 Also that all maner of conquestes that shoulde bee made by vs in Fraunce vpon thesaied inobedientes out of the Duchie of Normandy shalbe doen to the proffite of our said father, and that to our power we shall do that al maner of landes and lordshipes that been in the places so for to be conquered longyng to persones obeyng to our saied father, whiche shall sweare for to kepe this preleute accord, shalbee restored to thesame persones to whom they long to.

18 Also that all maner of persones of the holy Church beneficed in the Duchy of Normandy or any other places in the realme of Fraũce subiect to our father and fauorynge the partie of the dukes of Burgoyne whiche shall sweare to kepe this present accord, shall reioyce peaceably their benefices of holy Churche in the Duchy of Normandy, or in any other places next aforsayed.

Also

Also likewyse all maner persones of holy Churche obedient to vs & 19
beneficed in the realme of Fraunce & places subiect to oure father that
shall swere to kepe this presente accord, shall enioye peaceably their be-
nefices of holy Churche in places next aboue saied.

Also that all maner of Churches, Uniuersitees and studies gene- 20
rall, and all Colleges of studies and other Colleges of holy Churche
beyng in places now or in tyme commynge subiecte to our father, or in
the Duchy of Normãdy, or other places in the realme of Fraunce sub-
iect to vs, shall enioye their rightes and possessions, rentes, prerogati-
xx ues liberties and fraunchises longyng or dewe to theim in any maner
of wise in thesaid realme of Fraunce, sauyng the right of the croune of
Fraunce and euery other persone.

Also by Goddes help, when it happeneth vs to come to the croune 21
of Fraunce, the Duchy of Normandy and all other places conquered
by vs in the realme of Fraunce shall bowe vnder the commanndement
obeysaunce and monarchy of the croune of Fraunce.

Also that we shall enforce vs and dooe to oure power that recom- 22
pence be made by our saied father without diminucion of the croune of
Fraunce, to persones obeiyng to hym and fauorying to that partie that
xx is saied Burgoyn, to whom longeth landes, lordshippes, rentes or pos-
sessions in the said Duchy of Normandy or other places in the realme
of Fraunce conquered by vs hether toward, geuen by vs in places, and
landes gotten or to be gotten and ouercome in the name of our said fa-
ther vpon rebelles and inobedientes to hym. And if it so bee that suche
maner of recompence bee not made to thesaied persones by the lyfe of
our saied father, we shall make that recompence in suche maner of pla-
ces and goodes when it happeneth by Goddes grace to the croune of
Fraunce. And if so be that the landes, lordshippes, rentes or possessions
the whiche longeth to suche maner of persones in thesaied Duchy and
xxx places be not geuen by vs, thesame persones shalbee restored to theim
wythout any delaye.

Also duryng the life of our father in all places now or in tyme com- 23
mynge subiect to him, letters of common iustice & also grauntes of offi-
ces and giftes, pardons or remissions and priuileges shalbe writtē and
procede vnder the name and seale of our saied father. And forasmuche
as some synguler cace maie fall that maye not bee forseen by mannes
witte, in the whiche it might be necessary and be houefull that we doo
write our letters, in suche maner cace yf any hap for the good & surety
of our father and for the gouernaunce that longeth to vs as is before-
xl saied, and for to eschewen periles that otherwyse might fall to the pre-
iudice of our saied father to write oure letters, by the whyche we shall
commaunde, charge and defende after the nature and qualitie of the
nede in our fathers behalfe and oures as Regent of Fraunce.

Also that duryng oure fathers life wee shall not calle ne write vs 24
Kynge of Fraunce, but vtterly we shall absteyne vs from that name

as long as our father liueth.

25 Also that ouer saied father duryng his lyfe shall nempne, call, and write vs in French in this maner *Nostre treschier filz Henry Roy Dengleterre heretere de Fraunce*, and in Latin in this maner, *Preclarissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Angliæ & hæres Franciæ:*

26 Also that we shall put none imposicions or exaccious, or do charge the subiectes of our said father without cause reasonable and necessary, ne otherwise then for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the saiyng and askyng of the lawes and customes reasonable, approued of thesame realme.

27 Also that we shal trauaile to our power to the effect and intent, that by thassent of the three estates of either of the realmes of Fraunce and Englande, that all maner of obstacles maye be doen awaie, and in thys partie that it be ordeigned and prouided that from the tyme that we or any of our heires come to ỹ croune of Fraunce, bothe the crounes that is to saie of Fraunce and England perpetually be together in one and in thesame persone, that is to saye from our fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward in the persones of our heires that shalbe one after another. And that bothe realmes shalbe gouerned frō that we or any of our heires come to thesame, not seuerally vnder di- xxv uerse kynges in one tyme, but vnder that same person whiche for the tyme shalbe kyng of bothe the realmes and souereigne lorde as it is beforesaid, kepyng neuertheless in all maner of other thynges to eyther of thesame realmes their rightes, liberties, customes, vsages, & lawes, not makyng subiecte in any maner of wyse one of thesame realmes to the rightes, lawes or vsages of that other.

28 Also that thence forwarde, perpetually shalbe stylle reste, and that in all maner of wise, discencions, hates, rancoures, enuies, and warres betwene thesame realmes of Fraunce and England, and the people of thesame realmes, drawyng to accorde of thesame peace maie cease and xxvi bee broken.

29 Also that there shalbee fro hence forwarde for euermore peace and tranquillitee and good accord and common affeccion and stable frendship betwene thesame realmes and their subiectes beforesaid: thesame realmes shal kepe themselfes with their counsaill helpes and common assistence against all maner of men that enforce them for to doen or to ymagine wronges, harmes, displeasours or greuaunce to theim or to ether of theim. And they shalbee conuersaunt and Marchandisen frely and surely together paiyng the custome dew and accustomed. And thei shalbe conuersaunt also, that al the confederates and alies of our saied xl father and the realme of Fraunce aforsaid, and also oure confederates, of the realme of Englande aforsaied, shall in. viij. monethes from the tyme of this accord of peace as it is notified to thē, declare by their letters that thei wolle draw to this accord and wol be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, saiyng neuertheless ether of

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the same Crounes, and also all maner accions tightes and reuenues that longen to our sayd father and hys subiectes and to vs and to oure subiectes againe such maner of allies and confederacies.

Also neyther oure father neither our brother the duke of Burgoyn 30
shall begynne ne make wyth Charles clepynge hym selfe the Dolphyn of Uyennes any treaty or peace or accorde but by counsell and assent of all and eche of vs thre or of other thre estates of either of the sayed realmes aboue named.

Also that we wyth assent of oure sayd brother of Burgoyne & other 31
xx of the nobles of the realme of Fraũce the whiche therto owen to be called shal ordaine for the gouernance of our sayd father sekyrly, louyngly & honestly after the askyng of his royall estate & dignitie by the maner that shalbe to the worshyp of God and of oure father and of the realme of Fraunce.

Also all maner of persons that shalbe about oure father to do hym 32
personall seruice, not onely in office but in all other seruices aswell the nobles and gentles as other shalbe suche as hath bene borne in the realme of Fraunce or in places longynge of Fraunce, good, wise, true and able to that forsayd seruice. And our sayd father shall dwel in pla-
xx tes notable of hys obedience and nowhere els. Wherfore we charge & cõmaunde our sayd liege subiectes & other beyng vnder our obedience that they kepe and do to to be kept in all that longeth to them this accord and peace after the forme and maner as it is accorded. And that they attempte in no maner wyse any thyng that may be preiudice or cõtrary to the same accorde and peace vpon payne of lyfe and limme and all that they may forfaite against vs. Youen at Troys the.xxx. day of May. 1420. and proclaimed in London the.xx. day of June.

Also that we for the thynges aforesayd and euery one of them shall 33
geue our assent by our letters patentes sealed wyth our seale bato our
xxx sayd father wyth all approbacion & confirmacion of vs and all other of our bloud royall and all other of the cities and tounes to vs obedient sealed with their seales accustomed. And further oure sayd father beside his letters patentes sealed vnder hys greate seale shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory and confirmacions of the peres of his realme and of the lordes, citezens and burgesses of the same vnder hys obedience, all which articles we haue sworne to kepe vpon the holy Euangelistes.

Here I ought not to forget howe.ij. men named learned in both the lawes, the one called master Jhon Bouchet the Aquitanicall writer &
xl Archedeacon of Terbe, & the other Maister de Prato a solempne protho notary his praty ng gloser, wrote of this treaty and composicio, and make therof so a great matter as by the makyng of this peace it shulde appeare that England had no right to Fraunce, nor by this graunt nothyng to Englande was geuen. Fyrst Jhon Bouchet saieth that thys treaty was the worst cõtract that euer was made for ỹ kynges of En-

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gland,for by this saith he it is appparant that the kyng of Englād had neither tytle nor right to the croune of Fraunce but by this cōposicion, for if they had right,why did they take it by cōposicion? vpon this text Master gloser saieth,that this composicion geueth a new right,and yf there wer any old it taketh it away and geueth a new, which new gifte was of litle value and lesse efficacie in the lawe because the issue female may not enherite accordyng to the lowe Salique, & therfore he cannot make his doughter heyre to the croune of Fraunce. If I might be so bold I wold axe Maister Jhon Bouchet this question: if a mā wrongfully kepe me out of the possession of my true and lawfull inheritaunce (with whom I am neither able with purse neither with power to prosecute my cause before a competent iudge by proces of the lawe) wyll of his owne mere mocion (moued paraduenture with conscience) render to me my right,so I wyl suffre hym to enioy my lande durynge his life, or that I wyll mary his daughter:haue I thys land by his gifte or as a thyng to me iustly by law and equitie rendred and receiued. Lykewise if a riche man owe to a poore man an hundreth poundes, whiche is not able in substance or for feare of displeasure dare not attempt anye suyte or quarell against his detter,yf he will offer to pay his money at daies, to the whiche request the poore man agreeth,is this a newe gift of the money or a payment of the det. In the fyrst question if the demaundant had no tytle,how could he graunt to him the accion of the land duryng his life,and in the second,yf the plaintiffe had none interest how coulde he geue him daies of payment and yet in both the cases yf the one part had no right why would the other make an offre or cōpound, for all cōposicions haue respect to a right precedent. But in thys matter, who would iudge that a kyng of so great & puissant a realme with the assent of his whole counsel would dischenerite his onely sonne & surrendre his title without an apparant right and open tytle knowen and shewed by the partie,for the olde prouerbe sayeth,long sufferaunce is no acquittance,nor prolongynge of tyme derogacion to right, also restitucion is no graūt,nor payment of duetie is no gift. Doctors write and clerkes affirme that these treaties,arbitrementes and composicious be bothe godly,charitable and honeste, both to restore the one partie to his auncient right (whether it be in landes or goodes) and to dispence & releue the other with the takyng of the profites of theland and vsyng in marchandies the occupacion of the money. Now to master gloser whyche affirmeth that a composicion taketh away an old right & geueth a new and that this composicion is of no value: surely Master Jhon de Prato I would haue suche a peuyshe proctor reteined against me,for you saye that euery cōposicion geueth a new right and taketh away the auncīēt title, yet you sayd before ȳ this cōposicion neither geueth nor can geue any right,whiche cōclusion is manifestly repugnant to the antecedent therfore you must be answered thus, if nothyng be geuen,nothynge is taken away, & so consequently no cōposicion, & yf there be no cōposicion

then

then remaineth styll the olde & auncient tytle in the state that it was. Paraduenture Master gloser wil say and allege the tytle of England to be abrogated because the house of Valoys maye lawfully prescribe against the kynges of England and haue had the possessiõ foztie yeres & moze, & so by this meane kynge Henry had no tytle to clayme oz chalenge any part of the realme of Fraunce. Then I pray you remember the yere & accompt the doynges and you shall euidently perceiue that kyng Edward the third the very indubitate heyze general to ỹ croune of Fraunce kyng Richard the second, kynge Henry the fourth and this
x noble kyng Henry the fift neuer desisted. vi. oz. viij. yeres at the moste either by battaile oz treatie to chalenge and clayme their aũcient right and old enheritaunce to thẽ by quene Isabel discended, so the title was euer in strife and neuer quiet tyll nowe the right lyne is restozed: And as foz your law Salique put it in your boget among lyes & fayned fables. Thus you may se the affections of Frenchemen, that an Arche foole cannot forge a lye foz his pleasure, but a prothodawe wyll faine a glose to mainteine his folish fãtasie. Let vs now leue these wylful writers and returne to the kyng of England, which after al these articles of the treaty beyng concluded and swozne, made the Frenche kyng, the
xx duke of Burgoyn and other the Frenche lozdes a solempne and sumptuous supper and banket, and befoze their departyng, he sadly and soberly sayd to them these wozdes.

All my thought care & study is (you noble princes & men of high hoznoz) to inuent the meane, study & way, how both my kyngdomes by the benefite of almightie God enlarged & amplified, by the cõnexyng & ioynyng the one to the other may be left to my posteritie clene & pure without domestical dissenciõ oz ciuile discozde, to thentent that as one prince noz potestate hath at this day in all Europe a greater gouernaunce, a richer regiment noz a moze puissant empire: So I trust to leue it that
xxx hereafter ther shal no power oz dominion be able to be to it cõpared oz equyuolent. Wherfoze, I entende fyrst to extirpate & plucke away the rotes and leuynges of the ciuile discẽcion in this realme lately begon, which ly in the brest of Charles the kynges sonne, by your decre, iudgement and assent, of the newe state and dignitie of the dolphyn vtterly depriued and disgraded, against whom it is cõuenient and decent that you beare armure not so muche to destroy & confound him, as to bring him to do obeysance and reasonable cõformitie. What maner a prince thinke you he would proue, when he should obtaine & possesse a kyngedome, which beyng but a lusty yong striplyng not fearyng God noz re-
xl gardyng his honoz contrary to his promise & against all humaine honestie, was not ashamed to polute and staine him selfe wyth the bloud and homicide of the baleaunt duke of Burgoyn, O caucard stomacke in the brest of a yong prince, oh tyrannicall heart in the body of a gentle man, O vntrue tong in the mouth of a Christen man, a Christian, no a Pagane, whiche neglecting his honoz, violatynge his promise and dis-

pisyng

pisyng honestie, would procure or consent to so abhominable a fact and sedicious a murder. Wherfore these thynges well pondered and iustly considered I require you to ioyne, stand, and cleue with me as the very heyre & successor of my dere & welbeloued father in lawe kyng Charles in this realme & kyngdome, fyrst to my noble auncesters, & after to me by right title and iust claime lawfully discended. Grudge not I praye you because I that am an Englisheman shall succede in the croune of Fraũce: I assure you I am not nor wyl not be noted to be to you a mere alien and straunger, was not my great grandfather kyng Edward the third sonne to quene Isabel daughter to Philip the fayre and sister & heyre to .iij. kinges of this relme dead without issue: was not my great graundmother quene Philip discended of the noble house of Valoys: if the old & trite prouerbe be true that the womans side is the surer side and that the childe foloweth the wombe, although the one part be Englishe yet the surer part is Frenche, and of the Frenche floure budded & brought furth. And therfore remembre not that I am an Englishman, put out of your mindes in what coũtrey I was borne: and cõsider that I am a christen man & an anoynted kynge, to whõ by both the professions it apperteineth not onely to defend & protect their people and subiectes from forein powers and outward invasions, but also to minister to them indifferent iustice, to conserue them in pollitike ordre and moderate quietnes: and finally, accordyng to their desert and merites, thẽ to promote, auaunce & prefer to riches, honors and estates: which thinges yf I would not do to you my trusty frendes whose louyng hartes and beneuolent myndes I shall neuer forgette nor put in obliuion, I should not do my dutie to God, I should not do the office of a kyng, nor I shuld not do that whyche by the lawes of nature and reason I ought to do, which is to rendre kyndnes for kyndnes, goodnes for desert, and honor for merite. Therfore to cõclude I humbly require you, to stande strong with kyng Charles my father in lawe (who in the stede of myne owne parent I worshyp, loue and honor) in this concord and agreement whiche I both call & trust to be a peace final, and after his mortal ende to loue, serue & be true to me and my posteritie, and I assure you for my parte that the Occean sea shall soner leue his flowynge and the bright sunne shall soner leue his shinyng, then I shall cease to do that whyche becommeth a prince to do to his subiecte, or that a father ought to do to his naturall child.

When he had thus persuaded the nobilitie, he wyth all hys armye, hauyng with him the French kyng and the duke of Burgoyn came before the toune of Sene in Burgoyn which toke part with the dolphin and after that he had destroied the countrey about it, at the .xb. day the toune was yelded and there he made capitain the lorde Jenuale. And from thence he remoued to Monstreau fault yone, where the duke of Burgoyn was slain as you haue heard, whiche toune was taken by assault and many of the dolphyns parte apprehended before they coulde

get

get to the castell. After the gettyng of the toune, the castle whiche was newly replenished with men and vitayle, denied to rēdre, and so it was strongly besieged: durynge whiche assault the duke of Burgoyn was enformed by diuers in what place the duke his father was buried, whose corps he caused to be taken vp & sered & so conueighed it to Diron in high Burgoyn and buried it by duke Philip his father.

The kyng of England sent certaine of the prisoners that he had taken in this toune to aduise the capitaine of the castle to yelde the same, but they obstinatly denyed the request, geuing opprobrious wordes to
x the kinges Herault, wherfore the king of England caused a gybbet to be set vp before the castle, on the whiche were hanged. xii. prisoners all gentlemē and frendes to the captayne. When the Lord of Guytry lieftenant of the castle perceiued that by no meanes he could be succoured, and fearyng to be taken by force, he beganne to treat with the kyng of England, which in. viij. dayes would take none of his offers, but in cōclusion he and his rendred them selues simply, theyr lyues onely saued, and after. vi. wekes siege the castle was deliuered, & the earle of Warwike was made capitaine of the toune and castle, whiche fortified the same with men, ordinance and artillerie. From thence the king of En-
xx gland departed to Molyn vpon Seyne, and besieged it round aboute in whose company were the Frenche kyng, the yong kyng of Scottes, the dukes of Burgoyn, Clarence, Bedford, and Glocester.

The Duke of Barre.
The Prince of Oreng.
The earle of Niche in Auerne.
Therle of Huntyngdon.
Therle of Stafford.
Therle of Sommerset.
Therle Marshall.
xxx Therle of Warwike.
Wherle of Worcester.
Therle of Suffolke.
The archbishop of Britayne earle of Pury.
The Lord Charles of Nauer.
Therle of Perche.
Therle of Mortaine.
Therle of Ormond.
Therle of Desmond.
xl Therle of Ewe.
Therle of Tankeruile.
Therle of Longuile.
Therle of saint Paule.
Therle of Brayne.
Therle of Ligny.

Therle of Uatedeuontur.
Therle of Joiuigny.
The Lord Rosse.
The Lord Watreuers.
The Lord Gray of Codnor.
The Lord Bourchier.
The Lord Audeley.
The Lord Wylloughby.
The Lord Clynton.
The Lord Deyncost.
The Lord Clyfford.
The Lord Ferreys Groby.
The Lord Ferreys of Chartly.
The Lord Talbot.
The Lord Fitzwaren.
The Baron Dudley.
The Lord Mouerancy.
The lord Aubemōd of Normādy.
The lord Beauchāpe of Normādy
The Lord Furniuale.
Tho Lord Firzhugh.
The Lord Fanhope.
The Lord Scrope of Balos.

The

The Lord Scrope of Upsabe.
The Lord Canneys.
The Lord Bardolf.
The Lord Scales.
The Baron of Care.
The Lord Duras of Gascon.
The Lord de la Laund Gascoy.
The Lord Montferrant.
The Lord Louel.
The Lord Botras of Burge.
The Lord of Chastelon.
Tho Lord Lilleadam.
The Lord Uergeer.
The Lord of Crony.
The Lord sent George.
The Lord Pelunes.
The Lord Daugien.
The Lord Tremoyle.
The Lorde Jenuale.
Sir Jhon de Lawuoy.
Sir Jhon Courtelles.
The Lord of Barenbon.
The Lord of Jalous.
The Lorde Bonuile.
Sir Guy de Bar.
Sir Jhon Fastolf.
Sir Philip Halle.
Sir Philip Leche.
Sir Jhon Rodney.
Sir Norice Browne.
Sir Piers Tempest.
Sir Robert Tempest.
Sir Guy Noyle.
Sir Jhon Stanley.
Sir Lewes Mohu.
And.xv.Maister souldiers.

These valeaunt princes and noble men besieged the stroung toune xx
by the space almost of.vij.monethes, they without made mynes, caste trenches and shot gunnes dayly at the walles, they within wherof the Lord Barbason was chief capitaine manfully defended the same, this euery day was skyrmishyng, scalyng, & assautynge, to the losse of bothe parties, but most of all to the losse of thē within. Dnrynge whiche siege the Frenche quene and the quene of England, and the duches of Burgoyn came diuers tymes to visite their husbandes and se their frēdes, whom the kynge of England so highly feasted, so louyngly entertained and with so pleasant pastymes comforted them, that euery creature of him reported honor, liberalitie, and gentlenes. This siege so long cōti- xxx
nued that vitayles within the toune began to fayle, and pestilence began to growe, so that the capitaine began to treat, and in conclusion the toune was deliuered vpon certain condicions, wherof one was that all that were consentyng to the death of the duke of Burgoyn shoulde be deliuered to the kyng, wherof the lorde Barbason was suspected to be one, and so they wer deliuered to the kyng of England, whiche sent thē vnder the conduyte of the duke of Clarence his brother to the cytie of Paris wherof the Frenche kyng made him capitaines and he toke possession of the bastyl of saint Anthony, the Louure, the house of Neele, and the place of Boys de Uynannes: xl

When this toune was thus yelded, the kynge of Englande made capitaine ther therle of Huntyngdon. Frō thence he departed with his army to Corbeil, where the Frenche kyng and the two quenes then sojorned, and from thence the.ij.kynges accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgoyn, Gloucester and Exceter, and therles of Warwyke

Salsbury

Salisbury and a greate nombre of noble men and knyghtes set furthe toward Paris, whom the citezens in good ordre met wythout ỹ gates and the Clergy also with solempne procession, al the stretes wer hãged with riche clothes & the people in the stretes shouted and clapped handes for ioye, the twoo kinges rode together, the kyng of Englande geuyng the vpper hande to his father in lawe throughe the great citie of Paris to our lady church, wher after had they said their deuocios they departed to their lodginges, the Frenche kinge to the hous of Sainct Paule, & the king of England to the Castle of Louure. The next daye
x the two Quenes made their entrie into Paris and wer receiued wyth like solempnitie as their husbandes were the day before. If I shoulde declare to you the great gyftes, the costlye presentes, the plenty of vytaile, that was geuen to the kyng of Englande: or reherse how the conduites aboundantly spouted out wyne of diuerse colours, or describe ỹ costly pagiãtes, the pleasant songes or swete armony that wer shewed song and played at diuerse places of the citie, or shewe the great gladnes, the hertie reioysyng and the great delight that the comon people had at this concorde and peace final, I shoulde reherse manye thynges that you would be weried both wyth the readyng and herying.

xx During the season that these.ii. kynges thus laye in Paris, there was a greate assemble called, aswel of the spiritualtie as of the nobilitie in the which the two kynges sat as iudges, before whom the Duches of Burgoyn by her proctor appeled the Dolphin, and.vij. other for the murdre of Duke Jhon her husband. To the whych appele the counsail of the other part made diuerse offers of amendes, aswell of foundacios of priestes to pray for the soule, as recompence of money to the widow and children, for the final determinacion wherof the kynges toke a farther deliberacion and apoynted a farther day. To the citie of Paris at this tyme resorted the thre estates of the realme, where euery persone
xxx seuerally swore vpon the holy Euangelistes to kepe, support, maintein, and defende the treaty and peace finall which was concluded betwene the two princes and their counsaylers and therto euery noble mã, spiritual gouernor, and tẽporal rulers set to their seales, whyche instrumentes were sent to the kynges treasurye of hys Exchequer at Westminster, sauely to be kept wher they yet remayn. These two kyugs soiorned in Paris at the feast of Christmas. The French kyng lyng at ỹ hous of S. Paule kepte no estate nor open court to noman except hys housholde seruauntes and men of base estate frequented his hous: but the kynge of Englande and hys Quene, kepte suche solempne estate so
xl plentiful a hous, so pryncelye pastyme, and gaue so manye gyftes that from al partes of Fraunce, noble men and other resorted to hys palyce to se his estate and do hym honor.

Then the king of England toke vpon him as Regent of Fraunce to redresse causes, remoue officers, reforme thynges that were a misse, and caused a new coyne to be made called the Salute, wherin wer the

Armes of Fraunce and the Armes of England and Fraũce quarterly. And to set al thinges in a quietnes, he constituted sir Gilbert Umfreuile capitain of Melun wyth a good nombre of valiaunt souldyees, and the erle of Huntingdon his cosin germayne was deputed captayne at Bois de Vincens, and the duke of Excester with.v.C. menne of warre was assigned to kepe the citie and toune of Paris. When he had thus ordered hys affaires according to his deuice & ordre, he with ỹ Quene his wife his princes and nobles departed from Paris and came to the citie of Roan. But before his remouyng, he caused proces to be made against Charles called the Dolphyn, cõmaundyng hym to appere at the table of Marble at Paris, where for lacke of aperance he was withall solempnitie in suche a cause requisite, denounced gyltye of the murther and homicide of Jhon late Duke of Burgoyne, and by the sentence of the court of parliament he was exiled and banished the realme and territories of Fraunce, and depriued of al honoures, names, dignities and preheminences which he then had or hereafter might haue. Wherfore the Dolphyn went into Languedoc and after to Poytiers gettyng to him suche frendes as he could, and in especiall he obteygned so hyghlye the fauor of the erle of Arminack that he not onely toke his part, but also releued hym with money, aided him wyth men and in hys own per- xx
sone continually serued him against his foes and enemies.

Whyle kyng Henry soiourned in the citie of Roan, he receyued homage of al the nobles of Normandy: emongest whom therle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Perche, and Arthur of Britayn did homage for the countie of Pury, whiche the kyng before had geuen to them. He also ordeyned his liuetenaunt generall both of Fraunce and Normandy his brother Thomas duke of Clarence, and his deputie in Normandy was the erle of Salisbury. When the feaste of Christmas (whiche he kept wyth al triumphe and solemptie in his castle of Roan) was passed, he with the quene his wife departed from Roan to Amiẽs xxx
and so came to Caleis where he toke ship the morow after Candelmas day and lãded at Douer, and came to Eltham and so through London to Westmynster. Meruel it is to wryte but more meruel it was to se, wt what ioye, what triumphe, what solace and what reioysynge he was receyued of al his subiectes, but in especial of the Lõdoners, whiche for tediousnesse I ouerpasse. And no doubt Englande had greate cause to reioyce at the comyng of such a noble captain, so valyante a prynce and so mightie a conqueror, whiche in so small space and so briefe tyme had brought vnder his obeysaunce the great & puyssante realme, & dominiõ of Fraunce. And first to rendre to God his creator most hũble & hertiell thankes, he caused solempne processions to be obserued & kept.v. daies together in euery citie and toune. After that done he made great purueyghance of al thinges necessary for the coronacion of his Quene and spouse the faire lady Katherin, whiche was don e the daye of s. Mathy the.xxiiij. day of Februarye, on which solẽpne feast she was conueyghed

on

on fote betwene two bishops vnder a rych canapy frō the great halle at Westminster at s. Peters church, & there she was anointed & crouned with al the ceremonies to so great an estate aperteininge or requisite. After which solēpnitie ended, she was again with great pompe conueighed into westminster hal & ther set in ȳ throne at ȳ table of marble at ȳ vpper end of the hal: whose seruice and solēpnitie whoso list to rede let him loke on the Chronicle of Robert Fabiā which declareth it at large.

¶ The.ix.pere.

The .ix. pere

x WHile these thinges were thus doyng in Englande, the duke of Clarence brother to the kyng and his liuetenant generall in Fraunce and Normandy, assembled together al the Garrysons of Normādy at the toune of Bernay, and from thēce departed into the country of Maine, and at Pont degene he passed the riuer of Youe and rode through all the countrie to Lucie wher he passed the ryuer of Loyre and entred into Aniow, & came before the citie of Angiers where he made many knyghtes, that is to say, sir William Rosse, sir Henry Godard, sir Rowland Rider, sir Thomas Beaufort called the bastard of Clarence and diuerse other, and after that he had forraid, brent, and spoyled the coūtrie, he returned with pray & pillage

xx to the toune of Beaufort in the valey, where he was aduertised that a greate nombre of hys enemyes were assembled together at a place called Bangie, that is to say, the duke of Alanson callyng hym self lyuetenant general for the Dolphin.

Therle of Marche in Auerne.
Therle of Perle.
Therle of Ponthiure.
The Vicount Thomars.
The Vicount Chasteaulerat.
The Vicount Damboyse.
xxx The lorde of Egle.
The Bastard of Alanson.
The Bastard de la Marche.
The Bastard of Vandosme.
The lorde Champayne.
Sir Anthony of Champayne.
The Lorde of Fountayes.
The Lorde of Bellay.
The Lorde Dauerton.
The Lorde Rambures.
xl The Lorde Tanagny de Chastel
Sir Jhon Turmyn.
The Lorde Dasse.
The Lorde Buel.
The Lorde Gaules.
The Lorde Graueney.
The lorde de la Brete.
The lorde de la Fayet Marshal to the dolphin.
The baron of Coluces.
The lorde Danzebost.
The lorde Vipond Diagosales, capitayn of the Spaniardes.
And of the Scottes which were late come oute of Scotlande to serue the Dolphyn.
Jhon erle of Boghan and Robert his brother, sonnes to the gouernor of Scotlande.
Archibald Dowglas erle of wigtō
Alexāder Lyndsay brother to therle of Crayford.
Sir Thomas Swinton.
Sir William Stuard.
Sir William Doglas.
Sir Jhon Turnebul.
Sir Robert Lille.
Sir William Conningham.

Sir Alexandre Meldryne.
Sir Alexander Hume.
Sir Jhon Balglauie.
Sir Wylliam Lisle.
Sir Jhon Haliburton.
Sir Jhon Crawforth.
Sir William Candey.
Sir Jhon Grey.
Sir Jhon Commyn.
Sir Sober Boence.
Sir Archibalt Forbosse.
sir Ducane Comine & many other

The duke of Clarence had a Lomberd resorting to him called Andrew Forgusa was retayned with the part aduerse, of whom the duke inquired the nõbre of his enemies, to whom he reported that their nõbre was but small and of no strength and far vnmete to compare with halfe the power of his puissant armie, entisynge and prouokynge hym to set on the Frenchmen, warrantyng hym a famous victory and a fair day. The duke geuyng to muche credite to hys traytor, like a valiaunt and corragious prince assembled together al the horssemen of hys army and lefte the Archers behinde him vnder the ordre of the Bastarde of Clarence, and two Portingales capitaynes of Fresnye le Vicount, saiyng that he onely and the nobles wold haue the honour of that iorney. When the duke was passed a straight and a narowe passage, he espyed his enemies ranged in good ordre of battayle by the monycyon of the Lõbard which had sold hym to hys enemies, and thesayd aduersaries had layd suche bushementes at the straightes that the duke by no wayes without battayll could either retire or flye. The English mẽ seyng no remedy valiauntly set on their enemies, which were four to one, the battayl was fierce & the fyghtdedly, neuer were so few men sene more corragiously to defend themselfes, then did the Englyshemen that daye they fought & defended, they slew and felled, but it auailed not, for they wer repressed wyth a multitude & brought to confusion. There were slayin the duke of Clarence, therle of Tankeruile, the lord Rosse, Sir Gilbert Umfreuile erle of Kent, and sir Jhon Lumley, sir Robert Verend and almost two thousand Englyshmen, and therles of Somerset Suffolke and Perche, the Lorde Fitzwater, sir Jhon Barkeley, sir Rauffe Neuel, sir Henry Juglos, sir Wyllyam Bowes, syr Wyllyam Longton, sir Thomas a Borough and diuerse other taken prysoners, and of the Frenchmen were slayn aboue. xij. C. of the best men of warre so that they gayned not much. The Bastard of Clarence which taryed at Beauford was enformed of the nombre of the Frenchmen, wherfore he wyth al the Archers made hast to succor the duke, but they came to late, for the Frenchmen hearyng of the approchinge of the archers fled wyth their prysoners wyth al the hast they could, leuyng behynd them the body of thesayd duke and the ded carions. When the Archers came and saw their enemies gone: Lorde how they mourned and lamented ỹ euel chaũse of the deceyued duke, but seyng no remedy, thei tooke the ded bodies and buryed them al sauing the dukes corps, whiche wyth great solempnitie was sent into Englande and buryed at Cantorbury beside his father. After this the Englyshemen brente and spoyled the

countrie

countrye of Mayne and so returned to Alaunson and there departed euery man to his Garryson. This battayll was fought at Bawghy in Aniow on Easter euen in the yere of our lord a thousande. CCCC.xij.

I lament the foly and folisheues of thys duke, and I meruell at hys vnwitty doynge and rashe enterpryse, that he woulde adnēture his life and hazard his compaygny leuinge behinde hym the Archers whyche should haue bene hys shylde and defence: what may be sayde, he desired honor and loste his lyfe, he coueted byctory and was ouercome, thus is the old prouerbe verifyeth which sayth: If shepe ronne wilfully emonx gest wolues, they shall lese either life or fel.

Kyng Heury beynge aduertysed of this infortunate chance and deceytfull losse of his louing brother, sent without delaye Edmonde Erle of Mortaigne, and brother to therle of Somerset into Normandy, geuyng to hym like authoritie & preheminence as his brother the late deceassed duke of Clarence had or enioyed. After that he called his highe courte of Parliamentz, in the which he declared so wisely, so seriously and with so greate a grauitie the actes that were done in the realme of Fraūce, the estate of the tyme present and what thynges wer necessary for the tyme to come (yf they would loke to haue that Jewel and hygh xx kyngdō for the which they had so long labored and sought for) that the comonaltie gladlye graunted a fyftene, and the Clergie beniuolently offred a noble disme, and because no delay should be in the kinges affaires for lacke of payment, the byshoppe of Winchester his vncle lente to hym. xx. M. pounde, to be receyued of the same dismes. When al thynges necessary for this voyage wer ready and prepared, he sent his brother Jhon duke of Bedford wyth al his armie (which the Frenchemen write to be. iiij. M. men of Armes, and. xx. M. Archers, and other) before hym to Caleys. And he hym selfe shortly after in ỹ middle of May passed the seas and arriued there in great triumphe, where to him was xxx shewed that the Dolphin wyth. vij. thousand men had besieged ỹ toun of Chartiers which was manfully defended by the Bastard of Thyan and other set and apoynted there by the duke of Excester. Kyng Hēry not mindinge to lose so fayre a toune, wyth all hys Armye departed in good ordre of battayl toward Paris, and at Mūstreull there receyued him the duke of Burgoyn, which from that place attended on the kyng to Dowast in Ponthiew and so came to Abbeuile, and after the kynge tooke a toune of Sir Jaques of Harecort called al Ferte, and there the duke departed from the kyng, for a fyx dayes promysyng on his honor by that day to returne, the kyng of Englande passed forward by Beauxl uoys Gysors, and from thence came to Boys de Uincens, where he founde the Frenche kyng and hys Quene, whome he louyngly saluted and they him agayn honorably receyued & hyghly feasted, and thether came accordynge to his apoyntment Philip duke of Burgoyne, where was dayly consultyng and he wysely deuysynge howe to subdue & represse the haultnes and force of the Dolphyn, hauyng perfyght know-

ledge that as long as he either lyued or wandered vnbrideled so longe
should neuer the treaty and final peace be obserued, wherfore he and
the duke of Burgoyn apointed in all the hast to fight with the Dolphin
and to reyse the siege before the Charters. The kynge of Englande
with al his puissance came to the toune of Naunte, and thether repai-
red the duke of Burgoin wyth.iiij.thousand men, of whose comming ỹ
king was not a litle reioysed, but or they frō thence departed, thei had
knowledge and true instruccion that the Dolphin hearyng of the puis-
sant army of the kynge, approchinge to geue him battayll, was reculed
with his people toward Towers in Towrayn. Wherfore the kinge of ỹ
Englād incontinent, not onely sent to the duke of Burgoin into Picar-
dy to resist the malice of sir Jaques Harcort which daylie inferred war
and caused wast & destrucciō in thesame coūtrie, but also apoynted Ja-
mes kyng of Scottes to lay siege to the toune of Dreux, whyche so sore
by swoorde and engins enforced the inhabitantes, that after sixe wekes
passed, they deliuered thesame to the kyng of Scottes, to the behofe of
kyng Henry his soueraigne lorde whiche made there of capitayne the
erle of Worcester and baily there, sir Henry Mortimer. The king hym
self remoued from Naūt and passed ouer the riuer of Leyre, folowyng
the Dolphin toward Tours: but he mistrustinge his power and put- ỹ
ting diffidence in some of his owne flocke fled to Burges in Berrie, and
chosing that place as his chiefe refuge and surest fortresse bothe for the
situacion of the place, and also for the fidelitie and constancy of the peo-
ple determined there to tary tyl fortune woulde turne her whele and
looke on him with some gracious looke or louynge countenaunce, and
therfore in a Jest he was commoly called the kinge of Burges and of
Berries. The kyng of England with al hys puyssance so fast folowed
the fliynge Dolphin, that bytaill began to fayle, and horssemen wared
scante: so that he considerynge that Burges beynge the Dolphins only
succoure and refuge, beynge wel vitayled and well manned was more ỹ
profitable and auailable to the defender, then to him that should make
the assaute, wherfore he wyllyng to saue hys people from famyge whō
he knew to be from the dent of the frenche swoorde clerely exempte and
vntouched, returned ouer the ryuer of Leyre and gat Gasconeys vpō
Poune, and a toune called the kynges Newe toune, and diuerse other
whose names nowe to reherce were more tedyous then pleasaunte
But he seyng the toune of Meaux in Brie not to be a toune replenished
wyth enemies, in the myddes of hys new gotten subiectes determined
to take away the open scruple whyche might poison and infecte the mē-
bers dwellyng hard by, wherfore he wyth these nobles folowynge be- ỹ
syeged thesaid cytie of Meaux.

The erle of Worcester.
The erle of Pury.
The erle of Brayon.
The Lord Clifford.
The Lorde Fornival.
The Lorde Louel.
The Lorde Awdeley.
The Lorde Seynt Mawre.

The

The Lorde Deyncort
The Lorde zoughe
The Lorde Morley
The Lorde Fanhope and his sonne
whiche dyed there.
The lorde Ferreys of Chartley
The Lorde Botruex
The Lorde Clynton.
The Lorde Harryngton
The Lorde Willoughby
The Lorde Fitzhewe, the kynges
Chamberlayne
Sir Jhon Germayn
Sir Jhon Fastolfe
Sir Lewes Robsert
Sir William Gascoyne
Sir Robert Harlyng
Sir Willi philip & diuerse other

x Thys toune was lesse vitailed then manned, and no better manned then fortified, so that the kyng of Englande could nether haue it to him deliuered at hys pleasure, nor he could not gayne it by assaut wythoute hys great losse and detriment. Wherfore he determyned not to depart tyll he had eyther gayned or subuerted the toune. Durynge thys siege was borne at Windsore on the daye of S. Nicholas in Nouember the kynges sonne called Henry, whose Godfathers wer Jhō duke of Bedford and Henry bishop of Winchester, and Jaquet Duches of Holland, was Godmother, wherof the king of England was certifyed liynge at this siege at Meaux. Whē he was aduertysed of this good fortune and xx happie chaunce that God had sent him a sonne, he gaue thankes to his Creator or redemer for the geuyng to hym so goodly an Ympe, which should succede in his croune & scepter. But whē he heard reported the place of hys natiuitie, whether he fantasied some old blind prophesy, or had some forknowledge, or els iudged of his sonnes fortune, he sayd to the lord Fitzhugh his trusty Chamberleyne, these wordes. My lorde Henry borne at Monmoth shall small tyme reygne and much get, & Henry borne at Windsore shal long reygne and al lese, but as God wyll so be it. After ỹ quene of England was thus deliuered of her fayr sonne she returned into Fraunce first to her husbande, and after to her father xxx and mother, where she was on all partes so honorably receiued, so louingly entertayned and so hyghlye feasted that she appeared to bee no lesse loued of her noble husbande then of her naturall parentes.

¶ The.x.pere.

DUrynge the tyme of this siege, sir Olyuer Manye a baliant man of warre of the Dolphins part, whiche before was capitayn of the Castle of Faloys and yeldynge it by composicion, sware neuer to beare Armure against the kyng of England, The .x. yere
assembled a great numbre of men of warre aswel of Bytons as Frēch
xl menne, that is to saye: The lorde Mountburchier, the lorde of Coinon the Lorde of Chastelgiron, the Lorde Tyntygnace, the Lorde Dela Howssay and dyuerse other whyche entered into the countre of Constantine in Normandy, and robbed and kylled the Englyshmen where they myghte espye or take theim at their auauntage: but the Earle of Suffolke keper of those Marches hearynge of these doynges, sent for the lorde Scales, Sir Jhon Alton bayliefe of Constantyne, Sir Wil-

William Halle, sir Jhon Banaster and many other oute of the Garry-
sons within that territory, whiche encountered wyth their enemies at
a place called *le parke Leuecque*, in Englishe the bishops Parke; there was
a sore and a longe fighte, many a prore feate of Armes was done that
daie, and manie a man was in that place ouerthrowen, the Englishmen
onely desired victory, and the Frenchmen desired a safe returne, but in
conclusion the Frenchmen beyng not able to wythstād the charge that
was layed to them began to flye, in which conflict and slight wer slayn,
the lorde Coynon, the lorde of Chastell Giron, and thre hundred other
and there were taken prisoners, the lord Dela Howsay, and sir Oliuer x
Manny and. lx. other. The kyng beyng aduertysed of this good chāce
and happy iourney, sent sir Olyuer Manny to him lyng before Meux,
to whome he sayd, fayre father you haue sworne and promised vnto vs
that you would neuer make war nor bear armure against vs nor oure
subiectes, ye are an aunciēt knight and ought to haue kept your fayth
and promyse, which you haue vntruely and vnhonestly broken and vi-
olate, and yet we wolle not (although by the lawe of armes we myghte
lawfully so do) put you to death, but graunte to you youre lyfe, but we
wolle sende you into Englande to lerne you to speake Englysh, and so
shortly after he was sent to London, wher for very shame & mere ma- xx
lyncoly he dyed and was buried in the whit Friers.

The Scottes write (beleue theim yf ye wyll) that the kinge of En-
glande hearing that the Dolpin had sent for aide into Scotlande, and
that he had retained theim in wages (for of their owne abilitie they bee
nether able to send an army ouer the sea, nor yet of substaunce to beare
a continual warre, for this all their owne histories declare and their
Chronicles make mencion, and yet the countrie is not so poore but the
people be as proude) sent one daye for James the Scottishe kinge and
in the presence of his coūsail declared to him what humanitie, what fa-
uor and what singuler affeccion kyng Henry his father bare durynge xxx
his naturall lyfe toward the said king of Scottes: Puttyng hym in re-
membraunce of the great loue and manifold gratuities which he hym
self sith the beginninge of hys reygne had exhibited and shewed to the
same king James, that neither he nor his father had any thinge negli-
gently omitted which ether might apperteigne to the office of a frende
or to the dutie of a tutor, which should loue and cherysshe hys Orphane
or pupile, promising hym libertie wyth a greate rewarde yf he woulde
cause the Sctottes which were adherentes to the Dolphin to returne
again into their country and native region. To the whiche request the
kyng of Scottes wyth a very fresh herte answered saiyng: what your xl
noble father hath done to me & what fauor & what benefite I haue re-
ceiued at your handes, I shal not nor wil not whē I may (I assure you)
forget, and when my power shall serue I shall not fayle to recompence
your doynges with like kyndnes. But of youre request I maruell not
a litle, first considerynge that I am a prysoner and haue no possession of

my

my realme, secondarely ꝙ I am as yet nether swoꝛne to my subiectes, noꝛ they by no oth of allegeãce are bound to obey my cõmaundemẽtes: wherfoꝛe I desire you no moꝛe to moue me in this thing which now I cannot do, & yet if I might I would fyrst foꝛese whether it were to me honoꝛable oꝛ to my realm honest to leue our old frẽd in his extreme necessitie without aid oꝛ cõfoꝛt. Wyth this answere the kyng of England was not content (as the Scottes say) but after king James departing frõ his presence, kynge Henry sayed, happy shall they be whyche shalbee subiectes to such a kyng that is endued with suche wyt and wysedome at these yong yeres of age.

The kynge of England liyng stil before the toune of Meux in Brye as you haue heard soꝛe bet the walles with oꝛdinance & cast doune bulwarkes and rampeyꝛes on euerye side of the toune, and soꝛe oppꝛessed them within the toune, wherof hearyng the loꝛd of Offemond, wyth a cõpany of chosen persons sent by the Dolphin, came pꝛiuely in the night to the walles and set vp a ladder and diuers of his company mounted vp and entered into the toune, and as he passed ouer a plancke to come to the walles he fell into a deepe ditche, the Englyshmen hearyng thys noyse ranne to the ditche where they toke the loꝛd of Ofmount & slew diuers of his company which stode at defence. The capitayne wythin the toune perceyuing that their succours were taken, playnlye iudged that the toune could not longe continue, wherefoꝛe they caused all the goodes of the toune to be conueyghed into the market place whyche was strong and wel foꝛtefyed. The kyng of England beyng therof aduertised, cõmaunded in all hast to geue an assault to the toune, whyche was quickly done, so that the toune by fyne foꝛce was within thꝛe houres taken and spoyled. And the same day ꝙ kyng besieged round about the sayd Market place, and toke the mylle adioynyng to the same. The captaines perceyuing in what case they were, fearynge to be taken by assault, beganne to treat wyth the kyng of Englande, whiche appoynted the erle of Warwycke and the loꝛde Hungerfoꝛd to commen wyth them & in conclusyon a treaty was taken, and so the toune and Marketplace wyth all the goodes, were delyuered into the kyng of Englãdes handes the.x. day of May, in the yere of our loꝛd. M.CCCC.xij.

When the deliuery of the stronge toune of Meaux was publyshed thoꝛoughe the countreye, all the tounes and foꝛtresses in the Isle of Fraunce, in Lannoys, in Brye, and in Champaine yelded them selfes to the kyng of Englande, whych apoynted in them valeant capitaynes and hardy souldyers.

After that kyuge Herry had thus taken and possessed the toune of Meaux and other foꝛtresses at hys pleasure, he returned agayne to Boys de Uincennes where he founde the French kynge & the qnene & his wife which with all ioye him receyued, and so the. xxx. day of May beyng the Uigile of Pentecost, the.ij. kynges and the quenes returned to Paris, wher the kyng of England lodged in the castle of Loure, and

the Frenche king in the house of saint Paule. These two kynges kepe great estate with their quenes at this high feaste of Penticoste, but the kyng of England (as Enguerant both confesseth & diuers other sayth) kept such a glorious estate and so costly a court that he wyth his quene sat at diner in Paris rychly adorned in vestures and with diademes of gold garnished wyth precious stones & decked with Juelx bothe radiant & pleasant: beside this hys prynces & estates, barons chiefe capitaines, & valiant men of warre wer set in solempne estate plenteously serued and aboundantly feasted, that the people of Paris whyther thyther resorted to behold his magnificent estate, iudged him to be more like an emperor, then their kyng (which sat solitary alone) to be lyke a duke or a poore Marques. But Enguerant (as I sayd) althoughe he confessed the trueth, yet goeth he about to blemishe the glory of king Henry, alleging that Englyshmen were feasted and the Parisians were not once bid drinke, which was not the custome of the Frenche kynges court in so solempne and triumphant dayes. I am somwhat sory that kyng Hēries seruautes of the seller made not maister Enguerant drinke, which then was skoler in Paris, but I more lament ỹ vntrue saiyng & no lesse variable writyng of so famous a Clerke, which to darken the honor of kyng Henry hath clearely defased the princely estate of his owne kyng & soueraigne lord, for he confesseth that kyng Charles wyth his quene kepte a solempne house within hys court of S. Paul, to whose palice no man in maner resorted, but euery frēch creature was ioyous to viewand se the estate and magnificence of kyng Henry. If he haue writtentrue, then must nedes folow, that no subiect reioysing or this hauynge comfort of their owne prince and naturall lord wil leue hym desolate & alone, and folowe a straung potestate and seke relief at a forrein princes house and table. If the Frenchmen came to wonder at the estate of the kyng of England, then was their princes estate base and not worthy to be regarded: if the Parrisians came to se the pryncely order of his household, then was it manifest that theyr soueraygne lord kept but a mean famuly: yf the poore peysantes came thyther for bytayl and fragmētes it appeareth that their soueraygne lord had a colde kychyn: yf they did not al drynke in the kyng of Englandes house, eyther they wer to euyll ruled or to byle & lothsome to haue any gentle entertainment in so honorable a court and a noble famyly, and therfore Enguerāt because he drāke not, euyl reported the estate of the Englysh court as he cōmonly doth in al other matters.

The dolphin knowyng by his espials wher the kyng of Englande & his power lay, came with al his puissance ouer the ryuer of Leyre and besieged the toune of Cosney or Conney and sent parte of hys army to waste and destroye the confynes of the duchy of Burgoyne, to the entent to deuyde the power of the kynge of Englande from the strength and force of the duke of Burgoin, & as he purposed, so that it happened for the duke of Burgoyn with his power to set forwarde to defend his owne

owne lande & dominion and wrote to the king of England to send ayd to thē of Cosney or Conney, which had promised to rendre their toune to the dolphin, if they were not rescued by the king of England wythin ten daies. King Henry hearing this newes, answered that he woulde not send one creature, but he would go before him selfe. And so with all diligence came to the toune of Corbel and so to Senlis, wher, whither it were with the heate of the ayre, or that he with his daily labor were febled or weakened, he began to wax sicke, yea, and so sicke that he was constrained to tary and to send his brother the duke of Bedford to per-
x forme his iourney and enterprise.

The duke like a valiant capitayne set forwarde to rescue the toune besieged, wherof hearynge the dolphin with al his capitaynes & hardy souldiers departed thence into Barrey to his great dyshonor and lesse gaine, & so was the citie of Cosney or Cōney reskued to the great honor of the Englishe nacion. In the meane season kinge Henry wexed sicker and sicker, and so was laide in a horseliter and conueighed to Boys de Vincens, to whome shortly after repaired the dukes of Bedforde and Gloucester his vncles, and the erles of Salisbury and Warwicke, whō the king louingly entertayned and embraced: and whē they seinge him
xx in so great an agony and excedinge paine began to wepe and bewayle his paynefull paynes and greate maladye. He with a constante mynde without any outward shewe eyther of sadde countenaunce or sorowe comforted and encouraged them to be mery and ioious. But when the crisis of hys sickness was past and that he perceyued that healthe was ouercome and loste the victorye, he rendred to God hys moste hartie thankes, for that thiefly that he called him out of this miserable lyfe at suche tyme as he was of moste perfyte remembraunce bothe towarde God and the world and also in the time of hys florysshyng cōquest in the which he had neuer receiued misfortune, euil chāce, or spot of his dysho-
xxx nor. And turning him self to his brethren and other noble personages said to them. My natural brethren and trusty frēdes, I se you lament, I perceiue you bewayle my death approching and fattall ende at hand of the whiche I am both glad and reioyce, for this shorte time and smal tract of my mortal life, shal be a testimony of my strength and declaracio of my iustice, aud a settinge furthe of all mine actes and procedynges, and shall be the cause that I by death shal obteyne fame, glorie and renoume and escape the reprehension of cowardnes, and the mocke of all infamy, which I might haue chaunsed to fal into yf nature had lenger prolonged my life or dayes: for it is commonly saide, that as time chaū-
xl geth, condicions alter and in longe time al thinges continue not in one estate. But as eternitie is the triumpher vpon time, so do I trust after this short life to haue an eternal beinge, and after this miserable pilgrimage, mine hope is to enioy the celestiall kyngdome, and to come to the place of rest and palice of quyetnes.

Anexhortacion of kynge Henry the v. made a lytle before hys death.

Now as towchinge you (no doubte but this my sodayne chaunce

molesteth

molesteth your hartes and disquieteth your senses, and not wythout a cause, you lamente the calamitie and mischaunce that is lyke to fall on youre countrey because that I in thys troublous worlde and tempestious season leue you destitute of a gouernor and ruler, whiche chance is the lesse to be moned and regarded, because in all worldly thynges some thing euer lacketh and nothing long endureth: wherfore because the old saiyng is, that in time of necessitie wit and wisedome be proued, I require you to consulte, studye and take payne to come to the ende of the iourney which I in my time haue begonne and entered in, and chiefly, because I haue euer loued and trusted you aboue al other persons, I require and desire you nowe to shewe lyke loue and be as trusty to my sonne that shalbe your soueraigne lord, so that whatsoeuer duty, allegiance or fauor for my liberalitie or kindnes to you shewed, was to me either of honestie of ciuilitie due or owyng: let the same for my sake be extended, shewed and recompensed to mine heire and successor litle prince Henry. Som persons haue hated the father & yet haue loued the child and some haue loued the father and murthered the child, of which sort I neither reken nor accompte you, but this I saye, yf you loue me, you ought to loue my child, not for his desert, but for myne, and sith nowe I shalbe taken from you before satisfaccion or recompence made to me for my manifolde goodnes and ample benefites to you shewed in my lyfe I say and affirme that after my death (except you be noted with ỹ blot of ingratitude, I will not saye vntrueth) you ought to render the same to my child your nephewe or kinsman, I pray God that you do not defraud me of the good expectacion that I haue euer had of you. And because I will not charge you, I wil frendly exhort you to bringe vp my litle infante in verteous liuinge, moral doctrine, and prudente pollicye to thentent that by your paine he may proue wise, by youre instruccion he maie proue politicke, and by your educacion he maye be able to rule a kingdome, and not to be ruled of other: by the which deuoier you shal not onely do your dutie to your prince and soueraygne lorde, but also merite and deserue thankes of your natiue countrey to the which you be both bound and obliged. Beside this my peticiõ is not onely to comfort my most derest and welbeloued quene and espouse (now beyng as I thinke the most dolorus and pensiue woman liuing) but also to loue her and honor her as I haue both loued and honored you.

And as touching the estate of my realmes. First I commaunde you to loue and ioyne together in one leage or concord and in one vnfayned amitie, keping continuall peace and amitie with Philip duke of Burgoine. And never make treatie wyth Charles that calleth him self dolphin of Vien, by the whiche anie parte either of the croune of Fraunce or of the duchies of Normandy or Guyan maye be appaired or diminished. Let the duke of Orleance and the other princes stil remayn prisoners, til my son come to his lawful age, lest his returning home again may kindle more fyer in one day then may wel be queuched in thre. If

you

you thynke it necessary I would my brother Umfrey shuld be Protector of England duryng the minoritie of my child, prohybiting hym once to passe out of ỹ realme. And my brother of Bedford with the helpe of ỹ duke of Burgoyne I will shal rule & be regent of the realme of Fraũce, commaunding hym wyth fyre and swoorde to persecute Charles calling hymselfe dolphyn, to thentent either to bring hym to reason and obeysaunce, or to dryue and expel him out of the realme of Fraunce admonishynge you to lese no tyme, nor to spare no coste in recouerynge that which to you is now offered. And what thinges eyther I haue gotten
x or you shal obtayne, I charge you kepe it, I cõmaunde you to defende it and I desire you to norishe it: for experience teacheth that there is no lesse prayse to be geuẽ to the keper then to the getter, for verely getting is a chaunce and keping a wit. Well I fele that death drayweth neare & I shal not long tary, therfore, I commit my soule to God, my loue to my frẽdes, my sinnes to the deuil and my body to the earth.

The noble men present promysed to obserue his preceptes and performe his desires, but their hertes were so pensiue & replenished wyth doloure that one without weppyng could not beholde the other. Then he sayd the seuen Psalmes and receiued the blessed Sacrament, and in
xx saying the Psalmes of the passion completed his dayes and ended hys lyfe the last day of of August, in the yere of oure lord. M.CCCC.xxij.

This Henry was a kyng whose lyfe was immaculate & his liuynge wythout spot. This kyng was a prince whom all men loued & of none disdained. Thys prince was a cappytayn agaynst whome fortune neuer frowned nor mischance once spurned. Thys cappytaine was a sheperde whome his flocke loued and louyngly obeyed. This sheperd was such a iusticiary that no offence was vnpunished nor frẽdship vnrewarded. This iusticiary was so feared, that al rebellion was banyshed and sedicion suppressed. His vertues were no more notable then hys qualities
xxx were worthye of prayse, for in strengthe and agilitie of bodye from hys youth few were to him cõparable: for which cause in wrestlyng, leaping and runuyng no man almoste durste with hym presume, in castynge of great yron barres and heuy stones, he excelled commonly all men. No colde made hym slouthful, nor heate caused him to loyter, and when he most labored hys head was bycouered. He was no more wery of harnes then of a light cloke. Hunger and thirst were not to hym noysome. He was neuer aferde of a wounde nor neuer sorowed for the payne. He neyther turned hys nose from euyl sauoure, nor from smoke or dust he would not close his iyes. No man could be founde more tẽperate in
xl eatyng and drinking, whose diete was not to delicate, but rather mete for men of warre then for virgyns. Euery honest person was permitten to come to him sitting at his mele, and eyther secretly or openlye to declare hys mind and intent. High and weighty causes alwell betwene men of warre & other he wold gladly hear, and eyther determined thẽ him selfe or cõmitted thẽ to other to geue sentence. He slepte very lytle

The description of kynge Henry the.v.

and

and that onely by reason of bodely labour & vnquyetnes of mynde, frō the whiche no small noyse could awake him, insomuche that when hys souldiers either sang in the nightes, or their minstreles played that all the campe sounded of their noise, he then slept most soūdly. His courage was so constant, and hys hert so vnmutable that he cast awaye al feare and dread from him was banyshed. If any alarum wer made by his enemies, he was first in armure and the fyrst that wold set forward. In the tyme of war he gat knowledge, not onely what his enemies did, but what they sayd and entended, so that al thynges to him were knowen, & of his deuices few persones before the thyng was at the point to bee done should be made priuie. He had such knowledge in ordering & guidyng an armie and suche a grace in encouragynge hys people, that the Frenchmen sayd, he could not be vanquished in battel. He had such wit, such prudence and such pollicie that he neuer enterprysed anye thynge before he had fully debated it and foresene al the mayne chaunces that myght happen, and when the ende was concluded, he wyth all diligēce and courage set his purpose forward. Marueyle it is to heare how he beyng a prince of honor, a prince of youth, a prince of ryches, did continually abstayn frō lasciuious liuing & blynd auaryce, yea, & in the tyme of losse he was no more sad then in the tyme of victory, which constācy few men haue or can vse. Suche a stable stomacke had he and suche a grauitie was geuen in the bottome of hys herte. What pollicye he had in fyndinge sodayne remedies for present mischiefes, and what practise he vsed in sauyng him selfe and his people in sodayne distresses excepte by his actes they did playnly appeare, I thinke it were almoste thyng incredible. What shoulde I speake of hys bountefulnes and liberalitie no man could be more gentle, more liberal nor more fre in geuynge rewardes to al persons according to their desertes: Saying that he had leuer die thē to be subiect to auarice, and that he neuer desyred to haue money to kepe, but to geue and spende. He was mercyful to offenders, charitable to the nedy, indifferent to al men, faithful to his frendes, and fierce to his enemies, toward God most deuout, toward the world moderate, and to hys realme a very father. What should I say, he was the blasing comete and apparant lanterne in his dayes, he was the mirror of Christendome & the glory of his countrey, he was the floure of kynges passed, and a glasse to them that would succede. No Emperour in magnanimitie euer him excelled. No potentate was more piteous nor Lorde more bounteous. No prince had lesse of his subiectes and neuer kynge conquered more: whose fame by hys deathe as liuely florysheth as hys actes in hys lyfe were sene and remembred. When hys deathe was publyshed among the cōmen people, incontinent their hertes wer appalled, and their courages abated, their dolor so much encreased and their wittes were so much troubled that they lyke mad men rent their garmentes and tare their heere, accusyng and blamyng fortune which had taken away from them so precious a iewel, so noble an ornament &

so

so sure a defence: for no doubt as much hope as was taken away from the Englyshmen, for the gettynge of Fraunce by his sodeyne deathe, so much truste was encreased in the stomackes of the Frenche nacion, hopyng to recouer their auncient libertie and old parentage. For whych cause some say that he was poysoned, the Scottes wryte that he dyed the disease of S. Fiacre, whych is a palsey & a crãpe. Enguerant sayeth that he dyed of S. Anthonies Fier, but al these be but fables as manye mo wryte. For Peter Basset esquire which at ỹ time of hys death was his chãberlayne affirmeth that he dyed pfa *Paralisis* whyche at that tyme
x was so rare a sickness and so straung a disease that the name was to the most part of men vnknowen & phisicions wer acquainted as litle with any remedy for the same, and therfore euery mã iudged as he thought, and named a sickness that he knew, shothing not nere the pricke nor vnderstanding the nature of the disease. This king reygned. ix. yeres. v. moneths, and. xxiij. dayes & lyued not ful. xxxviij. yeres: he was of stature more then the commẽ forte, of body lene, well mẽbred & strongelye made, a face beautiful somwhat long necked, blacke heered, stout of stomake, eloquent of tong, in martial affaires a very Doctor, & of al chiualry ỹ very Paragone. His body was enbaumed and closed in lede & laid
xx in a charet royal rychely appareled with cloth of golde, vpon the corps was layde a representacyon of his person adorned w̃ robes, diademe, sceptre & ball like a kyng, the which charet was drawẽ with syxe horses richly trapped w̃ seuerall armes, the first wyth the armes of S. George, the. ij. with tharmes of Normandy, the. iij. with the armes of king Arthur, the. iiij. wyth the armes of S. Edward, the fyft wyth the armes of Fraunce onely, and the syxt with the armes of England and Fraũce. On this Charet gaue attendance James kyng of Scottes the principal morner, the duke of Exceter Thomas his vncle, therle of Warwicke Richard, therle of Marche Edmond, therle of Stafford Humfrey, the
xxx erle of Mortayne Edmonde Beaufort, the lord Fitzhughe Henry, the lord Hungerford Water, sir Lewes Robsert Burchier, sir Jhon Cornewale lord Fãhope, & the lorde Crumwel wer ỹ other morners. The lord Louell, the lord Audeley, the lord Morley, the lord Souch bare ỹ baners of sainctes and the Baron of Dudley bare the standerd & therle of Longuile bare the baner. The Hachementes wer borne onely by capitaynes to the nombre of. xii. and roũde about the charet rode. ccccc. mẽ of armes al in blacke harnes & their horses barded blacke wyth the but of their speres vpward. The cõduyt & order of thys dolorous dole was cõmaunded to sir William Philip treasorer of the kinges houshold
xl and to sir Willia Porter his chief caruer and other. Besides this, on euery syde of the charet went. CCC. persons holdyng long torches, & lordes bearyng baners, banerots & penons. With this funerall pompe he was conueyghed from Boys de Vincens to Paris, and so to Roan to Abbeuile, to Caleys, to Douer and so thorough London to Westminster, where he was buried with suche solempne ceremonies, suche

mournyng

mournyng of lordes, such prayer of pryestes, suche lamentynge of commons as neuer was before that daye sene in the Realme of Englande. Shortly after this solempnitie, hys sorofull quene returned into Englande and kept her estat wyth ỹ yong kyng her sonne. Thus ended this noble and puissant prince his moste noble & fortunate reygne ouer the realme of England: whose life although cruell Atropos before hys tyme abbreuiated, yet neyther fyre, ruste, nor frettyng tynne shall emongest Englyshemen ether appall his honoure or oblyterate hys glorye, whyche in so fewe yeres and bryefe dayes achyued so hyghe aduentures and made so greate a conquest.

¶ The ende of the victorious actes of kynge Henry the fyft.

The

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F I N I S.

The troubleous season

of Kyng Henry the sixt.



Eath the determinate ende of The.i.yere.
mannes lyfe, and of all yearthly thynges the finall poynt and pricke, which fauoureth nether Emperour nor spareth kynge, but at hys plesure confoundeth riche and slaieth poore, vnbodiyng the solle of this godly prince this marciall capitain and renoumed flower, not onely dismaied and appalled the hertes and corages of the Englishe nation, but also pufte vp and encoraged the myndes and stomakes of the Dolphyn and hys proude people: The one parte thynkyng, the kepynge of Normandy & other dominions to hym gayned to bee bery dangerus, The other part trustyng the farther conquest in Fraũce not onely to be doubtfull, but to their iudgementes apparantly impossible: Yet the politike Princes and sage Magestrates of the realme of Englande well remembryng thynges that were passed, and sagely pondryng the tyme present, but moste of al prudentlye forseynge chaunces
x imminent and perels at hand, to thentent to set the membres of the body stedfast vnder the hedde. Whyche as shepe without a sheperd far from the folde might wandre and straie at large, caused yong prince Henry, the sole orphane of his noble parent kyng Henry the fifth, beyng of the age of.ix. monethes or there about with the sound of trũpettes openly to be proclaimed kynge of Englande and of Fraunce the.xxx.daye of August, in the yere of our lord. M.cccc.xxij. by the name of kyng Henry the sixt, to the great reioysyng and comfort of all the Englishe nation.

And the custody of this younge Prince was apoynted to Thomas
xxx duke of Excester, and to Henry Beaufford bishoppe of Wynchester: the duke of Bedford was deputed to be Regent of Fraunce, and the duke of Glocester was assigned Protector of Englande. Whyche takynge vpon hym that office, least paraduenture he might hereafter repent hys actes and doynges, as a man remembrynge other and forgettyng hym self, called to hym wyse and graue counsaylers, by whose aduise he prouided and ordeined for all thynges whyche ether redounned to the honor of the realme, or semed profitable to the publique welth of thesame. And when he had set in an ordre al matters concernyng the inward affaires of the realme of Englande, he prouided farther all thynges necessary and conuenient for warre and farther conquest in Fraunce, and
xl appoynted valiant & expert capitaines whiche shoulde be ready when oportunitie of time required. Beside this, he gathered greate somes of

money to maintein the men of warre, and left nothyng forgotten that might let or hynder his purposed enterprise.

While these thynges were thus deuised within ỹ realme of Englād, the duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, no lesse studied then toke payne, not onely to kepe and ordre the countrees and regions by kyng Henry late conquered and gained, but also determined not to leue of from daily warre & tontinuall trauaile tyll the tyme that Charles the Dolphyn (whiche was now a dote, because kyng Charles his father in the moneth of Octobre this present yere, was departed to God,) wer ether subdued or brought to dewe obeysance. And surelye the deth of ỹ this kyng Charles caused many alteracions & chaunges in the realme of Fraunce, for a greate parte of the nobilitee whiche ether for feare of the puissance of the Englishemen, or for to please and folowe the mynde & appetice of Charles the Frenche kyng, toke parte with kyng Henry against the Dolphyn: Heryng now of the French kynges death, returned from the Englishe part and adioyned themselfes to the compainie of the Dolphyn, and diligently studied howe to banquiche and dryue awaye the Englishe nacion out of the territory of Fraunce.

The Duke of Bedford beeyng greatly moued with these sodaine chaunges, fortified his tounes bothe with Garrisons and municions, xx and assembled together a great armie bothe of Englishmen and Normans, to whom he made a long oracion, admonishyng them to obserue & kepe their othe & faith (whiche thei had made to the late kyng Henry and his heires) inuiolate and vnbroken, willyng them in no wyse to be the occasioners or counsailers that young kynge Henry shoulde be depriued from his fathers lawfull inheritaunce, by the hatred of certayne traitors Frenchemen which had renewed the old hatred beyng of late extinct betwene the realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, and studied to set all thynges again in a broyle: requiryng them also to call to their memorye how that the realmes of Englande and of fraunce, the twoo xxx mooste famous regiōs of all Europe, by the benifite of almightie God, wer of late so vnited connexed & ioyned together in an eternall league and composicion, & so strongly established that no worldly power were able or of puissaunce sufficient, to resist or withstande the malice of the same: And although some tymes by chaunce of warre the losse mighte turne on their part, yet in conclusiō the detriment should be recouered and a surplusage gayned. And yf (accordyng to their bounden duties) they would honor serue and loue young kyng Henry their soueraigne lorde, and would diligently persecute, & set on his enemies, thei should not onely shewe thēselfes true and faithfull subiectes to their true and xl vndoubted kynge: But also shoulde for their fidelitie and good seruice receiue of hym condigne rewardes, ouer and beside immortall fame & renoune.

This exhortacion staied the hertes of many of the Frenche capitaines, whyche wyllyngly sware to Kynge Henry feaultie and obedience

by

by whose example the comonaltie dyd the same. Thus all the people set in an ordre in the realme of Fraunce, nothyng was mynded but warre and nothynge was spoken but of conquest. The Dolphyn whiche laye at this tyme in the citee of Poytiers heryng of the death of his parent had hys herte mixed bothe with ioye and sorowe: for notwithstandyng that he was sorowfull as a naturall child which lamented the death of his father, yet he was ioyous that power & princely estate was now to hym happened by the whiche he iudged that he shoulde be ỹ more able to defend his enemies and recouer more frendes: & so callyng together
x the Princes of his faccion, caused hym self to bee proclaimed Kynge of Fraũce by the name of Charles the.vij. And thẽ beyng in good hope of recouering his patrimony & expellyng his enimies, with a haut corage prepared war & assembled together a great armie, and first the war began by light skirmishes, but after it proceded into mayne battayles.

The Dolphyn thynkynge not to make longe delayes in so greate a cause, lest the power of his enemies might dayely be augmented, sent ỹ lorde Graville to the toune of Pount Melance stãdynge on the riuer of Seyne, whych so sodainly came to the same that he was on the walles or the souldiors within heard of his apprpoche, & so he toke the toune &
xi slewe a greate nombre of the Englishe souldiors. When the Regent of Fraunce was aduertised of this sodain enterprise, he apoynted the Lorde Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, a manne bothe for hys greate pollicie and haute corage more to be compared to the olde valiant Romans then to men of his daies, accompaignied with the earle of Suffolke, the lorde Scales, the yenge lorde Pounynges, sir Jhon Fastolffe master of the houshold with the said lorde Regent, & diuerse other to besige the toune of Pont Melance, which after two monethes was rendered to the said earle, & the lorde of Graville sware to be trew to the Kyng of Englande euer after that daie, but shortlye after he for-
xxx gettyng his othe returned to his old master again. The erle of Salisbury apoynted sir Henry Mortimer and sir Richard Vernon to be capitaines of that toune. And from thence departed into Champaigne and ther besieged the toune of Sens and toke sir Guillam Maryn the capitain and slewe all the souldiors within the toune, and made there capitaines sir Hugh Geddyng and sir Richard awbemond.

The Parisians whiche euer like the Wethercocke be variable and inconstaunt, perceiuynge that the Dolphyn dailye began to haue more aide and power then he was before accustomed, trustynge to returne again vnder his obeysance & subiection (whiche they bothe wished and
xl desired) to the intente that it shoulde not apere to come of their desire and that their fayth and fidelite would not be put in the balance of diffidence with the Englishe nacion, sent diuerse Senators of their citee as Ambassadors to the Kynge of England, desiryng hym of aide & succor, to whom not onely greate thankes were rendered for doyng their dutie of subiecciõ, but also higly feastes wer made, & promises declared

that yf they styll continued in due obeysance, and were not adherent to the kynges enemies, ẏ neither succour should want, nor coste should be spared for their comen cõfort and publike vtilite. With whiche answer ẏ cõpaigny outwardly pleased (whatsoeuer they inwardly imagined) departed to Paris. In thys season Humfrey duke of Gloucester either blynded with ambicion or dotyng for loue, maried the ladye Jaquet or Jacomin doughter and sole heire to William of Bauier duke of Holland, which was lawfull wyfe to Jhon duke of Brabant then liuynge, whiche mariage was not onely woundered at of the comon people, but also detested of the nobilite, & abhorred of the Clergie. But suerly the & swete tast, of this pleasant mariage, brought after a sower sauce, bothe to the amorus housbande, and to the wanton wyfe. For Jhon duke of Brabant, what with force, and what with spirituall compulsaries, neuer left of, tyll he had recouered his Lady out of the Duke of Glocesters possession, as after you shall here.

¶ The.ij.yere.

The.ij.yere.



Hese chaunces thus happenyng as you haue heard, Jhon duke of Bedford, Philip duke of Burgoyne, & Jhon duke of Britayn, made an assemble & frendly enteruiewe in the citee of Amias, where they renewed the olde league and & auncient amitie made betwene the noble Prince Kynge Henry ẏ fifth, & thẽ, before concluded: adding therto these condicions & argumentes, eche of them to be to other bothe frend and aider, & the enemy of the one to bee enemy to the other, & all they to bee bothe frendes & aiders to the kyng of Englande, & well willyng to hys well willers, & auengers of hys aduersaries. And because that affinitie is an embracer of amitie, there was concluded a mariage betwene the duke of Bedford, and the Ladye Anne sister to the duke of Burgoyn. When these agrementes wer finished, the Regent departed to Troys in Chãpain, whether with high pompe was conueighed the lady Anne & of Burgoyn, whiche in the presence of her brother and her Uncle duke of Brabant, and of therles of Salisbury and Suffolke: and of .ix. C. Lordes knightes and esquires, she was maried to Jhon duke of Bedford with suche solempnitie, feaste & triumphe, as before that tyme had not been seen of the Burgonions.

Durynge this triumphe, the Parisians thinkynge to blind the iyes of the duke of Bedford wrote to hym, how diuerse Castles & fortresses lyng rounde about their territory, wer replenished with hys enemies daily stoppyng their passages, and robbyng their marchantes, to their vtter vndoyng, yf they by his helpe wer not relieued: fraudulẽtly mea- & nyng, and falsely entisyng hym to absent hymself from theim, tyll their craftie conueighed purpose wer compassed and achiued. For diuerse of them stubbernly beryng the yocke and subieccion of the English nacion perceiuyng the duke of Bedforde and the principall capitaines of the

English

Englishmen to be farre from Paris, emploiynge themselfes to ioy and solace for the honor of this high mariage, conspired to brynge into the citee Charles the Dolphyn callyng hym self Frenche kyng, durying the tyme of his absence. And to thentent that their inuẽted purpose should succede, they therof aduertised the Dolphyn and his counsayll appoyntyng the daie of his comyng and the post of his entre. But no treason is commonly hiden nor no sedicion long vnreueled, for Pies wyll chatter and Mice wyll pepe, but by whom I cannot declare: The Regente was informed of al the secrete confederacy and seditious faccion, wherfore he meanyng not to lose in short tyme, that whiche in no small space was gayned, put spurres to the horsse, and with a greate power entred into Paris one daye before the faire was apoynced, and two nightes before the lokyng for of his enemies, whō beyng vnprouided he sodainlye caused to be apprehended and taken, and openly putte to execucion. After this ieoperdy thus escaped, he putte diffidence in all the Parisyans trustyng litle the nobles and geuyng lesse credite to the comons, determined to fortifye the Garrisons of his owne nacion and all the Castles nere and adioynyuge to the citee, whyche wythin small tyme were habundauntlye furnished. And to auoyde all nyghte watchers adioynyng to Paris and the confines of thesame, he firste toke into hys possession ether by assaute or composicion the toune of Traynell and Bray vpon Seyne, and because twoo Castles the one called Pacy and the other called Cursay were also euill neighbors to the Parisians, he sent sir Jhon Fastolffe great Master of his houshold, with a notable armye to beliege the Castle of Pacy, whyche takyng vpon him that enterprise so handled his enemies that the capitayn named Guyllam Reymon esquire & all the garrison yelded them symply to hys mercy and discrecio whom he sent as prisoners to the citee of Paris, and after belieged the Castle of Coursay whiche to hym was shortly rendered vpon lyke appoyntmẽt, and so with praie and prisoners he returned to the lord Regent his master. In this very season the Dolphyn sent lorde Willyam Stuard Constable of Scotlande, and therle of Uentadorze in Auergne and many other nobles of his part to laye siege to the toune of Crauãt in the coũtie of Auxerre within the partes of Burgony, wherof heryng the lorde Regent and the duke of Burgoyn thei assembled a greate armye, wherof was ordeined capitaine the erle of Salisbury, accompanyed with these valeant personages.

The lorde Willoghby.
The lorde Powynynges.
The lorde Molyns.
Sir Thomas Rampston.
Sir William Oldhaule.
Sir Jhon Pallheley.
Sir Thomas Flemyng.
Sir Edmond Heron.
Sir Jhon Grey.
Sir Reignold Grey.
Sir Jhon Arthur.
Sir Henry Bisset.
Sir William Peytow.
Sir Richard Leke.
Sir Gilbert Halsall.
Sir Lancelot Lisle.

Thomas Aboꝛough.
William Glaſdale.
Mathew Gough.
Didon Amoꝛe.
Richard Ap Madocke.
Dauy Loyd.

¶ And of the Burgonions.

The loꝛde Sent Geoꝛge.
The erle of Jonignye.
The earle of Bꝛayne.
The loꝛde of Caſtelyn Marſhal of Burgonye.
The loꝛde of Uergier his baſtard.
The loꝛde of Chaſtelon.
The loꝛde of Crouy.
The loꝛde Lille Adam.
The loꝛde of Pelmes.
The Baſtard of Thyan.
Sir Frances le Arragonoys.
Jhon de Gyngie.

And many other to the numbꝛe (aſwell of Engliſhemen as Burgonions) of.xb.M.men of warre, which came in good arraye to geue battaill to the beſiegers of the toune of Crauant, and becauſe the Riuer of Youne whiche renneth by theſayd toune was betwene the Engliſhe army and their aduerſaries, they coulde not well aſſaile their enemies which defended the bankes & paſſages bery ſtrongly, yet not withſtãdyng bothe hoꝛſmen and fotemen of the Engliſhe part coꝛagiouſly put themſelf into the riuer and with fyne foꝛce recouered the banke, whom the Burgonions incontinent folowed. When they wer all gotten into the plain, the Archers ſhot and the bilmen ſtrake, & longe was the fight in indifferent iudgement, but in concluſion the Frenchmen not able to reſiſt the foꝛce and abyde the puiſſance of the Engliſhe nacion, wer takẽ ether ſlain oꝛ diſcomfited, foꝛ in the moꝛtall battayll were ſlayn and taken to the numbꝛe of.viij.M.men, where of the names of the chiefcapitaines here ſhall apere.

¶ Frenchemen ſlain.

Therle of Leſtrake.
Therle of Compygens.
Therle of Tunier.
The loꝛde Coquart de Cameron.
The Baſtrd of Arnynacke.
The Uicont of Towꝛay.
The Baſtard of Foꝛeſt.
The loꝛde de Poꝛt.
The loꝛd Memoꝛãcie. And.xviij. hundꝛed knightes & eſquiers beſide comons.

¶ Taken priſoners.

The Conſtable of Scotland which loſt hys iye.
Therle of Uantadoꝛe.
Sir Alexander Meidꝛyne.
Sir Lewes Ferigny.
And.xxij.C.gentlemen of the Frenche nacion taken.

¶ Scottes ſlain.

The loꝛde of ſent Jhons toune.
Sir Jhon of Balgrarie.
Sir Jhon Turnebull.
Sir Jhon Holiburton.
Sir Robert Lile.
Sir William Conyngham.
Sir William Douglas.
Sir Alexander Hune.
Sir Willyam Liſle.
Sir Jhon Rocherfoꝛde.
Sir William Cawfoꝛd.
Sir Thomas Seton.
Sir William Hãmolton and hys ſonne Jhon Pillot.
And.iij.M.Scottes ſlain.

¶ Of Engliſhemen.

Sir Jhon Grey.

Sir

Sir Wylliam Halle. Richard ap Madocke.
Sir Gilbert Halsel. and.xxi.C.other slaine.

After this fortunate victorye obteined, the Englishemen fyrste gaue great laudes and thankes to almightie God and after entered into the toune of Crauant muche praysyng the doynges of the capitaines and the fidelitie of the citezens, and when they had set all thynges in an ordre they returned to Paris where of the regent they were ioyously receiued, whiche there constituted therle of Salsbury (as he was wel worthy) vicegerent and lieftenaunt for the kyng & him in the countries of Fraunce, Bry and Champaigne, & sir Jhon Fastolf he substituted deputie vnder him in the duchy of Normãdy on this syde the riuer of Seyne, & with that the deputed hym gouernor of the countreys of Aniow & Mayne, & assigned able capitaines in euery holde & fortresse. Therle of Salsbury whych could not slepe in hys great office of trust, ladye siege to the toune & castle of Mountaguillõ in Bry, wherof were capitaines Pregent of Cotyny & Guille Bourgoys Britons whyche valiantly defended the castle by the space of.v. monethes, but in conclusion the assaulantes were so fierse that they within for safegard of theyr liues rendred the hold, and the capitaines sware neuer to bere armure
xx agaynst the Englishmen on this side the riuer of Leyre, durying which siege the erle of Suffolke toke by force the castle of Coucy: & the strong castle dela roche he gat by appointment in Mosconoys.

Nowe muste I go backe to put you in memorye howe James kyng of Scottes beynge bothe prisoner in the tyme of kynge Henry the fourth & also as subiect of kyng Henry the fift his sonne, seruynge hym in his warres in Fraunce tyll he departed out of this transitory life at Boys de Vyncens and so as chief morner attended on the corps of the sayd deceassed vnto his buriall, and after at Westminster was released of his captiuitie and restored to his realme and possession. For the true
xxx knowledge therof you shall vnderstande that Englande demaunded a small raunsome for so greate a prince as the Scottes accompte their kyng (and the Scottes were neither able nor offered no summe conuenient) wherfore ỹ counsell of the realme of England grauously pondered and wisely considered that yf by coniunction of mariage, Englande and Scotland were perfectely knit in one, that the indissoluble band of amitie betwene the Frenche and Scottishe nacions should be shortlye broken and dissolued. Wherfore the protector of the realme of Englãd by the cõsent of the whole baronage of the same gaue to him in mariage the Lady Jane doughter to Jhon earle of Somerset descealed, not
xl onely sister to Jhon then duke of Sommerset but also cosyn germayne remoued to the kyng and nece to the cardinall of Wyncester & the duke of Exceter.

The kynge of Scottes hauyng great affection to this fayre Lady, but muche more desiryng his deliuerance and libertie, put in hostages for the residue of his raunsome because a great part therof was demi-

nished and abated for the money allowed to hym for hys mariage, & so was deliuered to depart at his pleasure. Alacke the olde prouerbes be to true: an Ape although she bee clothed in purple, will be but an Ape, and a Scotte neuer so gentlye enterteined of an Englishe prince wyll be but a dissimulyng Scotte. What kyndnes could be more shewed to a prisoner then to bryng hym vp in good litterature? What loue maye bee more declared to a captiue, then to instructe hym in marciall feates and warlike affaires? What fauor can be more ascribed to a high and renoumed prince, then to geue in mariage to his vnderlyng and vassall his cosyn and kinswoman of his royall parentage lawfully discen- x
ded. All these kyndnesses suffised not, nor all these gratuites auailed not to make thys kyng James frendly to the realme of Englande. For he notwithstandyng hys homage doen to the younge Henry kynge of Englande and of Fraunce at his Castle of Wynsore thys present yere, before three Dukes, twoo Archebyshoppes. xij. erles. x. byshoppes. xx. barons, and twoo hundred knightes and esquires and mo, accordyng to the tenor here after foloyng.

,, I James Stuart kynge of Scottes, shalbe true and faithfull vnto
,, you lorde Henry by the grace of God kyng of Englande and Fraunce
,, the noble and supperior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and vnto xx
,, you I make my fidelitie for thesame kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche
,, I holde and claime to hold of you, and I shall beare you my faythe and
,, fidelitie of life and lymme and worldly honor against all men, and faith-
,, fully I shall knowledge and shall do to you seruice due of the kyngdom
,, of Scotland afore said. So God help me and these holy Euangelistes.

Nether regardyng hys othe, nor estemynge the great abundance of plate and riche Clothes of Arras, to hym by the mother and vncles of his wife liberally geuen and frendly deliuered (of whiche sorte of riches fewe or none before ỹ daye were euer seen in the coũtrey of Scotlande) like a dogge whiche hath caste vp his stomacke and returneth to xxx
his vomet, or like a snake whiche after hys engenderyng with a Lampray taketh again his old poyson: After he had once taken the ayre and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle became like hys falce fraudulent forfathers, an vntrue prince, and like his proude prayenge progenitors toke the ymage of a braggyng and bostyng Scot, newly alied hymself with the Frenche nacion. And yet what soeuer he dyd, his nacion bothe write and testifye, that by the learnyng which he by the greate benefite of the kynges of Englande durynge his captiuitee in this realme had obteigned, replenished his countrey with good litterature, and by the nurture the which he was brought vp in England, he brought his peo- xl
ple to ciuilitee: So that hys captiuitee was to hys nation the greatest libertie that euer thei could haue, deliuerynge them from blynde ignorance to Angelicke knowledge, reducynge theim from bestiall maners to honest behauor, and in conclusion causynge theim to knowe vertue from vice, pollicie from rudenes, and humain honestye from sauage ly-

uyng.

uyng. This was the deliuerance and the doynges of James the fyrste of that name kynge of Scottes, whiche neither reigned verye quietly, nor yet euer fauored Englishemen before the Frenche people: sauynge that he hauyng with hym into his countrey a yonge gentlemē of Northumberland called Andrew Gray (whiche duryng his captiuitie was his companion) promoted him to the mariage of the heyre of the lorde of Foules in Anguis, of the whych the lorde Gray of Scotland at thys day do descend.

¶ The.iij.pere.

The.iij.pere

NOw leue I the doynges of Scotlande, and returne to the
x affaires of Englande. The duke of Gloucester beynge pro-
tector and gouernor of the realme, considerynge that wood
muste be ministred to kepe fyre, and men ought to be sent to
set forwarde war, called to hym the pieres and nobilitie of the realme,
and by their agrementes and deuises, sent into Fraunce to the regent
hys brother. x. M. men of warre, whyche were of the same regent in
the countrey of Paris louyngly receiued, & accordinge to their degres
honestly entertained. Duryng their liynge in Paris, diuers chaunces
happened in Fraunce, for euen as Englishmen valiantlye wonne, and
xx victoriously cõquered tounes and castles wyth open warre and appa-
rant conquest: so the Frenchmen fraudulently stale & couertely obtay-
ned diuers fortresses and holdes appertainyng to thenglishe faccion, &
in especiall che fayre toune of Compaigne, & the prety toune of Crotoy.

When the duke of Bedforde was aduertised of thele craftye tric-
kes and sodaine inuented traines, he sent furth an army, fyrst to Com-
paigne, wheaof was capitaine the erle of Suffolke accompanyed wyth
therle of Liguy, & diuers other capitaines of the Englishmen, whyche
lay on the one side of the riuer of Sohame, & on the other syde laye the
lord Lisle Adam, sir Thomas Raupstone, & the prouost of Paris. The
xxx Frenchmen beyng strongly furnished and well vitailed, corragiously de-
fended the toune against the assailantes. The Englishmen perceiuyng
that Guylliã Remond otherwise called Mariolayn, had bene the leder
of the souldiers within the toune, which before at Pacy was taken pri-
soner by Sir John Fastolf, caused hym to be sent for to Paris, and so
brought him to the seige, and set him in a chariot with a halter aboute
his necke, and cõueighed him to the gibbet without the toune, sendinge
worde to the garrison within the toune, that if they would not without
delay rẽdre the toune & fortresse, they would incõtinẽt strãgle their old
capitaine and chief conductor. The souldiors within the toune percey-
xl uyng that if Guylliã Raymond the onely truste of their relefe, and the
auncient frend in their necessitie, should suffre death, that thẽ their hope
of all ayde were extinguished, & the sure nutriment of their liuyng was
from them secluded: for the deliuerance of him and sauegarde of them
selues, yelded the toune: so that both he & they might depart with horse

and harnes onely, in sure conduite and safetye: yet long or the toune of Compaigne was deliuered, sir Philip Hall whiche was sent to Crotoy by the lorde regent with. viij. C. men to besiege the toune, gatt it by assault sodainly, or the Frenchmen had either desposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgynges and toke al the men of warre and put them to raunsome. In so these. ij. tounes cowardely stollen, were manfullye recouered, but yet the writers of Frenche fables to deface the glorye of the Englishmen, wryte and say that these tounes were yelded to the Burgonyons, whiche neither had the keppng of them nor were souldiers to any other person but to the kyng of England. While these thinges were thus doyng in Fraunce, sir Jhon de la Pole brother to therle of Suffolke capitaine of Auranches in Normandye, assembled all the garrisons of the base Marches of the coūtrey of Anow, & came before the cytie of Angiers and brent the subbarbes, spoyled and destroyed the whole countrey, and hauyng as many prayes and prisoners as hys men might cary, he was encountred by the earle of Aubemerle, the viscount Narbone and. vj. thousand Frenchmen: whiche findyng the Englishmen out of arraye because of the cariage of their great spoyle, sodainly set on thē and slewe. CCC. persons and toke prisoners the sayd sir Jhon Delapole, sir Jhon Basset, Jhon Auford leuetenaunt of Faloys, Jhon Clyfton, Henry Mortymer and. vi. C. other. Although the Frenchmen gat this day in one place, yet thei went not victours away in another, for the bastard de la Baulme and the Lorde Craignar capitaines of Courrallon with a great bande, made a roade into Masconnoys, with whom by chance met Mathew Gough and other Englishemen whych were scouryng the countrey to se and heare newes of their enemies, there was a sore conflict and an hard encountre, the partes in maner beyng of corage & nombre egal, but after long fight, the Frenchmen almost al wer slaine & taken, and the bastard beyng wel horsed fled after whom folowed with the fiersnes of his spurres Mathew Gough and chased him to hys castle gate and there toke him as he would haue hid him in the diche & presented him to therle of Salisbury, returnyng from Compaigne to Paris, whiche not onely gaue to hym the rightes belonging to ỹ prisoners, but also rewarded him with a goodly courser and highly exalted his name and manhode.

Aboute thys season, Arthur brother to Jhon Duke of Britaine cōmonly called the earle of Richemonde, hauynge neither profite of the name nor of the countrey, notwithstādyng that kyng Henry the. v. had created him earle of Pury in Normandy & gaue him not onely a great pencion but thesame toune of Pury: yet because his brother the duke of Brytaine fearyng the Englishmen now hauyng Normandye woulde smel and desire to tast the swete soyle of Britaine, was late (contrary to his leage & othe) returned to the part of Charles the dolphyn, he likewise returned and craftly without cause fled into Flanders & so came to the dolphyn to Poytiers, which was more glad of his cōmyng then

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yf he had gained à C. M. crounes, for the Britons whiche kept ȳ toune and castle of Pury hearyng that their master was ioyned with the dolphyn bothe kepte the castle against the duke of Bedford, furnishynge it dayly with new people & municions, and also infested, spoyled and robbed the countrey adioyning, doyng, to the Englishmen the most hurt & damage that either coulde be deuised or imagined.

The Lord Regent beyng aduertised of all these troubles & calamities, assembled a great armye both of Englishmen & Normans, entendyng to serche the dolphin in euery part, to thẽtent to geue him battaill in a pitched feld and so to make a finall ende of his entended conquest. So hauynge in hys companye therle of Salsbury, therle of Suffolke, the lord Scales, the lord Wylloughby, the lorde pounyng, sir Reynold Gray, sir Jhon Fastolf, sir Jhon Saluayne, Lanslot Lisle, sir Philippe
x Halle, sir Jhon Paschely sir Jhon Gray, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harlyng, sir William Oldhal, and many other valiant knightes and esquiers to the nombre (as the Frenche writers testifie) of .xviij. C. men of armes and .viij. M. archers and other, came before the toune of Pury whiche was wel defended: but the Englishemen began to vndermine the walles, so that they within were glad to rendre the toune vpõ condicion, whiche was taken. Howbeit the capitaines of the castle promised to yelde yf their fortresse wer not rescued at a day assigned by the dolphyn with a nomber sufficient to raise the siege, & vpon this promise hostages wer deliuered into the possession of the lord regent. By his li-
xx cence, an herault was sent to the dolphyn to aduertise him of the tyme determined, the whiche hearyng of the destresse that his people & frendes wer in, sent incontinent Jhon duke of Alanson his lieftenant generall, therle Doglas whom at that settynge furth he made duke of Toraine, and therle Boughan, whom then in hope of good spede he made Constable of Fraunce (whiche office he enioyed not fully an hundreth houres) and therles of Aumarle, Uãtadoure, Tonnerre, Maulieurier Forest, the vicountes of Narbon and Thouars, the lordes of Grauile, Gaules, Malycorne, Mãny, Vallay, Fountaines, Mountfort, & many other noble knightes and esquiers to the nombre of .xb. M. Frenche
xxx men & Britons and .v. M. Scottes whom the erle Doglas had transported late out of Scotland more for nede then for loue.

This armye royall approched within .ij. miles of Pury and sent .xl. light horsmen to viewe and espy both the nomber and cõduit of the Englishmen. These spyes came very nere to the siege and wer espied and chased to their companions againe, and declared al what they had seen and perceiued. The duke of Alanson seyng that he could not gette any auantage of the Englishemen (although the Dolphyn had geuen hym in straight cõmaundement to fight with the regent) whether his heart fayled or he thought to wayte a more fortunate season for hys purpose
xl and enterprise, retired backe with his whole army to the toune of Vernoyle in Perche whiche belonged to the kyng of England, & sent word

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to the garyson of that toune that they had discōfited & slaine all the En-
glishe army and that the regent with a small nōber by swyftnes of hys
horse had saued him selfe. The inhabitantes of Uernoyle geuynge to
light credit to the Frenche fablers, receyued the duke of Alāson with al
hys army into the toune & submitted thē selues to hym. Whyche toune
he desyred to haue of the gift of the dolphyn as his owne inheritance &
lawfull patrimony. Now approched the day of rescous of Pury, which
was the day of our Lady the Assumpcion, at which day no rescous ap-
peared to sir Gerrard de la Pallier captain of the castle, whyche beyng
in dispayre of all ayde and comforte, presented the keys to the duke of
Bedford & shewed hym a letter signed & sealed with the hādes of. xviij.
great lordes whiche the day before promised to geue the duke battaile
and to dessolue the siege and raise the assault: Well sayde the duke, yf
their hartes would haue serued, their puissaunce was sufficient ones
to haue profered or to haue performed this faithfull promyse. But syth
they disdaine to seke me, God and saint George willyng I shall not de-
sist to folowe the tractes of their horses tyll one part of vs be by battail
ouerthrowen: and so he gaue a safeconduyte to the capitaine and other
which wold depart, but many of the Britons within the castle of Pury
seyng the faint heartes and the false promises of the flatteryng French
men submitted them selues to the lorde regent and sware to be true to
the kyng and him, whom he gently accepted and put them in wages.
Then he furnished the castle and toune with a newe garrison, & incon-
tinent he sent the earle of Suffolke with. vi. C. horses to espy wher the
Frenchemen were lodged, whiche passed by Dampeule, and came to
Bretnel wher he heard newes that the Frenchmē had taken Uernoile
in Perche & were there yet abidyng, wherof with all diligēt celerite he
sent worde to the duke of Bedford, which not mindyng to lese hys long
desired pray set forward in great hast toward his enemies. The Frēh-
men hearyng of his cōmyng set their people in array and made all one
maine battaile without forward or rereward, and appointed certaine
Lūbardes & horsmen to breake the array of the Englishmen either be-
hynd or at the sides, wherof was capitaine sir Stephyn Uenoyles cal-
led the hyre. The duke of Bedford not ignorant howe to ordre hys
men, made likewise one entier battaile & suffered no man to be on horse
backe, and set the archers (euery one hauyng a sharpe stake) both in the
front of the battaile and on the sydes like wynges, and behynd the bat-
taile were the pages with the chariottes and cariages, and all the hor-
ses were tyed together either with the reines of their bridles or by the
tayles, to thentent that their enemies should not sodainely surprise or
disturbe them on the backe behynd: and for to defend the cariages wer
appointed two thousand archers. The Frenchmen at the fyrst sight re-
membryng how often tymes in piched feldes they had bene ouercome
and vanquished of the Englishe nacion, began some what to feare, but
when they sawe no remedy but to fight, they toke good courage to the

and

and set softely forwarde. In whiche marching the Duke of Alaunson sittyng on horsebacke sayed to his capitaines.

Dracpon of the duke of Alaunson.

Louing compaignions, and hardy souldiers, call to youre remembraunce, howe the Englishmen haue not onely gotten from vs the noble isle of Fraunce, the duchies of Normandy and Aniow, but also sith their enterprise and conquest hath both slain our parentes and kylled our frendes, yea, and hath driuen our naturall Prynce, and very souereaigne Lord from his chiefe habitacion and surest chaumber, the fayre citie of Paris: which act neuer Pagan durst attẽpt or euer any prynce was able to acheue. Besides this, you se that the duke of Bedford Regent here for the kyng of Englande, entendyng nothing more then the deposicion or the destruccion of our kyng and his nobilitie, and in finall conclusyon to bryng to extreme bondage all vs, oure wiues and children, and all the people of thys so long renoumed regyon, by many hũdred yeres called the realme of Fraunce, whiche is as muche to say, as a fre countrey or a franke lande. Alas, shal your kynge now be made a subiecte? shall your peres and nobilitie be made vassals, & you also slaues and bondmen to a forrain nacion? Where is the libertie of Fraunce and where is the auncient fredome? When you defended your Fraunchises, and when youre hartes serued you: your kynge ruled kynges, your princes possessed the empire, and your nacion subdued Germany, conquered Italy, and ouercame the proude Spanyardes. Shall we now, fallyng out of kynd from our fathers, feare the puissaunce of the arrogant Englyshmen, beynge men of no forecast, nor of no excellente wyt, long in gettyng, and shortly lesyng? Wyll you now suffre the olde glory of Fraunce to be put in obliuion? wyll you haue an Englyshe infant, whiche lyueth with pappe to be your kinge and gouernor? Wyll you lyue in seruitude of a barbarous nacion, in whom is neyther bountifulnes nor honour? Clerckes saye, that the greatest plague, that euer God scourged with the Israelites, was, when he permitted them to be caried from their natiue countreye to the bondage of Babylon, where they lyued in captiuitie by the space of many yeres. What canne bee a more greater scourge, then to haue a forrein ruler in a free regyon? What dishonour can there be more to a countrey, then to haue the nobilitie put backe from rule, and to be gouerned by Straũgers? Beleue me beleue me, it is to vs all one blot, to be a slaue in Turkey, vnder the Turkishe bondage, and to be a fre man in Fraunce vnder the Englyshe libertie. Of this poynt you be sure: yf they gayne this battayll, they be not vnlike to obtain the whole regiõ: which if thei get, then is the enheritaunce theirs: then be al the riches theirs, and then all the people bee their subiectes. If they be rulers, fare well the Francke and Frenche libertie. If they be lordes, welcome English seruitude. So that now we stand al on this poynt, either to be fre or bondmen. Whyche terme of bondage is so detested of al nacions, that there can be no more reproche to a man then to call hym a villaine or a bondman. Therfore manly de-

fence must onely withstand this mischief, and harty corage must dryue backe this imminent plage. This is the day either of our deliueraunce oute of vile seruitude, or the day of our entry into the vale of bondage. The conclusion of this battayl is verye doubtfull, for yf we be vanquyshed, the gain for our side is almost without recouery, cõsideryng, that here be the best men, & wisest captains vnder our kyng: And yf we get the vpper hande, our heddes shalbe free and out of the Englysh yoke. And although the duke of Bedford hath here with him, all the power that he can gather on this side the sea, yet I assure you, (God wyllyng) I wyl not turne one fote backward for feare of hym, or hys picked armye. Therfore I exhorte you to remembre, your wifes, your childzen and your selfes. Fight manfully and sticke eche to other for the libertie of our countrey: I doubt not but the victorie shalbe oures, and the honor shalbe our kynges. For yf this daye we vanquishe hym and sparcle his armie, we shal so diligently folowe Fortunes good grace, that not onelye Fraunce to vs shal yelde, and Normandy bowe, but we shall recouer agayne al our cities and tounes, which out of our possessiõ were gained, before any ayde can come to rescue oute of the poore isle of Englande. Now considerying, that we hange in the ballaũce betwene honor and shame, libertie and bondage, gayne or losse, let euery man take harte and corage to hym, litle regarding, or caryng, either for death, or the force of his enemies, and wyth a manly countenaunce march furth toward our foes.

The Englishmen perceyuing their greate nomber and knowynge that the chiefe strẽgth cõsisteth in the Scottes, began somwhat to stay and consult, what was moste expedient to bee done. The duke of Bedford sittyng on a baye courser in the middes of the battayll vnder a bãner curiously beten with hys Armes, not contẽt wyth their whisperinges and protractyng of tyme, sayed vnto them with an audible voyce.

The oracion of the duke of Bedforde.

You valiaunt capytaynes and hardye souldyers, my louinge compaynions in armes, and frendely felowes. Yf you cõsidre with your self what day this is: What honor and profyte wee shall gette by oure trauayle and payne, I doubt not but where you nowe stand styll musyng, you would runne furth a gallope, and where you runne on youre fete, you would, yf you had winges, flye as faste, as euer dyd Hauke to hys praye. For greate is the honor that is gotten wyth payne, and swete is the lucre, that is gayned wyth trauayle, for you muste remembre, that nothing is wel done, yf it growe not to a good conclusion: and a thyng were as good neuer to be begon, as neuer ended. My brother our late soueraigne lord (whose soule God pardon) hath entred into this countrey, as into his owne lawful inheritaunce: and fyrst conquered Normandy, & after by agrement of kynge Charles the blurper, he was by assent of the nobilitie, agrement of the Clergie, & speciall request of the commonaltie, restored to his ryghtfull inheritaunce, and lawful patrymony, whiche by his death is returned and come to my nephewe oure

moste

moste redoubted souereigne. The beginning of hys cõquest was good and the sequele better, yet resteth the finall knot to be knytte, and the last locke to be shut vp. For yf we suffre Charles the dolphyn, whyche now vsurpeth the name, and estate royall of this realme of Fraunce, to proceade farther in hys purpose, or to gather more puyssance, or allure more people, I cannot tell then what feattes flattrynge fortune wyll worke: and of this I am sure, that yf we suffre his fier still to flame, as it hath begon, we shall haue skant water to quenche out thesame. Here he hath assembled all the Frenche men that he can get, and for lacke of
x aide, he hath retained the Scottes: croppe hym now at the beginning and he shall growe no more: let hym grow farther and he will passe our reache: discomfite hym now and bryng our conquest to a conclusion: let hym alone now, and we shalbe new to begyn. Therfore I say, it is wisdome to take occasyon, when the hery syde and not the bald side is profered. Yf we feare the multitude, remember ourowne victories, which we haue euer obteyned by lesse nombre, and not by the greater. If we feare death, remember the glory and immortall fame, that shal succead of our valiaunt actes, yf we sell our lifes so dere. If we shalbe slain, consyder I haue a kyng to my nephewe, and a duke to my brother, and
xx cwoo noble vncles, and you haue frendes, kynsmen and children, which wyll reuenge our death to the vttermost poynte: therefore I saye lette euery man this day do hys best. For this is the day of thē of our great trauayle, the day of our great victory, and the day of our euerlastynge fame. Therfore good felowes, put your onely trust in God, call to hym for ayde boldly, and marche forward hardly, for our enemies be at hād.

He had skace ended his exhortacion, but the Englyshmen beyng incouraged wyth his prudent persuasion, sette on their enemies, cryyng, Saint George, Bedford. And the frenchmen lykewise cryed, Moūtioye, Saynct Denyse. Then the arrowes flewe out of the long bowes
xxx on the one parte, the quarrelles out of the crosse bowes on the other parte. After thei came to hande strokes: great was the fight, a terrible was ỹ battail, with so indifferent iudgemēt of victory, that no herauld coulde determyne to whyche part Fortune moste shewed her louynge countenaunce. For on bothe sydes men were slayne and wounded, and on both pares some were felled and recouered, thus still in a doubtfull iudgement, the battaill continued aboute thre houres. The duke of Alaunson in the mean ceason neuer ceased to exhort and pray his people manly to fyght, and not to suffre their enemies (whych were at ỹ verye point to be ouercome) by their faynt hartes to be victors, and ouercō-
xl mers. Lykewise the duke of Bedford rode about his army, refreshyng the weake wyth fresh men, and encoragyng his people wyth most plesaunt wordes: But at the last, when he perceyued the frēchmen, what with heate, and wyth trauayl, to waxe wery and faynt, and not to be so fresh as they wer before (for surely the nature of the frenchmen, is not to labor longe in fyghting, and much more braggeth then fighteth) he

with al his strength set incontynent on them with such a violence, that they bare theim doune to the ground by fyne force. The French horsemen that daye did litle seruyce: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desired not much to approche their presence. This battaille was fought in the.xxvij. day of August, in the yere of oure Lord. M. CCCC.xxv. in the whyche battayl were slayne.

¶Of Frenchmen.
The erle of Aumerle.
The erle of Uentadorze.
The earle of Forestes.
The erle of Mary.
The lorde Grauayle.
The lorde Gaules.
The lorde Fountaynes.
The lorde Anboys.
The Uicount Thouars.
The lord Mounteney.
The lorde of Combreste.
The lord of Brunel.
The lord Tumblet.
The lorde of Poysy. And thre hundred knightes besyde.
The Uicount Nerbon whose body was hanged on a gibbot, because he was one of the murtherers,
of the duke of Burgoyn.
¶Of Scottes also wer slain.
Archibald erle Douglas made duke of Torzoine.
James Douglas hys sonne erle of Nyghton.
Jhon ỹ erle of Boughẽ newly made cõstable of Fraũce.
Sir Alexander Meldrym.
Sir Henry Balglauie.
Sir Jhon Sterlyng.
Sir William of Homeldone.
Sir James Graye.
Sir Robert Kanden.
Sir Alexander Linsaye.
Sir Robert Stuarde.
Sir Robert Swintõ, & xxvij. hundred Scottes of name & armes, besides other.

In this battayl were slayn by the report of Montioy king at armes in Fraunce, and the Englishe Herauldes there present, of Frenchmen and Scottes. ix. thousand and seuen hundred, and of the Englyshmen xxj. hundred, but noman of name, sauyng. v. yong esquyers. And there were taken prysoners, Jhon duke of Alaunson, the bastard of Alaunson the lorde of Fayect, the lorde of Horymyt, sir Pers Heaillon, sir Loys de Uancort, sir Robert Brusset, sir Jhon Turnebul a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen besydes common souldyoures.

After that the duke of Bedforde had thus obteined the vpper hand of hys enemies, and discomfyted the onely strength of the dolphyn, he vpon his knees rendred to almightye God hys hartye thankes not wythout effusyon of teares. Then he commaunded all the Frenchmen within the toune of Uernoyle, to go out and depart, or elles abyde their aduẽture. They perceyuing the euyl successe, of their bostyng enterprise and seyng no meane, wherby in so lowe an ebbe, they mighte bee ayded, delinered vp the toune, and went furth out of the same (their lyues sa-ued (Of whiche toune the Lord Regent constituted captain, sir Philip Hall, and so departed from thence, to the citie of Roan, where wyth triumph (and not vnworthy) he was ioyously receyned & honorably feasted. And after all thynges there set in an ordre, he remoued to Paris.

Here

Here you may se what succeded of the spirite of false prophecie. For the duke of Alaunson thinkinge it to be predestinate by the bodyes aboue, that he shoulde ouercome, and conquere the duke of Bedford, bosted (as you haue heard) to the Burgesses of Uernoil, that he had dyscomfyted the Regent of Fraunce with his whole army, before ỹ toune of Jury: Not knowyng, that Mars the God of battayl beynge angry with his liyng, appoynted, not onely all his puissaunce to bee banquyshed before Uernoyle, but also hym selfe, and hys bastarde vncle, there to be taken, and brought into bondage. So it is often sene that he
x whyche rekeneth wythoute hys hoste, muste reken twyse, and he that fysheth before the net, maye lese, but nothyng gayne. When thys victory was publyshed through Fraunce, howe the common people lamented their miserable destiny, how the nobilitie mistrusted their owne estate, and howe the Dolphyn was abashed, yea, moze then abashed, wõderful it were to wzite, but moze merueylous foz to heare. Foz he was dziuen out of all the countreyes apperteyning to the croune of Frãce, & might resoyt to no countreyes, except to Burbonoys, Auuerne, Berry, Poyctou, Towzayn, a part of Aniow and Barrayn, & Languedoc. And because diuerse of his frẽds, which wer aduocats in Paris, exiled
xx thẽselfes frõ the parliament of Paris, which was with all rightes, and iurisdiccions there vnto belongyng, kepte, and holden in the name of kynge Henry the. vj. as lawfull heire and very kynge of the realme of Fraunce: he therfoze to shew him selfe as a kynge, erected the court of Parliament, his Chauncery, and all other courtes in the citie of Poytiers, and there established his great seale, wyth all due circumstaunces thereunto aperteyning, which there continued by the space of. xiiij yeres, as you shall after heare declarrd. The duke of Bedfozd liynge at Paris, entendyng there to bzyng to obeysaunce Charles the Dolphyn, oz els to dzyue hym out of his litle cony holdes, and small countries, sẽt
xxx the lozd Scales, sir Jhon Mountgomerey, sir Jhon Fastolfe, with two thousand men, to conquere the countries of Aniow and Mayn whych wythout assault had rendzed to thẽ the strong castles of Beaumoũt le Uicõt, Teune, Silley, Oste, Courceriers. Rously, Uasse, Couetemenãt and twenty other, which foz prolixitie of tyme, I thynke necessarye to be omitted. Foz surelye the Englishe puissaunce was so tried, pzoued, assaied, and spzed abzode throughout all Fraunce, that the Frenchmen thoughte that in conclusion the Englishmen woulde haue, oz shoulde haue al thinges, which they either wished oz enterpzised. The duke of Bedfozd yet thirstyng after moze good foztune, sent the erle of Salis-
xl bury, with a great army accompaignied with the lozde Scales, and other appzoued capitaynes, (whose names you haue heard before) into the countreies of Aniow & Mayn, which were euil neighbozs to ỹ duchy of Nozmãdy: in whych army wer. x. M. mẽ of warr, oz ther about. These lusty capitaynes entred firste into the countrey of Mayne, and beseged the rych and strõg citie of Mauns, the chiefe toune & emperie

of al that countrey and regiō. And although the citezens, aswel for the sodain accesse of their enemies, as for the feare of the name of therle of Salisbury (whiche was both dread of his enemies, and honored of his frendes,) were somwhat amased and astonied: Yet their captaines named sir Baldwyn of Champaigne lord of Toisse, sir Guilliam de Marignie, and sir Hughe de Goos, studied and inuented alwayes possible how to defend them selfs, and do domage and harme to their enemies: and surely, they had within the toune a crewe & a compaygny of warlike & practysed souldyoures. The Englishmen approched as nygh to the walles, as they myght wythout their losse and detriment, and shot & against their walles great stones out of great gonnes (which kinde of engines before ỹ tyme, was very littel sene or heard of in Fraunce) the strokes whereof so shaked, crushed and ryued the walles, that wythin few daies, the citie was dispoiled of al her toures & outward defences. The citezens of Maus muche merueylyng at these newe orgaynes, both seyng their destruccion imminent, & desperate of all ayde and succour: offered the toune vpon this condicion: that all persones whyche woulde tary wythin the toune myght abyde, and al that would depart wyth horsse and harnesse onely, should be permitted: which offers wer accepted, and the toune rendred, wherof the erle made captaine therle & of Suffolke, and hys liuetenaunt sir Jhon Fastolfe. After this thesaid erle of Salisbury besieged the faire towne of sayncte Susan, whereof was captayn, Ambrose the Lore, a mā of no lesse audacite then pollicy, accompaignied with a greate nombre of hardy menne of warre. When the erle of Salisbury had bothe viewed and sene the situacion and nature of the place, he determined to assault it in that place whyche was most weake and worne: and so the trompettes blew to the assault, and scalyng ladders were raysed to the walles, and the Englyshmen with great noyse began to clime and ascende. The souldiours whych durste not come out of the toune to encountre wyth the Englysh armye, man- & & fully ranne to the walles to resyste and defend the assaylantes. And so all that day the assault wyth many aduentures styl contynued, and although the inhabitauntes and citezens wer sore wounded, they neuer lefte of both to defende theim selfes, and to anoye and hurte their enemies. When therle perceiued that by this light assault and slight skirmishe he lost somewhat, and gained nothing, he made a wall and cast a trenche rounde about the toune: & caused his great ordinaunce to be shot at that part of the wal which was moste feble and slender, and so dayly and nightly he neuer ceassed to beate, and breke doune the wal & toures: so that within twoo dayes the most part of the wal was persed & and cast doune to the grounde. When the captain perceyued these new feates, he began to entreate, and offered for him self and his souldyors, two thousand crounes, so that they might departe in their doublettes onely: so their liues were saued, whiche some, because winter approched was taken and the toune yelded. Of the whyche toune he made capi-

tayn,

tain,sir Jhon Popham,a valiaunt & a circumspect knight. After that the sayd erle besieged the toune and castle of Mayon la Juhez, wherin was captain the lorde of Escotaiz: whiche toune after the space of fyue wekes was yelded (the lyfes of the defendors onely saued.) To ỹ kepyng whereof he appointed sir Jhon Montgomery knight. And after the feast of the purification of our ladye, he besieged the castle de lafort Barnard:during which siege, a sale was made of the toune of Manson beyng in the Englisshmens possession by a Gascoyn & one of the garison there,for.iiij.C.crounes,to Charles de Villiers, Peter le Beuffe,and x other Frenche capitaines. When the day was apoynted of the deliuerraunce both of the toune and of the money,the Gascoygne opened and discouered the wholeagrement to the erle of Salisbury: which ordeyned the lorde of Willoughby and sir Jhon Fastolf with two thousande Englishmen to encountre wyth the byers of the kynges toune of Mã-son. At the day apoynted and tyme assigned, Charles de Villiers chief marchant of this rych enterpryse, early in the morning with twoo.C. horssemen,and thre hundred footemen approched nere the toune, and abidinge for the Gascoyne,he there displayed his banner,thinking triumphantly to entre into the toune: but it happened otherwyse.For or xr they wer ware,or suspected any rescues,they were enuironed with the Englisshe army,and slain & taken euery creature,saue Peter Dãthenazi and.xxb.other,which by the swyftnes of their horsses saued thẽselfs.

After this conflict ended,the lorde Willoughby wyth his company returned to therle of Salisbury,before the toune le fort Barnard: the captaynes wherof consydering, that there was no hope of succor to be sent to theim,and that their vittayl diminished,and that they wer not long able to abyde the hard assaultes of the Englysh nacyon, rendered the toune and castle, reseruyng to them theyr horsse and harnes onely which toune therle receyued to the vse of the kyng:But the regent for xxr the valiaunt seruice done by the erle,gaue the same toune to hym and to his heires for euer.Besyde this the erle partly by assault,parteiy by composicion,toke diuerse other tounes,as sainct Kales,wher he made captayn,Richard Gethine Esquyer, Thanceaux Lermitage,wher he made Gouernor, Matthew Gough, Guerlande,of the whiche he assigned ruler, Jhon Banaster, Malicorne,wherof he made captayn,Williã Glasdale esquier,Lisle soubz Boultõ,wherof he made captain,Sir Lancelot Lisle knight, Lowpellande, whereof was made captayne Henry Braunche,Mountsuer,of the which was made Constable,Sir Williã Oidhall knyght,la Suze, was assigned to the kepyng of Jhon xl Suffolke esquyer,and besyde this,aboue.xl.castles & pilces wer ouerthrowen and destroyed.When ỹ fame and report of thyse newes wer blowen through Fraunce,some freated, some feared, and some raged for angre:But the veritie of al thinges beyng by the duke of Bedforde declared into Englande,all men reioysed and wer very glad,not oneiy for the conquest of so many tounes, but also that God had sente theim

victory in a pitched felde, and in a mortall battayl. Wherfore generall processions were commaunded, to rẽdre to God almighty humble and harty thankes, by whose onely gift, and not by power of man, these notable victories were gotten and achiued.

It is not conuenient, that I shoulde talke so much of Fraunce, and omit al thinges done in England. Wherfore, you shal vnderstand, that about easter this yere, ỹ kyng called his hygh court of parliamẽt, at his toune of Westminster, & cõming to the parliament hous he was conueighed through the citie vpõ a great courser with great triumph, which child was iudged of all men, not onely to haue the very ymage, ỹ liuely & portrature, and louely countenaunce of his noble parent & famous father, but also like to succede, & be hys heyre in al moral vertues, marcial Pollicies and Princely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to hys realmes, seigniories & dominions. In whiche parliament was graunted to the kyng a subsidy of .xij. d. of the pound, towardes the mainteynaunce of the warres, of al marchaundise commyng into thys realme, or goyng out of thesame, besydes other sommes set on euery tonne of liquor, & on euery sacke of woolle, aswell of Englishmen, as of Straungers. Duryng whiche Parliament came to London, Peter Duke of Quumber, sonne to the kynge of Portyngale, and cosin germain remoued to the kynge, whych of the duke of Excester and the byshop of Winchester hys vncles, was hyghly fested, & lyberallye rewarded, and was elected into the noble ordre of the Garter. Duryng whych season, Edmonde Mortymer, the last erle of Marche of that name (whiche longe tyme had bene restrayned frõ hys liberty, and fynally waxed lame) discessed wythout yssue, whose inheritaunce discended to lord Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard erle of Cambridge, beheded as you haue heard before, at the toune of Southampton. Whiche Richard within lesse then .xxx. yeres, as heire to this erle Edmõd, in open parliament claimed the croune and scepter of this realme, as hereafter shall more manifestly appere. In the tyme of which Parliamente also, whether it were, either for deserte or malice, or to auoide thinges that might chaunce, accordinge to a prouerbe, which sayth, a dead mã doeth no harme: Sir Jhon Mortimer cosin to the said erle was attainted of treason and put to execucion: of whose deathe no small slaunder arose emongest the common people.

After all these actes done in Englande, and in Fraunce, Humfrey duke of Gloucester, with the lady Jaquet his supposed wife, passed the sea, and came to Mons in Henawde, and there by force tooke all suche landes, as Jhon duke of Brabant her first husband hadde in possessyon of the sayde lady Jaquet, which doyng, Philippe duke of Burgoyne, beynge greate frende to the Duke of Brabant, muche dysdayned and more frouned at, and thought for the olde loue and familiaritie, that he bare to the duke of Gloucester, that he woulde by frendelye monycion, turne him from hys vnhonest and vngodlye lyfe, to a reasonable

refor-

reformacion, and brotherly conformitie. Wherfore he wrote louyngly to him, that he shoulde vtterly leaue of, any further to folow that newe attempted enterprise, aduertisynge hym, and protestynge openly, that the vsurpinge and wrongfully withholdynge of another mannes possession, was not so vile and slaunderous, as the defilinge of a pure and cleane bedde, and adulteriously kepyng the wyfe of his christē brother. The duke of Gloucester beyng in this case very wilful, either blynded with dotage, or inflamed with coueteousnesse of his wifes possessyons, regarding neither the admonishment of the duke of Brabant, nor yet
x the Godly aduertisement of the duke of Burgoyn, sware that he wold not leaue of to make farther war, till he had expulsed the duke of Brabant, out of his wyfes seigniories, teritories and dominiōs. Wherfore the duke of Burgoyn assembled together a great army to make warre on the duke of Gloucester, in the cause and quarell of the duke of Brabant hys frend and cosyn. The duke of Gloucester, partly for great affaires, ẏ then wer imminent in the realme of England, and partly to assemble more people, to resist ẏ withstād the power of the dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant, left hys wyfe at Mōs in Henaude, with the lordes of the toune, whiche sware to hym, to defend and kepe her againste all
xi men, tyl the tyme of his returne. Wherfore he leauynge with her twoo thousand Englishmen, departed to Calice, and so into Englande.

When he was gone, the duke of Burgoyn so threatened, so vexed, yea, and almost so famished them within the toune of Mons, that they deliuered into his possession the lady Jaquet or Jacomine: whyche in cōtinent sent her to Gaunt, wher she disguysed her selfe in a mannes apparel, and so escaped into a toune of her owne in zeland, called zirich, and frō thence she was conueighed to a toune in Holland called Tregowe, where she was honorably receyued, ẏ there made her self strong to wythstand her enemyes: And for her succor the duke of Gloucester
xii sent to her fyue hundred mē. The dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant left her not all in quiet, but brent her tounes in Holland, and slewe her people in zelande to her great detriment and displeasure. But in conclusion, thys matter was brought before Martyn the .v. bishop of Rome: whyche adiudged the first matrimony, with duke Jhon of Brabant, to be good and effectuall, and the seconde espousals celebrated with duke Humfrey of Gloucester, to bee of no value, force nor effecte: and that yf the duke of Brabant died, it should not be lawful to the duke of Gloucester, to mary agayn with the lady Jaquet. The duke of Gloucester obeyng to this sentence, beganne to waxe loth of his supposed wyfe, by
xi whōm he neuer had profite but losse: for whose cause his frendes became his enemies, ẏ for whose sake he was openly slaundered. Wherfore he by wanton affeccyō blynded, toke to hys wyfe Elianor Cobhā doughter to the lord Cobham, of Sterberow, which before (as the fame wēt) was his soueraygne lady and paramour, to hys great slaunder and reproche. And yf he were vnquieted wᵗ his other pretensed wyfe, truly he

was

was tenne tymes more vexed, by occasion of this woman as you shall herafter plainly perceyue: so that he began his mariage with euill, and endeth it with worse. The Lady Jaquet after the death of Jhon duke of Brabant, maried a gentleman of meane estate, called Fräke of Burselle, for the whiche cause the duke of Burgoyn imprisoned her houlbande, and left her in greate trouble: suche was the ende of these twoo mariages.

The.ilij.yere.

The.iiij.yere

A Litle before this tyme, Sir Thomas Räpstone, sir Philip Branche, Sir Nicolas Burdeit, and other Englishe men, to the nombre of.v.hundred men, repaired and fortified the toune of sainct James de Leitron, on the frontiers of Normandy, adioyning to Britain. Arthure erle of Richemond and Jury brother to the duke of Britayn, whiche like an vntrue gentleman, swore and forswore to the king of England, sodainly fled to Charles the Dolphyn: whiche muche reioysing of his fauor and amity, gaue to him the Constableship of Fraunce, whiche therle of Bougham slain before at Vernoyl, a small tyme occupied and lesse space enioyed. Thys newe constable not a lytle ioyfull of his hygh office, thought to do some pleasure to ỹ dolphin his maister & to aduaunce his name at the first entrie of his authoritie, he imagened no enterprise to be to him more honorable, nor to his prince more acceptable, then to auoyde and driue oute of the toune of sainct James de Beueon, al the English nacion. So in hope of victory gathered together aboue.xl.M.men, of Britons, Frenchmen and Scottes, and enuironed the toune of sainct James, or sainct Jaques de Beuron wyth a strong siege. The Englishmen within, whyche in nomber passed not vi.C. men, manfully defended the dayly assaultes of the fierce Frenchmen. The Englyshmen consulted together what waye was best to bee taken: and after long debating, thei determined to yssue out of ỹ toune and to fyght with their enemies. So on a day, whē the Britons were weried wyth a long assaulte, towardes the euenynge the Englishmen came oute of the toune, one part by the posterne of the Castle, and another part by the gate of the toune, crynge sainct George, Salisbury: and set on their enemies both before and behind. The Frenchmen seyng the corage of the Englyshmen, and hearing their crye, thinkynge that therle of Salisbury was come to rayse their siege, ran awaye like shepe, and there were taken, slain and drouned in the water, of thē. iiij. thousand men and mo. Besides this, these ioly gallantes lefte behinde theim for haste, all their tentes. xiiij. great gonnes, and.xl. barelles of pouder. CCC. pipes of Wine, CC. pipes of bisket and floure, CC. frailes of Figges and Resons, and.v.C. barelles of heryng.

The Frenchmen (beyng thus banquished) fell in deuision emongest theim selfes: the one laying to the charge of the other, the losse of their

mē

men and the cause of their fliyng. Suche is euer the chaunce of ỹ war, that when victorie is obteined, the moste coward and faint harted boy wil boste and bragge, and when the battayle is loste, the faulte is assigned to the beste, and not to the wourste. The new Constable was sore dismayed & muche ashamed of this discomfiture and shamefull flyght, but there was no remedy but pacience: But to the entent to blotte out and deface this shameful fliyng with a notable victory, he wyth a great armie entred into the countreye of Aniow, and brente, spoyled, and destroyed two or thre at the moste, lytle poore thetched byllages: Whych
x final acte done, his malice was quẽched, & his old grief (as he thought) byctoriously reuenged.

In thys season fell a great diuision in the realme of England, which of a sparcle was like to growe to a greate flamme: For whether the bishoppe of Winchester called Heury Beaufoyd, sonne to Iho̅n Duke of Lancastre, by his third wyfe, enuied the authorite of Humfrey duke of Gloucester Protector of the realme, or whether the duke had take̅ disdain at the riches and pompous estate of the byshop, sure it is that the whole realm was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citezens of London fearynge that that shoulde insue vpon the matter,
xi were fain to kepe daily and nightly, watches, as though their enemies were at hande, to besiege and destroye them: In so muche that all the shoppes within the citie of Londõ wer shut in for fear of the fauourers of those twoo greate personages, for eche parte had assembled no small nombre of people. For pacifiyng whereof, the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and the duke of Quymber called the prince of Portyngale, rode eyght tymes in one daye betwene the two aduersaryes, and so ỹ matter was stayed at that tyme. The bishoppe of Wynchester not content with his nephewe the lorde Protector, sente a letter to the Regente of Fraunce, the tenor wherof insueth.

xxx Ryght hyghe and mighty prince, and my ryght noble and after one " leuest lord, I recommend me vnto you wyth all my harte. And as you " desire the welfare of the kyng our souereigne lord, and of hys realmes " of England and Fraunce, and your owne health and oures also, so hast " you hether. For by my trouth yf you tary, we shall put this land in ad- " uenture, wyth a felde, suche a brother you haue here, God make hym a " good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profite of Fraunce stan- " deth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great hast on Alhallow " euen. By your true seruaunt to my lyfes ende. Henry Wynchester. "

The duke of Bedford beyng sore greued and vnquieted wyth these
xi newes, constituted the erle of Warwycke, whiche was lately come into Fraunce, wyth fyue thousand men his liuetenaunte in the Frenche dominions and in the duchy of Normandy, and so wyth a small company he wyth the duches his wyfe, returned agayn ouer ỹ seas into Englãd and the tenth day of January, he was wyth all solemnitie receiued into London, to whom the citezens gaue a payre of basynnes, & a thon-

sande marcke in money, and from London he rode to Westminster, & was lodged in the kinges palaice. The.xxv.day of Marche after hys cõming to London, a parliamẽt began at the toune of Leicester, where the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in generall, because that they in the tyme of warre, through their priuy malice and inward grudge, hadde almoste moued the people to warre and commocion, in whyche tyme all men ought or shoulde be of one mynde, harte and consent: requiringe them to defend, serue and dread their soueraigne lord kynge Henry, in perfourming his conquest in Fraunce, whiche was in maner brought to conclusion. In this parliament the Duke of Glou- x cester, layed certayne articles to the bishop of Wynchesters charge, the whych with the answeres hereafter do ensue.

¶ The artycles of accusacion, and accord, betwene my lord of Gloucester, and my lorde of Wynchester.

HEre insueth the articles, as the kinges counsayl hath conceiued, the which the hygh and mighty prince, my lord of Gloucester, hath surmysed vpon my Lord of Wynchester Chauncellour of Englande, wyth the answere to the same.

i. First, where as he beynge protector and defendor of this lande, desired the toure to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Rychard Woodeuyle esquyer, hauing at that tyme the charge of the keppynge of the toure, refused his desire, and kepte thesame toure against hym, vnduly and agaynst reason, by the commaundement of my sayed Lord of Winchester: and afterward in approuyng of thesaid refuse, he receiued thesaid Wooduile, and cherished hym against the state and worshyp of the kyng, and of my sayed Lorde of Gloucester.

ij. Item my sayed Lord of Winchester, wythout the aduise and assent of my saied lorde of Gloucester, or of the kinges counsail, purposed and disposed hym to set hande on the kynges persone, and to haue remoued hym from Eltham, the place that he was in, to Wyndsore, to the entent to put him in suche gouernaunce as him lyst.

iij. Item, that where my saide Lord of Gloucester, to whome of al persones or that should be in the land, by the waye of nature and byrthe, it belongeth to se the gouernaunce of the kynges person, informed of the said vndue purpose of my sayd Lord of Winchester, declared in the articles next aboue saide. And in the letting therof, determining to haue gone to Eltha vnto the kyng, to haue prouyded as the cause requyred. My saied lorde of Winchester, vntruly and agaynst the kinges peace, to the entent to trouble my saied lord of Gloucester goyng to the kyng purposing his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and archers, at thende of London bridge next Southwerke: and in forbarringe of the kynges high way, let draw the cheyne of the stulpes there, and set vp pipes and hardelles, in maner and forme of Bulwarkes: and set men in chambers, sellers and windowes, with bowes

and

and arrowes and other weapons, to thentent to bryng to final destruc-
cion my saied lorde of Gloucesters persone, aswell as of those that then
should come with hym.

Item my saied lord of Gloucester saith and affirmeth, that our sou- 4
reigne lorde hys brother, that was kynge Henry the fifth, told hym on
a time, when our said souereigne lorde beyng prince, was lodged in the
palaice of Westminster in the greate chambre, by the noyes of a span-
yell there was on a night a man espied and taken behynd a tapet of the
said chambre, the whiche man was deliuered to therle of Arrundell to
x be examined vpō the cause of his beyng there at that tyme. The which
so examined at that tyme, confessed that he was there by the steryng vp
& procuryng of my saied Lorde of Winchester, ordained to haue slayne
the saied prince there in his bedde: Wherfore the said erle of Arrundell
let sacke hym furthy with, and drouned hym in the Thamise.

Item our souereigne lord that was, kyng Henry the fifth, sayd vnto 5
my sayd Lorde of Gloucester, that his father kynge Henry the fourth
liuyng, and visited then greatly with sickenes of the hande of God, my
saied lorde of Winchester saied vnto the kyng (Henry the fifth then be-
yng prince) that the kyng his father, so visited with sickenesse was not
xx personable: and therfore not disposed to come in conuersacion and go-
uernaunce of the people, and for so muche, counsailed hym to take the
gouernaunce and croune of this lande vpon hym.

¶ The answere of the Byshop.

Here ensueth the answeres and excusacions made by my lord
of Wynchester Chauncellour of Englande, vnto the causes
and matters of heuinesse, declared in articles agaynst hym,
by my lorde of Gloucester.

Fyrst, as of the refuse made vnto my Lord of Gloucester of openyng x
the toure to hym, of his lodgyng therin, by the commaundement of my
xxx saied lorde of Wynchester, he answereth: that in the presence of my said
Lorde of Gloucester, before hys commynge out of his countrey of He-
nawd, for causes suche as wer thought reasonable, it semeth lefull that
the toure should haue been notably stuffed and kept with vitaile, howe
beit, it was not furthy with executed, and that in likewise after, that my
saied lorde of Gloucester was gone into his saied countrey of Henawd
for sedicious and odious billes & language, cast and vsed in the citee of
London, sounyng of insurreccion & rebellion against the kinges peace,
and destruccion aswell of diuerse estates of this land, as straungers be-
ynge vnder the defence, in so muche that in doubt therof, straungers in
xl great nombre fled the land: & for the more sure keping of the said toure,
Richard Wooduile squire, so trusted with ỹ kyng our souereigne lorde
that dead is, (as wel ye knowe) and also chamberlain & counsailer vnto
my lord of Bedford, with a certain nōbre of defensible persons assigned
vnto hym, was made deputie ther, by thassent of the kynges counsayll
being that tyme at London, for to abide therin for safegard therof, and

strightly charged by the saied counsaill, that durynge that tyme of hys saied charge, he should not suffre anye man to bee in the toure stronger then hym self, without especial charge or commaundement of the kyng by thaduise of his counsaill.

2 Item that after, sone vpon the commynge of my saied lorde of Glouceſter into this lande from his countrey of Henawd, the saied lordes of the kynges counsaill wer enformed, that my sayed lorde of Glouceſter, grudged with the said maner of enforcyng the toure, and let saie to thē of London, that he had wel vnderstād, that they had been heuyly thretened for the tyme of hys absence, and otherwise then they should haue bene yf he had be in this land. Wherfore he was right euill contented, & especiall of the said forcyng of the toure, set vpon thē in maner of a chast vilain. Considery ng the good equitie & trouthe that thei had alwayes kept vnto the kyng, offerynge them therupon remedy yf they woulde. x

3 Item, that after this, Richarde Scot liuetenaunt of the toure, by the commaundemēt of my sayd lorde of Glouceſter, brought vnto hym Frier Randolfe, the whiche had long before confeſſed treason, doen by hym against the kynges person that dead is, for the whych knowledge he was put to bee kepte in the saied toure, and straightly commaunded vnder great payn geuen vnto the saied Scotte, to kepe hym straightly xx and surely, and not to let hym out of the saied toure, without commaūdement of the kyng, by thaduise of his counsaill. The which saied Frier Randolf, my said of lorde Glouceſter kept then with hym self (not wittynge the saied Scot) as he declared vnto my said lorde of Winchester. Sone after that he had brought the sayd Frier Randolf vnto my lord of Glouceſter, saiynge vnto my saied lorde of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped hym, and expreſſed as for cause of the saied withholdyng of Frier Randolf: And saying more ouer, that when he desired of my said lorde of Glouceſtre, the deliueraunce of the sayd Frier Randolfe, to leade hym again vnto the toure, or sufficient warraunt for hys xxx discharge, my saied Lord of Glouceſtre answered hym, that his commaundement was sufficient warraunt and discharge for hym. In the whiche thynge aboue saied, it was thought to my Lorde of Wynchester, that my sayed Lorde of Glouceſter, toke vpon hym further then his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused him for to doubte and dreade, leaste that he would haue proceaded further. And at suche tyme as the saied Woodeuile came vnto hym to aske his aduise and counsaill, of lodgynge of my saied lorde of Glouceſter into the toure: he aduised & charged hym, that before he suffered my said lorde of Glouceſter or any person lodge therin stronger then hym selfe, he should puruey hym a sufficient warrant therof, of the kyng by thaduise of hys counsaill. xl

4 Item as to the saied article of the foresaied causes of heuineſſe, my saied Lorde the Chauncellor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hande on the kynges person, nor to remoue hym, or that he shoulde bee remoued, or put in anye maner of gouernaunce, but by thaduise of the

kynges

kynges counsaill. For he could not conceiue anye maner of goodnes or of aduauntage that might haue growen vnto hym therof: But rather greate perell and charge, and hereof my saied Lorde of Winchester is redy to make prefe in tyme and place conuenient.

Item, as to the third article of the forsayd causes and heuinesse, my 5
said lorde Chauncellor answereth, that he was ofte and diuerse tymes warned by diuerse credible persones, aswell at the tyme of the kynges laste Parliament, holden at Westminster, as before and sithe, that my said lorde of Gloucester, purposed him bodely harme, and was warned therof, and counsailed by the saied persones, and that diuerse tymes to abstain hym from commyng to Westminster, as my said Lorde of Winchester declared vnto my saied Lorde of Gloucester.

Item, that in the tyme of thesayed Parliament diuerse persones of 6
x lowe estate, of the citee of London in greate nombre, assembled on a daye vpon the Wharffe, at the Crane of the Vintry, wished and desired that they had there the persone of my Lord of Winchester, saiyng: that they would haue throwen hym into the Thamise, to haue taught hym to swymme wyth wynges. For whiche billes and language of slander and threatenynges, cast & spokē in the said citie, by my said lord the Chauncellor, caused hym to suppose, that they that so saied and dyd, willed and desired hys destruccion, although they had no cause.

Item, that after the commynge to London of sir Raufe Bottiller & 7
master Lewes, sent frō my lorde of Bedford, to the reste of the lordes of
xx the counsaill, they beyng informed that my saied Lorde of Gloucester, dyd beare displeasure to my saied Lorde of Winchester: They came to my sayed lorde of Gloucester to his Ynne, the second Sondaie next before Alhallowen daie, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstandyng of thesaied displeasure, prayng hym to lette theim knowe yf he bare suche displeasure agaynst my sayed Lorde of Winchester, & also the causes thereof. At the whyche tyme (as my sayd Lorde of Winchester was afterward informed) that my saied Lord of Gloucester, affirmed that he was heuy toward hym, & not withoutten causes that paraduenture he would put in writyng.

xxx Item, that after the Mondaye next before Alhallowē daye last past 8
in the night, the people of thesaid citee of London, by the commaundement of my said lorde of Gloucester, as it was said: For what cause my lorde the Chauncellor wyst not, assembled in the citee, armed & arraied and so continued all that night. Emongest diuerse of the whyche, (the same night by what excitacion, my said lorde the Chauncellor wist not) seditious & heuie language was vsed, & in especiall against the persone of my saied lorde the Chauncellor. And so thesame Mondaie at night, my sayed Lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Ynnes of Courte at London, chargyng them of the Court dwellyng in thesame, to be with hym
xl vpon the morowe, at eight of the clocke in their best arraie.

Item that on the morowe, beynge Tewesday next folowyng early, 9

my saied lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Maire and Aldermen of the saied citie of Londõ, to ordaine hym vnto the nombre of three hundred persones on horsse backe, to accompany hym to suche place as he disposed hym to ride, which (as it was saied (was vnto the kyng, to thentent to haue his persone, and to remoue hym from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kynges counsaill, the whiche thyng was thought vnto my saied lorde the Chauncellor, that he ought in no wise to haue doen, nor had not been sene so before.

10 Item that my sayed lorde the chauncellor, consideryng the thynges aboue saied, and doubtyng therfore of perelles that might haue ensued thereof, intendyng to purueye there against, and namely for hys awne suretie and defence, accordynge to the lawe of nature, ordained to lett that no force of people, shoulde come on the bridge of London towarde hym, by the whiche he or his might haue been indaungered or noyed, not intendyng in any wise, bodely harme vnto my saied lorde of Gloucester, nor to any other person, but onely his awne defence & eschewing the perell aboue saied.

11 Item as toward the fourth and fifth of the saied articles, my lorde the Chauncellor answereth, that he was euer true, to al those that wer his soueraigne Lordes, and reigned vpon hym, and that he neuer purposed treason nor vntrouth against anye of their persones, and in especiall against the persone of our saied soueraigne lorde kynge Henry the fifth. The whiche cõsideryng the greate wisedome, trouthe and manhod, that all men knewe in hym, ne would not for the tyme that he was kyng, haue set on my sayd lorde the Chauncellor so greate truste as he dyd, yf he had founde, or thought in hym suche vntrouthe. The whych thyng my saied Lorde the Chauncellor, offred to declare and shewe, as it belõgeth to a man of hys estate to do, requiryng therupon my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporall in this parliament, that it might be sene, that there wer iudges cõuenient in this case, that they would do hym right, or els that he might haue leaue of the kynge by their aduise, to go sue hys right, before hym ỹ ought to be hys iudge.

12 And as toward the letter sent by my lorde of Winchester, vnto my lord of Bedford, of the whych the tenor is before rehersed, of the which my lorde of Gloucester complayned hym of the malicious and vntrue purpose of my said lorde of Winchester, as toward the assemblynge of the people and gatheryng of a felde in the kynges lande, in troublynge therof, and against the kynges peace: My saied lorde of Winchester answereth, that of his said letters duely vnderstande, & in such wise as he vnderstod and meant in the writyng of them, it maye not reasonably be gathered and taken, that my saied lorde of Winchester, intended to gather any feld or assemble people in troublyng of the kynges lande, and against the kynges peace, but rather he purposed to acquite hym to the kyng in his trouthe, and to kepe the rest and peace in the kynges lande, and to eschewe rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that

in the beginnyng of the said letter, he callth my saied lorde of Bedford, hys leueft lorde, after one, that is the kyng, whom he ought to except of dutie of his trouthe, the whyche he hath euer kept and wyll kepe.

Moreouer in the saied lettre, he desireth the commynge home of my 13
Lorde of Bedforde, for the welfare of the kynge and of hys realmes of England and of Fraunce, the whiche stande principally in his keppynge of reft and peace, and praieth my saied Lorde of Bedford, to spede hys commyng into England, in eschewyng of ieoperdy of the land, and of a felde the whiche he drade hym, myght haue folowed yf he had longe
x taried: As toward those wordes, and ye tary we shall put this lande in aduenture wyth a feld, suche a brother ye haue here. &c. My saied lord of Winchester saieth, the sothe is: before or he wrote the sayd letter, by occasion of certain ordinaunces, made by the Maire and Aldermen of London, against the exceffiue taking of Masons, Carpentars, Tilers, Plasterers and other laborers, for their dayly iorneis and approued by the kynges aduise and hys counsaill, there were caste many heuineffes and sedicious billes, vnder the names of suche laborers, thretenynge rising wyth many thousandes, and manassyng of estates of the lande, and likewyse sedicious and euyll language sowen, and so continued &
xx likely to haue sued of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To redreffynge of the whyche, it semed to my Lorde the Chauncellor, that my sayde Lorde of Gloucester, dyd not hys endeuor, nor diligence that he might haue shewed, for lacke of whyche diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeysaunce, were incoraged and vnboldened. So that it was lyke that they shoulde haue made a gatherynge, and that the kynge and his true subiectes, should haue been compelled to haue made a felde, to haue withstand theim, the which felde makyng had been aduenturynge of this lande. And in tokenynge that it was neuer my saied Lorde Chauncellors intent to gather no felde, but as
xxx trouth moste stirred hym against suche as riotously, would make suche assemble against our soueraigne Lord, and the weale of this lande: He desired so haftely, the commynge of my saied Lorde of Bedforde, the whyche he would in no wise haue so greatly desired, yf he woulde haue purposed hym vnto any vnlawfull makyng of a felde, for he wyste well that my sayd lorde of Bedford would moste sharply haue chastised and punished, al those that so would any riotous assemble make. When this answere was made, the duke caused thys writyng folowyng, openly to be proclaymed.

Beit knowen to all folkes, that it is the entent of my lorde of Bed- 14
xl forde, and all these lordes spirituall & temporall, assembled in this present parliament, to acquite hym and them, and to procede truly, iuftely and indifferently, without any parcialitie, in anye maner of matters or querelles, moued or to be moued, betwene my Lorde of Gloucester, on that one partie, and my lorde of Winchester, Chauncellor of Englande on that other party. And for sure keping of the kinges peace, it is accor-

ded by my saied lorde of Bedford, and by my saied lordes spirituall and temporall, an othe to be made, in forme that foloweth, that is to saye.

¶ The Othe of the Lordes.

That my saied lorde of Bedford, & my saied lordes spirituall and temporall, & eche of them, shall as farfurth as their connynges and discrecions, suffisen, truly, iustly & indifferently, counsayll and aduise the kyng, and also procede and acquite them self, in al the said matters and quarelles, without that they, or any of theim, shall priuely and apertly, make or shewe hymselfe to be party or parciall therin, not leuyng or elchewyng so to do, for affeccion, loue, mede, doubt, or dreade of any person or persones. And that they shal in all wise, kepe secrete all that shalbe commoned by waye of counsayll, in the matters and quarrelles aboue said, in the said parliament, without that they or any of them shall, by worde, wrytyng of the kyng, or in any wise open, or discouer it to any of the said parties, or to any other person that is not of the saied counsaill. But if he haue a speciall commaundement or leaue thereto of the kyng, or of my saied lorde of Bedforde, and that eche of them shall, wyth all hys might and power, assist by waye of counsaill, and els shewe it vnto the kyng, my lorde of Bedforde, and to the rest of my sayd lordes, to put the said parties to reason, & not suffer that any of the saied parties, by them or by their assistentes, procede or attempte by waye of feat against the kynges peace: nor helpe, assiste, or comfort any of thē thereto, but let them wyth all their might & power, and withstande them, and assist vnto the kynge and my sayed Lord of Bedford, in keppyng of the kynges peace, and redressyng all such maner of procedyng by waye of feit or force.

¶ The Dukes.
The Duke of Bedford.
The Duke of Norffolke.
The Duke of Excestre.

¶ Bishoppes.
The Archebishop of Cantorbury.
The Bishop of Carlisle.
The Bishop of Bathe.
The Bishop of Landaffe.
The Bishop of Rochestre.
The Bishop of Chichester.
The Bishop of Worcester.
The Bishop of Sainct Dauies.
The Bishop of London.
The Bishop of Durelme.

¶ Erles.
The Erle of Northumberland,
The Erle of Staffordе,
The Erle of Oxforde.

¶ Lordes.
The Lord Hungerforde.
The Lord Tiptoft.
The Lord Ponynges.
The Lord Cromewell.
The Lord Borough.
The Lord Louell.
The Lord Botreux.
The Lord Clynton.
The Lord Zouche.
The Lord Audeley.
The Lord Ferreis of Groby.
The Lord Talbot.
The Lord Roos.
The Lord Grey.
The Lord Grey of Ruff.
The Lord Fitzwalter,

The Lorde Berkeley.

Abbottes.

The Abbot of Waltham.
The Abbot of Glaustinbury.
The Abbot of saincte Augustines in Cantorbury.
The Abbot of Westminster.
The Abbot of Sainct Maries in Yorke.
The Abbot of sainct Albons, not sworne, because he was not presente.

Whiche othe in maner and forme aboue rehersed, all the Lordes aswell spirituall as temporall, beynge in this parliament at Leicester assembled the fourthe daye of Marche, promised vpon their faythe, x dutie and allegeaunce, whiche they owe to the kynge their soneraigne Lorde truly to obserue and kepe, accordyng to the true meanynge and purport of thesame.

¶ The Arbitrement.

IN the name of God, we Henry Archebishop of Cantorbury, Thomas Duke of Excester, Jhon Duke of Norffolke, Thomas Bishop of Duresme, Phillip bishop of Worcester, Jhon Bishop of Bathe, Humfrey erle of Stafford, William Alnewike keper of the Kynges priuie Seale, Rauffe Lorde Cromwell, arxx bitratoures in all maner of causes, matters and quarels of heuinesses and greuaunces, with all incidentes, circumstaunces, dependentes, or connexes, beyng & hangyng betwene the hygh & worthy prince Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, on the one partie, and the worshypfull father in God, Henry byshoppe of Winchester and Cauncellor of England, on the other partie, by either of theim for the peacyng of ỹ sayed quarelles and debates, taken and chosen in maner and forme, as it is conteined more plainly in a compryinyse made therupon, of the whyche the tenor sheweth in thys forme.

Memorandum the. bij. daye of Marche, in the. iiij. yere of oure soxxx ueraigne lorde the kynge, Henry the sixt. The high and mightie prince Humfrey duke of Gloucestre, at the reuerence of God, and for the good of the kyng our soueraigne lord in this lande, and namely at the reuerence, and speciall at the request and praier of the mightie and hyghe prince, my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed hym to put and putteth all maner matters and querelles in deede, with all their incidentez, circumstaunces, dependentez and connexes, that touchen hym & his persone, that he hath in any wyse, do, or feleth hym greued, or heuy against my lorde his uncle, my Lorde of Winchester. Or els that my Lorde of Winchester findeth hym greued against hym, in asmuche as they touch xl hym or hys persone, frō the beginnyng of the worlde vnto this day. In the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrament of the worthy father in GOD Henry Archbishop of Cantorbury, the high and noble prince Thomas Duke of Excester, and Jhon Duke of Norffolke, the worshipfull father in god Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Jhon byshop of Bathe, The noble lorde Hnmfrey erle of Stafford, the war-

 shipfull

shipful persones, Master William Alnewike keper of the kynges priuy seale, and Raufe lorde Crumwell, promisynge and behightyng, by the fayth of his body, and worde of his princehode and kynges sonne, to do kepe, obserue and fulfill, for him and in his behalf, all that shalbe declared, ordeined and arbitred, by the forsaid Archebishop, Dukes, Bishoppes, Erle, keper of the priuie seale, and Lorde Crũwell, in all matters and querelles aboue saied: Graunting also and promisynge ouer that, to be comprehended in the forsaied arbitrement, as towarde puttyng awaye all heuinesse or displeasures in any wise, conteyned by my lorde of Gloucester, againste all those that haue in any wyse assisted, counsayled, or fauored vnto his saied vncle of Winchester, and as toward anye matters, that be touchyng my Lord of Gloucester, remitteth it and the gouernaunce thereof vnto the kynge and hys counsayll, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsayll, as hym thinketh it to be doen. In witnesse of the whyche thynge, to hys present compromise, my sayed lorde of Gloucester, hath subscribed hys name with his awne hand, Humfrey Gloucester. And in like forme, my Lord of Winchester in another compromise, hath subscribed wyth hys awne hande, vnder the worde of priesthod, to stande at the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrement of the persones aboue sayed, *Mutatis Mutandis.*

The causes beforesaied and querelles by vs seue, hearde, and diligently examined and decreed, by the assent of the saied parties, ordeine and award, that my Lordes of Gloucester and of Winchester, for anye thynge doen or spoken, by that one partye against that other, or by any of theirs or anye other persone or persones, afore the. vij. daye of thys present Moneth of Marche, neuer here after take causes, querelles, displeasures or heuinesses, that one against the other, ne nether against the counsaylers, adherentes or fauorers of that other, for anye thynge or thynges that are past. And that my sayed Lorde of Gloucester, bee good Lorde to my sayd lorde of Winchester, and haue hym in loue and affection as hys kynseman and Uncle. And that my sayed Lorde of Winchester, haue to my saied Lorde of Gloucester, true and sadde loue and affection, do and bee ready to do to hym suche seruice, as appertaineth of honestye to my saied Lorde of Winchester and hys estate to do. And that eche of theim be good Lord vnto all those adherentes, counsaylers and fauourers of that other, and shewe theim at all tymes fauorable loue and affection, as for any thing doen by them, or saied afore the seuenth daye of Marche.

And we decre, ordaine and awarde, that my sayed Lorde of Wynchester, in the presence of the Kynge oure soueraigne Lorde, my Lord of Bedforde, and my Lorde of Gloucester, and the residue of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons beeyng in thys presente Parliamente, saye and declare in maner and forme that followeth.

My

My soueraigne Lorde I haue well vnderstande, that I am noysed emōg the states of your land, how that the kynge our soueraigne lorde that was that tyme, beyng prince and lodged in the greate chamber at Westminster, by the baiynge of a spanyell, there was on a night taken, behynd a tapet in thesame chamber, a man, that shoulde haue confessed, that he was there by myne excitacion and procuryng to haue slain the forsayd Prince there in hys bedde, where vpon thesayed erle, let sacke hym furthwith, and droued hym in the Thamise. And furthermore I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the kyng that last died, the
x tyme also that he was Prince, to haue taken the gouernaunce of his realme, and the croune vpon him, liuyng his father thesame tyme beynge kyng: Through which language and noysyng, I fele my name & fame greatly enblemysshed, in diuerse mennes opinions. Where vpō I take firste God to my witnesse, and afterwarde all the worlde, that I haue been at all tymes, & am true louer and true man, to you my soueraigne Lorde, and shalbe all my life. And also I haue been to my soueraigne lorde, that was your father, all tyme of hys reigne, true man: and for suche, he toke trust & cherished me to his liues end, & as I trust no man
xi wyll affirme the contrary, nor neuer in my life procurynge, nor imagenyng death nor distrucciō of his person, ne assentyng to any such thing, or like thereto, the tyme that he was Kynge or Prince, or els in other estate. And in lyke wise, I was true man to Kyng Henry the .iiij. all the time that he was my soueraigne lorde, and reigned vpon me: In which matters, in all maner of wyse, that it liketh to you my soueraigne lorde for to commaund me, I am ready for to declare me: And further more, where, how and when, shall like you by thaduise of youre counsayll to assigne me. Wherefore, I beseche you my soueraigne lorde, as humbly as I can, considerynge that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfully, in these matters aboue saied be conuicte, blessed be
xii God, to holde me and declare me, by thaduise of all the lordes spiritual and temporall, beyng in this presente Parliament, true man to you my soueraigne lord, & so to haue been vnto my soueraigne lordes that wer your father & graundfather, and true man also, to haue been at all tymes vnto hys sayed father, whilest he was Prince, or els in anye other estate, the said slaunder and noysyng notwithstandyng. And this same declaracion to be enacted, in this your sayed present parliament.

The which wordes declared in maner as it is aboue sayd by my said lorde of Winchester, it semeth to my saied lords the arbitratours, that it is fittyng that my sayd lorde of Winchester drawe hym a part, and in
xi the meane tyme, ỹ Lordes beyng present, be singulerly examined therevpon and saye their aduise: And yf it be assented by theim, in maner as my saied Lorde of Winchester desireth, let hym be called agayn, & that then my lord of Bedford, then haue these wordes in effect that folowē.

Faire vncle, my lord, ỹ kyngs gerat by ỹ aduise of hys counsayll, hath commaunded me to saie to you, ỹ he hath well vnderstande & cōsidered

all the matters whiche ye haue here openly declared in his presence, and thereupon ye desire a peticion that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lordes spirituall and temporall, beynge in thys presente Parliamente, he declareth you a true man to hym, and that ye haue so bee to my lorde his father and his graundfather, and also true man to my Lorde hys father whiles he was Prince or els in any other estate, thesaied dissaunder and noysyng notwythstandynge: And wyll that thesaied declaracion be so enacted in this present Parliament. After the whyche wordes thus sayed, as before is declared, by thesayed lordes arbitratours, that my saied Lorde of Winchester, shoulde haue these wordes, that foloweth, to my sayed lorde of Gloucester.

My Lorde of Gloucester, I haue conceiued to my greate heuinesse that ye should haue receiued by diuerse reportes, that I shoulde haue purposed and imagined against your persone, honor and estate, in dyuerse maners, for the whiche ye haue take against me great displeasure Sir I take God to my witnes, that what reportes so euer haue been to you of me, paraduenture of such as haue had no greate affeccion to me, God forgeue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed anye thynge that might be hynderyng or preiudice to your persone, honor, or estate. And therfore, I praye you that ye be vnto me good Lorde from this tyme forthe, for by my wyll I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to do hereafter through Goddes grace.

The whych wordes so by him saied, it was decreed by the sayd arbitratours, that my lorde of Gloucester should answere and saye.

Faire Uncle, sithe ye declare you such a man as ye saie, I am right glad that it is so and for such a man I take you.

And when this was doen, it was decreed by the saied arbitratours that euery ech of my lordes of Gloucester and Winchester shoulde take either other by the hande, in the presence of the kyng and all the parliament, in signe and tokēs of good loue and accord, the whyche was doen and the Parliament was adiourned till after Easter.

When the greate fire of this discencion, betwene these twoo noble personages, was thus by the arbitratours to their knowledge and iudgement, vtterly quenched out, and laied vnder boord all other controuersies betwene other Lordes, takyng parte with the one partie or the other, wer sone apeased and brought to cōcord. For ioy wherof, the kyng caused a solēpne feast, to be kept on Whitsondaye, on the whyche daye, he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the earle of Cambridge (whome hys father at Hampton, had putt to execucion, as you before haue hearde) Duke of Yorke, not forseyng before, that thys preferment shoulde be hys destruccion, nor that his sede shoulde, of hys generacion, be the extreme ende and finall confusion. He the same daye also promoted Jhon Lorde Mowbrey and Erle Marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norffolke, by kyng Richard the seconde exiled this realme and dominion, to the title, name, and stile of the Duke

of

of Norffolke, duryng whyche feaſte, the Duke of Bedforde adourned the kynge with the high ordre of knighthode, whiche on theſame daye dubbed with the ſweard theſe knightes whoſe names enſue.

Richard Duke of Yorke.
Jhon Duke of Norffolke.
The erle of Weſtmerlande.
Henry lorde Percie.
Jhon lord Butler, ſonne to therle of Ormond.
x The lorde Roſſe.
The lorde Matreuers.
The lorde Welles.
The lorde Barkeley.
Sir James Butler.
Sir Henry Gray of Tankaruile.
Sir Jhon Talbot.
Sir Raufe Graye of Werke.
Sir Robert Ueer.
Sir Richard Grey.
xx Sir Edmond Hungerford.
Sir Water Wyngfeld.
Sir Jhon Butteler.
Sir Reignold Cobham.
Sir Jhon Paſſheleue.
Sir Thomas Tunſtall.
Sir Jhon Chedeocke.
Sir Raufe Langſtre.
Sir William Drurye.
Sir William Ap Thomas.
Sir Richard Caruonell.
Sir Richard Wooduile.
Sir Jhon Shirdelow.
Sir Nicolas Blunket.
Sir Willyam Cheyney.
Sir William Babyngtō Juſtice.
Sir Raufe Bulter.
Sir Robert Beauchapme.
Sir Edmond Trafford.
Sir Jhon June chief Baron, and diuerſe other.

After this ſolempne feaſte ended, a great aide and ſubſidye was graunted, for the continuaunce of the conqueſt in Fraunce, and ſo money was gathered, and men wer prepared in euery citee, toune & countrey: duryng whych buſines, Thomas duke of Exceſter, the layde, wiſe and wel learned coūſailer, great vncle to the kyng, departed out of this mortal life, at his manner of Grenewiche, & was with al funerall pōpe, conueyed through London to Berry, and there buried. In which yere
xxx alſo died the Lady Elizabeth his halfe ſiſter, & of the whole bloud with kyng Henry the.iiij. maried to lorde Jhon Hollande duke of Exceſter, and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at the Blacke Friers of London.

Whyle theſe thynges wer thus appoyntynge and concludynge in Englande: The erle of Warwicke leuetenaunt for the Regente in the realme of Fraunce, entered into the countrey of Mayne, and beſieged the toune of Chaſteau de Loyre, the which ſhortly to him was rēdered wherof he made capitayn Matthew Gough eſquire. After ỹ, he toke by aſſaute the caſtle of Mayet, and gaue it for his baleauntnes to Jhon Winter eſquire, & after that he conquered the caſtle of Lund, and made
xl there gouernor, William Gladdiſdale gentleman. At whyche place he was informed, that the Frenchemen were aſſembled together, in the countrey of Beauſſe, wherfore like a balyaunt capitain, he wyth all his power marched thetherwarde, to encountre with his enemies, and to fight with his aduerſaries, whiche hauynge knowledge of hys approchyng, fled, and durſte not abide the triall, nor ieoperde the aduenture,

and

and in his returnyng, he beleged the Castle of Montdublean, whereof was capitain sir Robertõ des Croix, which siege cõtinued thre wekes, but in conclusion the Englishemen, so sore charged theim with in, that the capitain with his whole company, were contente to yelde the castle their liues, horse and harneis, onely reserued: Whiche to thẽ was after longe consultacion had, and many agrementes made, frankely graunted. And the saied erle of Warwicke, leauyng there the valeaunt lorde Willoughby, returned agayn to Paris. Durynge whiche season, he was ordained by the assent of the thre estates of the realme of England to be gouernor of the young kynge, in like maner as the noble Duke of Excester before his death was appoynted and assigned, but yet he tarried styll in Fraunce, and dyd there no small seruice as you shall here after perceiue.

The.vi.yere.

The.vi.yere.

THe Regent of Fraunce thus beeynge in Englande, meanes was made by ỳ Duke of Burgoyne, for the deliuery of the Duke of Alanson, whyche was taken prisoner at the battayl of Uernoyle the laste yere. So he for the some of twoo hundred thousande crounes, was deliuered and set at large: but neyther for release of all, or abatement of part of hys raunsome, he woulde in no wyse acknowledge the kynge of Englande, to be hys liege and souereigne Lord: Suche affeccion bare he to the Dolphyn, & suche trouth shewed he to hys naturall countrey. When all thynges wer concluded, ordered and established bothe for the conseruacion of peace and tranquilitie within the realme of Englande, and also for the maintenaunce of warre, for the finall gainyng of the region of Fraunce: The Duke of Bedforde and his wyfe, toke their leaue of the kynge, at Westminster and landed at Calice, with whom also passed the seas, Henry Bysshoppe of Winchester, whiche in the saied toune was inuested with the Habite, Hatte and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it appertainynge. Whyche degree, kynge Henry the fifth knowynge the haute corage, and the ambicious mynde of the man, prohibited hym on hys allegeaunce once, either to sue for or to take, meanynge that Cardinalles Hattes shoulde not presume to bee egall with Princes. But now the kynge beynge younge and the Regent hys frende, he obteyned that dignitie, to hys greate profite, and to the empouerishynge of the spiritualtie. For by a Bull legatyne, whiche he purchased at Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had money but he, and so was he surnamed the riche Cardinall of Winchester, and nether called learned Bishoppe, nor verteous priest.

After that, the duke of Bedford was returned into Fraunce, the lorde of Rustinan Marshall of Britayn, assembled a greate companye of the Britishe nacion, whyche fortefied & repaired the toune of Pountorson,

toꝛson,and after the sayd Marshal, with a thousand men entered into the countrey of Constantyne in Noꝛmandy,and came besoꝛe the toune of Auranches. Thenglishmen within the garryson, issued out & boldly fought with their enemies: but after longe conflyct and manye strokes geuen,the Britons were ouercome,and the loꝛde Rustynan takē, and the moste part of his people slayne. The Duke of Bedfoꝛde hearynge that the toune of Pountoꝛson was newely foꝛtifyed and strōgly defended,sent thither the erle of Warwicke,accōpaignied with the loꝛd Scales,and diuerse other valiaunt capitaines and souldiers,to the nomber
x of.vij.thousand men to besiege the toune,which so enuironed it on euery parte,that nèyther man coulde steale oute,noꝛ beaste coulde passe in. The siege longe continuing,vital began to ware skant in the Englyshe armye,wheresoꝛe the Loꝛde Scales hauyng in hys compaygny, syꝛ Jhon Harpeley Bayly of Constantine, syꝛ William Brearton Bayly of Caen,sir Raufe Tesson,sir Jhon Carbonell and.iij. thousand good men of war,departed frō the siege to get vitall, pouder and other thinges necessary foꝛ their purpose and enterpꝛise. And as they wer returnyng with their cariages on the sea cost,nere to S.Michaels Mount, they sodainly were encountred with their enemies,whereof̄ chief wer
xx the Baron of Colosses,the loꝛd Dausebost capitain of the sayde Mount the loꝛde Mountabon,the loꝛde Mountburchier,the loꝛd of Chasteau Giron,the loꝛd Tyntygnat, the loꝛdof Chasteau Brian wyth.vj.M. men of warre. The loꝛd Scales and hys compaigny (seing y̆ they wer compassed on euery syde with deadlye daungiers, foꝛ the sea was on y̆ one side,and their enemies on the other,and no meane waye to escape oꝛ flye,descended from their hoꝛsses and lyke gredy Lyōs, together in an vnpeaceable fury,set on their enemies. The skirmishe was strong & the fight was fyerce,the Englyshmen kept themselfs so close,that their enemyes could haue no auantage of them. At the last the loꝛde Scales
xxx cried S. Geoꝛge,they flie,wyth that thenglishmen toke such a coꝛage, & the Frenchmen that fought befoꝛe,were so dismayed that they begā to flie. The Englyshmen leped agayn on hoꝛssebacke, and folowed thē, and slewe and toke aboue.xj.C.persones,emongest whō were taken, y̆ Baron of Colsoes,and the loꝛde of Chasteau Brian and.xxx.knightes.

After thys victoꝛy,the Loꝛde Scales with his vitayles, pꝛouision and pꝛysoners,returned to the siege, where he was of the Earle and other noble menne,ioyously receyued,and foꝛ this notable fact, highlye magnified and pꝛeysed. Whyle the siege thus continued befoꝛe Pountoꝛson, Chꝛistopher Hanson and other souldyers of the garrison of S.
xl Susan,made a rode into the countrey of Anioy,& came to a Castle called Ramfoꝛt,whych castle was pꝛiuely scaled, that the captaine wyth in & his company,wer taken oꝛ slain befoꝛe they knew of their enemies apꝛochinge. When knoweledge of thys feate was made open to the Frenchmen,whych were assembled to the nombꝛe of.xx.M. to reyse the siege, and bꝛeake vp the campe, lyinge befoꝛe the toune of Poun-

toyson, they lefte that iourney foy a time, and returned to the Castle of Ramfoyt, and besieged thesame by the space of tenne dayes.

The Englishmen considering the multitude of the enemies, and the farre absence of their frendes, began to treate wyth the Frenchemen and so vpon condicion to departe with bagge and baggage, hoyse and harnes, thei rendered vp the castle, and departed with moye riches thē they brought, which castle thus possessed by the Frenchimen, they foy= gat the reskew of Poũtoyson, and brake vp their army. But sone after the loyde of Rair, calling himself liuetenaunt generall foy the dolphyn, accompaignied with the loyd Mount Jehan, the Loyde Beaumanoir, & and the loyd Tussye, and other to the nõbye of thye thousand persones, entered into the countrey of Mayn, & layed siege to the castle of Mali= coyne, wherof was captayn an Englyshmã, called Oliuer Oswatersby, which castle with the capitayne, was by foyce taken & obteyned: in lyke maner they toke the litle castle of Lude, and there in Wylliam Blacke= boyne leuetenaunt foy Williã Glasdale esquier, & put hym to raunsom, and slewe al hys souldiers. After this victoyy, in the whych they muche gloyied, the French men perceiuing that therle of Warwike continued stil hys siege before the toune of Pountoyson, & knowyng by their espy= als, that the Englishmen wer determyned to geue them battayl, if they yy once attempted to rayse the siege, and therfoye fearynge to fyght in an open battayl, reculed backe agayn to the dolphyn wyth litle gayne and smal honoy. The Frenchmen & Bytons beyng straigtly belieged with in the toune of Pountoyson, perceyuing no lykelihode of succoures to come, and seyng the Englysh army dayly dyd increase, fearyng the se= quele thereof, yf they by violence should be taken and vanquyshed, thei offered the toune, so that thei might depart with hoyse and harnes on= ly: whych requeste (after long sute and peticion) to them was hardelye graunted. The Erle like a valiaunt captayn, entered into the toune & there apoynted foy gouernoys, the Loyd Roos, and the loyde Talbot, yyy and leuing there a conuenient garrison, returned to the loyde Regent.

After the takynge of thys toune, there was a league, and a treatye concluded betwene the Regent and the duke of Bytayn, by the which agreement both the tounes of Pountoyson and S. James de Beuron wer beaten doun to the ground & clery defaced. After the loyd of Rais was departed out of the territoyy of Mayne as you haue heard, Chri= stopher Hanson, Philip Gough, Martyn Godfrey called the scaler, and dyuerse other of the garryson of S. Sulan, to the nombye of. xxx. archars, went out in a moynyng to seke their aduentures, & came nere to the Castle of sainct Laurence de Moytiers (at the same very season) yl whē sir James de Sepeaulx captain of the same, was gone oute of his Castle wyth the greatest uombye of his retinue, to a Churche directly against the castle. In the masse tyme, thenglishmen entered by subtilty into the gate & so gat the dongeon. And when sir James returned frō Masse, as he entered into the gate he was taken, and hys men fled, and

so

so was the castle furnished with Englishmen, and captain thereof was appoynted, Sir William Oldhaule.

The same season, sir Jhon Fastolfe, gouernoure of the countries of Aniow and Maine, assembled a great puissaunce of men of warre, and laied a siege before the castle of sainct Owen Destays, beside the toune of Lauall, whereof was capitain sir Guilliam Orenge, which, after ten daies besieging, rendred the castle, their lyues and armure only except: howbeit, one rayling and slaunderous person was put to terrible execucion. And from thence, thesayd sir Jhō remoued to the strōg castle of
x Grauile, & after .xij. daies, they within offred to yeld the castle by a day if thei wer not succored by ỹ dolphin or his power. The offre was takē & pledges delyuered, which wer Guillia Cordonen, & Jhō de Mailirie esquyers. After these pledges deliuered, sir Jhon Fastolfe returned in post to the Regent, aduertisyng him of this composicion and agremēt: wherfore the said lord, reised a greate power, to fight with the Frenchmen at the day appoynted, and in his company, wer the erles of Mortaigne and Warwycke, and the Lordes Roos, and Talbot, sir Jhō Fastolfe, sir Jhon Aubemond, sir Jhon Ratclyffe, and diuerse other, to the nombre of twentye thousand men, and so marched forward in hope to
xx mete and ioyne battaill wyth their enemies. But their aduersaries, whych were not far of, durste not approche, wherfore the Regent sent sir Jhon Fastolffe incontynent to receyue the castle: but they within (contrary to their promesse and appointment) had newly vitayled and manned the place, & so forsakinge their pledges and felowes in armes, refused to rendre the fortres according to the appoyntment: wherfore ỹ pledges were brought before ỹ syght of theim wythin the castle, and there openly put to death. After thys, ỹ lord Talbot, was made gouernor of Aniow and Mayn, & sir Jhon Fastolffe was assigned to another place: whyche lord Talbot, beyng both of noble birthe, and haute cou-
xxx rage, after hys cōmyng into Fraunce, obteyned so many glorious victories of his enemies, that his only name was, and yet is dreadful to ỹ Frenche nacion, and much renoumed emongest all other people. This toly capitayn, and sonne of the valiaunt Mars, entred into Mayn and slewe men, destroyed castles, and brent tounes, and in conclusion, sodainly toke the toune of Laual: but the Lord Loghac, and diuerse other, retrayted theim selfes into the Castle, and ther remayned eight daies. Duryng whych tyme, it was agreed, that all captaynes, Burgesses, & men of warre, which were within the Castle, should depart with bagge and bagages, paiyng to the Lord Talbot for al thinges, one hundred
xl thousand Croines. And the Castle so being deliuered, was committed to the kepyng of Gilbert Halsal, whych after, was slain at the siege of Orleance, for whō was made captayn Mathew Gough, which beyng at the iorney before Senlies, by treason of a myller that kept a mil adioyning to the walle, the Frenchmē entred into the toune, and brought it into their subiection and obeysaunce.

The duke of Bedford was aduertised by hys espyals, that ỹ toune of Montarges, whiche was in the territory of Orleance, was but slenderly kept and smally furnished, and that it myght be taken wyth lytle pain & no losse. The Regent glad of these newes, sente therle of Suffolke, sir Jhon Pole his brother, and sir Henry Bisset, with. vi. M. mẽ to assaute the toune, but when they came thether and found the toune better manned and more strongly defenced, then their expectaciõ imagined, they gaue no assaut, but laied siege aboute the toune, and therle of Warwycke was appoynted to lye wyth a great nombre of menne of warre, at S. Mathelynes de Archamp, to encountre the Frenchmen, & if they would attempt to ayde or vitail those that were enclosed within the toune. This fortresse stode in such a place, that what wyth waters and what wyth marisches, the army must seuer in thre partes, so that ỹ one could not esely helpe the other, but eyther by boates or bridges: so the toune was besieged by the space of two moneths and more. In the meane season, Arthur of Britayne, Constable for the dolphyn, sent thether in all hast, the lorde Boisac Marshal of Fraunce, Stephin le Hire, Ponton de Sentrailes, the lorde Graupie, and diuerse other valiaunt horsemen, to the nomber of thre thousand and aboue, which prpuily in the nighte, came on that syde where sir Jhon de la Pole, and sir Henry Bisset lay, whom they found out of all ordre and wythout any watche. So the Frenchemen entered into their lodges and slewe many in their beddes, they spared no man, for the resistance was smal. Sir Jhõ de la pole with his horse saued him selfe, and fled ouer the water to hys brother, & sir Henry Bysset escaped by a boate and eyght wyth him. The residue which would haue passed the bridge, and ioyned with the erle of Suffolke, fled in such prẽpes ouer the bridge, that the tymber brake and a great nomber was drouned, so ỹ ther wer slain & drouned. xv. C. men. The erle of Warwycke hearyng of thys chaunce, departed from saynct Mathelyn with all diligent spede, and came before Montarges offeryng battayl to the Frenche captaynes, which answered that they had manned & vytayled the toune, and entended to do nomore at that time. Thenglishmen seyng that their trauayle should be in vain, came backe shortly agayn with al their ordinaunce to the duke of Bedforde.

It should seme that fortune at this tyme would not, that the Frẽche men should haue one ioyful daye, but thesame also shoulde be myngled with dolor or displeasure. For at this very tyme, sir Nicolas Burdett appoynted by the Duke of Somerset, to vexe and trouble hys enemies in the costes of Britayn, sent lyght horsemen into euery part, vexyng the people and wastyng the countreyes. All tounes ỹ he passed by were brente al, & buyldynges spoyled & robbed, prisoners and prayes wer aboundantly taken, small byllages were destroyed, & greate tounes wer raũsomed, & so wythout hurt or damage, the said sir Nicholas returned into Normãdy. Thys myschãce beyng declared to the Constable of Fraunce & the other capytaynes, cut their combes and plucked

ked doune their hartes, whych were set on so mery a pinne, for the victory of Montarges, that they were in maner, like desperate persones, loth to attempte any farther enterpryse againste the Englische nacyon, saiyng: that God was turned Englische, and the deuyll would not helpe Fraunce.

The duke of Alaunson, which as you haue heard, was late deliuered out of Englande, reuiued againe the dull spirites of the Dolphyn, and the faint hartes of his capitaines, promysyng to theim greate victorye wyth litle trauayl, and much gain with smal labor, wherfore in hope of
x good lucke, he determined to do some notable feate against thenglyshe men. Then happened a chaunce vnloked for, or vnthought of, euen as they woulde haue wyshed or desired, for not onelye the Magistrates, but chiefly the spiritual persons of the citie of Mauns, knowynge that the duke of Britayne and hys brother, were reuerted and turned to ỹ French partie, began sore to mourne and lament, that they wer subiectes and vassals to the yoke and power of the Englyshmen. Wherefore they determined and fully cõcluded, to aduertyse of their myndes and determinacions, the capitaynes of Charles ỹ dolphin, (of thẽ called the Frenche king) and so by certain false Friers, therof wrote humble and
xx louyng letters. These newes pleased much the French capitaynes, but no lesse you may be sure the Dolphyn hym selfe, as a thyng discended from heauen, of theim vnsought, vnimagined and not deuysed. Wherfore to take opportunitie when time serued, and not to lese so great a benefite so honestly offred, the lordes Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of Fraunce, accompaignied with the lordes of Mont Jhan, of Buel Dorual, Torsye and Beaumamoyre the Heire, and Guylliam his brother, and fyue hundred other hardy captaynes and baliaunt souldiors, toke vpon theim this enterpryse, sendyng great thankes and laudes to the Clergie and citezens, for their assured fidelitie to their soueraigne lord
xxx promysyng theim to be there at the daye appoynted, not doubtyng to fynd them redy accordynge to their promes, gladly to receyue them.

When the daye assigned and the nyghte appoynted was come, the Frenche capitaynes priuely approched the toune, makynge a lytle fire on an hill in the sight of the toune, to sygnifye their cõming and approchyng. The citezẽs, which by the great church wer loking for their approch, shewed a burnyng Tresset out of the steple, which sodaynly was put out & quenched. What should I say, the captaynes on horsebacke came to the gate, and the traytors wythin slew the porters and watchmen, and let in their frendes, the footemen entered firste, and the mẽ of
xl armes wayted at the barriers, to the intẽt that yf much nede required or necessitie cõpelled, they might fight in the open feld. And in the meanseason many Englishmen were slayn, and a greate claymor & a houge noyse was hard thorough the toune, as is wonte & accustomed to be in a toune, by treason sodainly surprised & taken: but what was the cause of the cry, or beginning of the noyse, few excepted the cõfederates, ether

knewe or perceiued. For the remnaunt of the citezens beyng no partakers in this faccion, imagined that the Englishmen had made hauocke in the toune and put all to the swerde. The Englishmen on the otherside, iudged that the citezens had begonne some new rebellion against theim, or els had striuen emongest theim selfes. The erle of Suffolke, whiche was gouernour of the toune, hearyng the clamor and noyse of the people, hauing perfect knowledge of such as escaped from the walles, in what case the citie stode in, wythout any tariyng or prolongynge of tyme, entered into the Castle whych standeth at the gate of Sainct Uincent, whereof was Constable Thomas Gower esquier: whether also fled so many Englyshmen, that the place was pestured, and there yf they were not so rescued, likely to be famished: but surely they wer sore assauted & marueylously hurte, with the shot of alablasters and crosse bowes, but they defended them selfes so manfully, that their enemies gat small aduauntage at their hãdes. But all their hardines had not serued, nor all their pollicy had not defended theim, yf they had priuely sent a messenger to the lorde Talbot, which then lay at Alaunson, certefiynge him in what case they stode, for vitail had they none, municiõs fayled, and the Castle was almoste vndermyned, so that yeldynge must folowe, and resystaunce coulde not preuayle. The lorde Talbot hering these newes, neyther slept nor bãquetted, but wyth al haste assembled together his valyaunt capitaynes, whose names you haue before oftẽ tymes heard rehersed, to the nombre of. vij. hundred men of warre, & in the euening departed from Alanson, and in the mornyuge came to a Castle called Guierche twoo Myles from Maunς, and from thence sent as an espial Mathew Gough, to espie the gouernaunce of the enemies, & yf he myght to shewe to hys countreymen that he was at hãde to be their ayde and rescowes. Mathew Gough so well sped ỳ priuely in the nyght he came into the castle, where he knew how that the Frẽch men beyng lordes of the citie, & nowe castynge no perels nor fearynge any creature, began to waxe wãton and fell to ryote, as thoughe their enemies could do to theim no damage: thinkinge that the Englishmen which were shut vp in the Castle, studied nothinge but howe to escape and be deliuered. When Mathew Gough had knowen al the certainty & had eaten a litle breade and dronke a cuppe of wyne to comforte hys stomacke, he priuely returned agayn, and wythin a mile of the citie met with the Lorde Talbot and the Lorde Scales, & made open to theim al thyng accordyng to his credence, whych to spede the matter, because the day approched, wyth al hast possyble came to the posterne gate and alyghted from their horses, and about sixe of the clocke in the morning thei issued oute of the castle criyng saynct George, Talbot. The French men whiche were scace vp, & thought of nothyng lesse then of thys sodayn approchement, some rose out of their beddes in their shertes and lepte ouer the walles, other ranne naked out of the gates for sauynge of their lyues, leuyng behynd theim all their apparell, horsses, armure

and

and riches, none was hurte but suche, whiche ether resisted or wouldè not yelde, wherof some were slain and cast in prisone. There were slain & taken foure hundred gẽtlemen and the villaynes frankely let go. After this, inquisicion was made of the authors of this vngracious conspiracion, and there were accused thirtie citezens, twenty Priestes and fiftene Friers, which according to their desertes were put in execuciõ.

The syxt yere.

THe citie of Mauns thus beyng reduced into the Englishmennes handes, the Lorde Talbot departed to ỹ toune of Alanson. After whiche marciall feate manly acheued, the erle of Warwicke departed into Englande, to be gouernour of the yong kyng, in steade of Thomas duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose steade was sent into Fraunce, the lorde Thomas Mountacute erle of Salisbury wyth fyue thousande menne, whyche landed at Calice, and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Where he consultynge wyth the Duke of Bedforde, concernynge the affaires of the Realme of Fraunce: seyng all thynges prosperously succede on the Englishe parte, beganne marualously to phantesye the citie and countrey of Orliance, standynge on the ryuer of Loyre. But because the citie was wel fortified bothe by the nature of the situacion of the place, and by the pollicie of manne, he imagined it not the woorke of one daye, nor the study of one houre. Wherfore he rempted it to a farther deliberacyon, yet he was the mã at that tyme, by whose wytt, strength and pollicy, the Englyshe name was muche fearfull and terryble to the French nacion, whyche of hym selfe myght both appoynt, commaunde and do all thinges, in maner at hys pleasure, in whose power, (as it appeared after hys deathe) a great part of the conquest consisted and was estemed, because he was a man both painfull and diligent, redy to wythstand thynges perylous and imminent and prompt in counsayll, & with no labor be wearied, nor yet his corage at anye tyme abated or appaled, so that all men putte no more trust in any one man, nor so synguler person gat more the hartes of all men. After thys great enterpryse, had long bene debated and argued, in the priue counsail, the erle of Salisburies deuyse, (althoughe it semed harde and straunge to all other and to him as it wer to a thyng predestinate very easye) was graunted and allowed, which enterprise was the final conclusion of his natural destiny, as you shall shortelye perceyue. Thus he replenished with good hope of victory, & furnyshed with artillery, and municions apperteygning to so greate a siege, accompanied with the erle of Suffolke and the lorde Talbot, and wyth a valiaunt company, to the nombre of tenne thousand men, departed from Paris and passed through the countrey of Beause. He toke by assaute the toune of Yainuyle, but the Frẽchmen fled into the Castle, and there continued fiue dayes, at the ende wherof they rẽdered themselfes simply

ply: of the said nombre, some wer put to death for certain causes, & some were taken to mercie. He tooke also the toune of Bawgency, sufferyng euery man, which would become vassaile & subiecte to the kyng of England, to enherite their landes and enioy their goodes. The tounes of Meum vpon Loyre & Jargenan, hearyng of these treatyse, presented to hym the keyes of the toune, vpon like agrement & egall condicions.

After this in the moneth of September, he layed hys siege on the one syde of the water of Loyre, before whose commyng, the Bastard of Orleaunce, and the Bishop of the citie and a great nombre of Scottes, hearyng of therles intent, made diuerse fortificacyons about the toune & and destroyed the suburbes, in the which were twelfe parishe churches and foure ordres of Friers. They cut also doune all the vines, trees & bushes within fyue leages of the toune, so that the Englishmen shoulde haue neither comfort, refuge nor succor.

Here must I a litle disgresse, and declare to you, what was this bastarde of Orleance, whyche was not onely now captayn of the citie, but also after, by Charles the syxt made erle of Dumoys, and in great authoritie in Faaunce, and extreme enemie to the Englyshe nacion, as by this story you shall apparantlye perceyue, of whose lyne and steme dyscend the Dukes of Longuile and the Marques of Rutylon. Lewes xx Duke of Orleance murthered in Paris, by Jhon Duke of Burgoyne, as you before haue hearde, was owner of the Castle of Concy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce toward Arthoys, wherof he made Constable the lord of Cauni, a man not so wise as his wyfe was fayre, and yet she was not so faire, but she was aswell beloued of the duke of Orleance, as of her husband. Betwene the duke and her husbande (I cannot tell who was father) she conceiued a child, and brought furth a pretty boye called Jhon, whiche chylde beynge of the age of one yere the Duke disceased and not longe after the mother and the lorde of Cawny ended their lyues. The next of kynne to the lord Cawny chalenged the enheritaunce xxx which was worth four thousand crownes a yere, alledgyng that the boye was a bastard: and the kynred of the mothers syde, for to saue her honesty, it plainly denyed. In conclusion, this matter was in contentiō before the Presidētes of the parliament of Paris, and there hanged in controuersie tyll the child came to the age of. viij. yeres old. At whiche tyme it was demaunded of him openly whose sonne he was: his frends of his mothers syde aduertised him to requyre a day, to be aduised of so great an answere, whiche he asked, & to hym it was graunted. In the meane season his sayed frēdes persuaded him to claime his inheritaūce xl as sonne to the lord of Cawni, which was an honorable liuinge, and an auncient patrimony, affirming that if he said cōtrary, he not onely slaūdered hys mother, shamed himself, & stayned hys bloud, but also should haue no lyuyng, nor any thynge to take to. The scholemaister thinking yt hys disciple had well learned his lesson, & woulde reherse it according to hys instrucciō, brought hym before the Judges at the daye assigned

and

and when the question was repeted to him again, he boldly answered, my harte geueth me, and my noble corage telleth me, ỹ I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleannce, more glad to be his Bastarde, wyth a meane liuyng, then the lawful sonne of that coward cuckolde Caumy, with hys foure thousande crounes. The iustices muche merueyled at his bolde answere, and his mothers cosyns detested him for shamynge of his mother, and his fathers supposed kinne reioysed in gayninge the patrimony & possessions. Charles Duke of Orleance hearynge of thys iudgement, toke hym into his family and gaue him great offices & fees
& which he wel deserued, for (duryng his captiuitie) he defended his landes, expulsed thenglishmen, & in conclusion procured his deliueraunce.

Thys coragious bastard, after the siege had continued thre wekes ful, issued oute of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englyshemen, but they receyued him with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with al companye compelled to retire and flye backe into the cytie: but the Englyshmen folowed theim so faste, in killinge and takynge of their enemies, that they entered wyth theim the Bulwarcke of the bridge, whiche wyth a great toure, standyng at thend of the same, was taken incontynent by thenglishmen. In whiche conflict many Frenche
ff men were taken, but no were slayne, and the kepyng of the toure and Bulwercke was committed to Willi Glasdale esquyer. When he had gotten this Bulwarke, he was sure that by that way neyther man nor vitayl coulde passe or come. After that, he made certayne Bulwarkes round about the cyty, castyng trenches betwene the one and the other laiyng ordynaūce on euery part, where he saw that any battery might be deuised. When they within perceyued that they were enuironed wt forstresses and ordinaūce, they layed gonne against gonne, and fortefied toures against bulwarkes, and within made new rampyres, and buil-
xxx ded new mudwalles, to auoyde crackes and breches, which might by violent shot sodainly insue. They appoynted the Bastard of Orleance, and Stephin Veignold called the Hire, to see the walles and watches kept, & the bishop saw ỹ thinhabitātes within the citie, wer put in good ordre, and that Vitayll wer not wantonly consumed, nor vainly spent.

In the toure that was taken at the bridges end, as you before haue heard, there was a hyghe chāber hauyng a grate full of barres of yron by the which a mā might loke all the length of the bridge into the cyty, at whych, a greate many of the chiefe capitaynss stode diuerse tymes, vieuyng ỹ cyty & deuysyng in what place it was best assautable. They within the citie perceyued well this totyng hole, and layed a pece of or-
xl dynaūce directly against the wyndowe. It so chaunced ỹ the.lix. daye after the siege layed before the citie, therle of Salisbury, sir Thomas Gargraue, and Willi Glasdale and diuerse other, went into the sayde toure & so into the hygh chābre, and loked out at the gate, and wythin a short space, the sonne of Maister gonner, perceyued men lokynge out at the wyndowe, tooke hys matche, as hys father hadde taught hym,

which was gone doune to dynner, and fyred the gonne, which brake & sheuered ꝧ yron barres of the grate, wherof one strake therle so strōgly on the hed, that it stroke away one of hys yes and the side of his cheke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewyse stryken, so that he dyed within two dayes. The erle was conueied to Meum vpon Loyre, wher he lay beyng wounded. viij. dayes, during whiche time, he receyued deuoutly the holy Sacramentes, and so commended his soule to almighty God, whose body was conueyed into Englande, with all funerall and pompe and buryed at Bissam by his progenitors, leuing behind him, an onely daughter named Alice, maryed to Richard Neuel, sonne to Raufe erle & of Westmerland, of whome herafter shalbe made mencyon. What detryment, what damage, what losse succeaded to the Englishe publyque wealth, by the sodain death of thys valiaunt capitaine, not longe after dis departure, manifestly appered. For hygh prosperitie, and great glory of the Englysh nation in the parties beyonde the sea, began shortlye to fall, and litle and litle to vanyshe awaye: which thing, although the Englysh people lyke a valiaunt & strong body, at the firste tyme did not perceyue, yet after ꝧ they felt it grow lyke a pestilent humor, which successiuely a litle and litle corrupteth al the membres, and destroyeth the body. For after the death of thys noble man, fortune of warre began to change, and triumphant victory began to be darckened. Although the death of therle wer dolorous to al Englishmen, yet surely it was most dolorous to the duke of Bedford, regent of Fraunce, as he whyche had loste his ryght hand or lacked hys weapon, when he should fyght with his enemie. But seyng that dedde men cannot with sorowe be called againe, nor lamentacion for dedde bodies cannot remedy the chaūces of men lyuing: he (like a prudent gouernor & a pollitique patron,) appointed therle of Suffolke to be his liuetenaunt, and captain of the siege, and ioyned with him the Lorde Scales, the lord Talbot, sir Jhon Fastolfe, and diuerse other valiaunt knightes and esquiers. These lordes caused bastiles to be made round about the citie, wyth the whiche they troubled their enemies and assauted the walles, and left nothynge vnattempted, whych myght be to them, any aduātage, or hurtful to their enemies.

In the tyme of lent, vitayle and artillery, began to ware scant in the Englyshe armye, wherfore therle of Suffolke appointed sir Jhon Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampston, & syr Philip Hal with their retynewes, to ryde to Paris, to the lord Regēt, to informe him of their scarsenes and necessitie. Whyche beyng therof informed, wythout any delaye or prolongyng prouyded vitayle, artillery and municions, necessary and conuenient for so greate an enterpryse, & laded therwyth many charriottes, cartes, and horsses, and for the sure conduyte, and sauegard of ꝧ same, he appoynted sir Simon Morhier Prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citie & diuerse of hys owne houshold seruauntes, to accompany sir Jhon Fastolfe and hys cōplices, to the army lyng at the siege

of

of Orleaunce. The which departed in good ordre, to the nomber of. v. hundred men of war, beside Wagoners out of Paris, and came to Paynuyle in Beausse, and in a morning early in a great frost they departed, from the place toward the siege, and whē they came to a toune called Ronuray, in the laundes of Beausse, they perceiued their enemies cōming against them, to the nombre of. ix. or. x. M. Frenchemē & Scottes: the captaines wherof was Charles of Cleremōt, sonne to the duke of Burbon, then beyng prisoner in Englande, sir William Stewarde Constable of Scotlande, a litle before deliuered oute of captiuitie, the
x erle of Perdriacke, the lorde Jhon Vandosme, Vidame of Charters, ỹ Lord of Touars, the lord of Lohat, the Lorde of Eglere, the Lorde of Beauiew, the Bastard Tremorle, and many other valiant capitaines. Wherfore sir Jhon Fastolfe and his companions, set all their compayny in good ordre of battayle, and picked stakes before euery Archer, to breke the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set al their wagōs and cariages, and within theim they tyed al their horses, so that their enemies could neyther assaile them on the backe syde, nor yet spoil thē of their horsses, and in this maner they stode still, abydyng the assaut of their aduersaries. The Frenchmen (by reason of their great nombre)
xx thinking the victorie to be in their handes, egerly like Lions set on the Englishmen, whych with great force, them receyued and manfully defended: for it stode theim vpon, considering the inequalitie of the nombre. And after longe and cruell fyght, the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proude Frenchmen, & compelled theim to flie. In thys conflict were slayn, Lord William Stewarde constable of Scotlande and hys brother, the lord Dorual, the lord Delabret, the lorde Chastenabrian, sir Jhon Basgot, and other Frenchmen & Scottes, to the nōber of. xxb. C. and aboue. xj. C. taken prisoners, although some French wryters affirme the nombre lesse.

xxx After this fortunate victory, sir Jhon Fastolfe and hys compaigny of the which no man of any reputacion was either slain or taken,) came with al their cariages, vitayle & prysoners, to the siege before Orleance where they were ioyously receyued & welcomed of all the souldyours. Thys conflict (because the most part of ỹ cariage was herryng & lēten stuffe,) the French men call, the vnfortunable battail of herrynges.

The Earle of Suffolke, beynge thus vitayled, contynued hys siege and euery daye almoste, skyrmyshed with their enemies, whiche, being in dyspayre of al succours, began to commen emongest theimselfe, how they might rendre the toune, to their mooste honor and profyte. After
xl muche reasonyng and longe debatyng emongest the capitaynes, and the magistrates of the toune, what way was best to be folowed: Some affyrmed it not onely to bee shamefull and dyshonorable, but also vnnaturall and vnreasonable, to yelde the toune to the Englyshmen, beyng neyther frendes nor fauorers of the French nacyon: other, fearyng the victory of the Englyshmen, imagined, that yf they by force possessed the

citie

citie,they would do to them as tyrantes be accustomed to serue, wilful and obstinate people,and therfore they thought it a greate folye and a notable lightnes,not to beware the one,as to deny or refuse the other. But when they saw,that their glory must nedes decline to a shame and reproche,they thought to fynd a meane waye to saue them selfes, and their city frō the captiuitie of their enemies,and deuised to submit their citie thēselfs,& al theirs vnder the obeysaunce of Philip duke of Burgoyne,because he was brought out of the stocke and bloud royal of the auncient hous of Fraūce:thinking by this meanes(as thei did in dede) to breke and minishe the great amitie betwene the Englyshmen & him. ¶ After thys poynt concluded,they made open & sent to the duke alther deuises and intentes,which certified thē that he would gladly receiue their offre,so that the Regent of Fraunce would therto agre and cōsent. And therupō dispatched certain ambassadors to ỹ duke of Bedford,to whome these newes wer straunge & not very pleasaunt, vpon which poynt,he assembled a great counsayll. Some thought that maner of yeldyng to be bothe honorable and profitable to the kyng of Englande,by reason whereof,so great a citie, & so rych a countrey,shoulde be brought out of the possession of their enemies,into the hādes of their trusty frendes,withoute farther cost or bloudshed. The Duke of Bedford & other,were of a cōtrary opinion, thinkinge it bothe dishonorable and vnprofitable to the realme of England,to se a citie so long besieged at the costes & expenses of the kyng of England, & almoste broughte to the poynt of yeldyng,to be yeled to any other foren prince or potestate and not to hym or his Regent, the example wherof might prouoke other tounes herafter to do thesame. This reason toke place, & the Regēt answered the duke ambassadours, ỹ it was not honorable nor yet consonaunte to reason,that the kyng of England should beate the bush and the duke of Burgoyn shoulde haue the birdes: Wherfore syth the ryght was hys,the war was his,and the charge was hys,he said ỹ the citie ought no to be yelded to no other person, but to hym or to hys vse and profite. By this litle chance,succeded a great change in thenglyshe affaires. For a double mischief of this answer rose and sprang out. For first the duke of Burgoyn, began to conceyue a certeyn priuey grudge agaynst thinglishmen for this cause:thinkinge thē to enuy & beare malice against his glory and profite,for the whiche in continuaunce of time he became their enemy,and cleued to the French kyng. Secondly,the Englyshmen left the siege of Orleaunce, whyche by thys treatye they mighte haue had to frend,or to haue continued neutre, till their Lord the duke of Orleaunce,or the erle of Angulosie hys brother were delyuered out of the captiuitie of ỹ Englysh people. But yf men wer angels and forsaw thynges to come, they like beastes would not rōne to their confusion:but fortune, which gideth the destiny of man, wyl turne her whole as she listeth,who soeuer sayth nay.

Whyle thys treatye of the Orleaunces was in hande, Charles the Dol-

dolphyn, daily studied and hourly labored, to plucke the fauor and hartes of the nobilitie of Fraunce, from the Englishe nacion, to the intent, that he might assemble a puyssance, sufficient to relefe hys frendes, beynge shut vp in the citie of Orleaũce. While he was studiyng and compassyng this matter, there happened to hym, a straunge chaunce, of the whiche I will write a litle, because some of the Frenche aucthours, and especially, Jhon Bouchet, of it writeth to muche.

For as he and other saye, there came to hym beynge at Chynon, a mayd of the age of .xx. yeres and in mans apparell, named Jone, borne
x in Burgoyne in a toune called Droymy deside Vancolour, which was a greate space a chamberleyn in a common hostrey, and was a rampe of suche boldnesse, that she would course horses and ride theim to water, and do thynges, that other yong maidens, bothe abhorred & wer ashamed to do: yet as some say, whether it wer because of her foule face, that no man would desire it, either she hadde made a vowe to liue chaste, she kept her maydenhed, and preserued her virginitie. She (as a mouster) was sent to the Dolphin, by sir Robert Baudrencort capitain of Vancolour, to whõ she declared, that she was sent from God, bothe to aide ỹ miserable citie of Orleaunce, and also to remit hym, to the possession of
xi his realme, out of the whiche, he was expulsed and ouercomed: rehersyng to hym, visions, traunses, & fables, full of blasphemye, superstition and hypocrisy, that I maruell much that wyse men dyd beleue her, and lerned clarkes would write suche phantasies. What should I reherse, how they saie, she knewe and called hym her kyng, whom she neuer saw before. What shoulde I speake how she had by reuelacion a swerde, to her appoynted in the churche of saincte Katheryn, of Fierboys in Torayne where she neuer had been. What shoulde I write, how she declared suche priuy messages from God, our lady, and other sainctes, to the dolphyn, that she made the teres ronne doune frõ his iyes. So was he
xii deluded, so was he blynded, & so was he deceiued by the deuils meanes which suffred her to beginne her race, and in conclusion rewarded her with a shamefull fal. But in the meane season suche credite was geuen to her, that she was honoured as a sainct, of the religious, and beleued as one sent from God of the temporaltie, in so muche that she (armed at all poyntes) rode from Poytiers to Bloys, and ther found men of war vitayll, & munition, redy to be conueyed to Orleaunce. The Englishemen perceiuyng that they within coulde not long continue, for faute of vitaile & pouder, kepte not their watche so diligently as they wer accustomed, nor scoured not ỹ coũtrey enuironed, as thei before had ordai-
xl ned: which negligence, the citezens shut in perceiuing, sent worde therof to the Frenche capitaines, whyche with *Puccelle* in the dedde tyme of the night, and in a greate rayne and thundre, with all their vitaile and artillery entered into the citie. If thei were welcomed marueil not, for folkes in greate trouble, be ioyous of a litle comfort. And the next daie the Englishemen boldely assauted the toune, promisynge to theim that

best scaled the walles great rewardes. Then men mounted on ladders coragiously, and with gonnes, arrowes and pikes, bette their enemies from the walles.

The Frenchemen, although they marueyled at the fierce fightynge of the English people, yet thei wer not amased, but they defended them selfes to the darke night, on which daye, no great priuate feate worthy of memory, was either attempted or doen. The Bastard of Orleaunce (seyng the puyssaunce of thenglishe nation) began to feare the sequele of the matter, wherfore he sent worde to the duke of Alaunson, aduertisyng hym in what case the toune then stoode, and that it could not long continue without his hasty spede, and quicke diligence. Whiche delaiynge no tyme nor deferrynge no space, came with all his army within two leagues of the citie, & sent woorde to the capitaines, that on ỹ next morowe they should be redy to receiue them. Whiche thynge, the next daye they accomplished, for the Englishemen thought it to be muche to their auaile, yf so greate a multitude entered into the citie, vexed wyth famyne & replenished with scarsenes. On ỹ next daye in the mornyng, the Frenchemen altogether issued out of the toune, and assauted the fortresse or Bastile, called the Bastyle of sainct Loure, the whiche with great force and no litle losse they toke and set it on fire, and after assauted the toure at the bridge foote, whiche was manfully defended. But the Frenchemen beyng more in nombre, so fiersely assauted it, that they toke it or the Lorde Talbot could come to succors: in the whyche William Gladdisdale the capitain was slain, and the Lorde Morlyns, and the Lorde Pownynges also.

The Frenchemen puffed vp with this good locke, seyng the stronge fortres was vngotten, whiche was vnder the defence of the lorde Talbot, fetched a compasse about, and in good ordre of battayle marched thether ward. The lorde Talbot like a capitain, without feare ordred of so great a multitude, issued out of his Bastile, and so fiersly fought with the Frenchemen, that they not able to withstande hys puyssaunce fled (like shepe before the Wolffe) again into the citie, with greate losse of men and small artilerie: and of the Englishemen wer losste in the two Bastyles sixe hundred presones. Then the erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, and other capitaines, assembled together, where causes wer shewed, that it was bothe necessary and conuenient either to leue the siege for euer, or to deferre it tyll another tyme, more luckey & conuenient. And to the intent that thei should not seme either to flie or to be driuen from the siege by their enemies, they determined to leaue their fortresses and Bastyles, and to assemble in the plain felde and there to abyde all the daye, abidyng the outcommyng and battaile of their enemies. This conclusion taken, was accordynglye executed. The Frenchemen, wearied with the last bickeryng, held in their heddes and durste not once appere: and so thei set fire in their lodgynges, and departed in good ordre of battail frō Orleaunce. The next daie whiche

was

was the.viij.daye of Maye, the erle of Suffolke, ridyng to Jargeaux with.CCCC.Englishmen, and the lord Talbot wyth another cõpany returned to Meum. Whiche toune, after that he had fortified, he incõtinent, assauted and wan the toune of Lauall & the Castle, sore veryng and punishyng the tounes men, for their hard hartes, and cancard obstinacie: and leauyng there a garrison, reculed to Meum.

After this siege thus broken vp, to tell you, what triumphes were made in the citie of Orleaunce, what wood was spent in fiers, what wyne was dronke in houses, what songes wer song in the strete, what
x melody was made in Tauernes, what roundes were daunced in large and brode places, what lightes wer set vp in the churches, what anthemes, wer song in Chapelles, and what ioye was shewed in euery place, it were a long wooꝛke and yet no necessarye cause. For they dyd, as we in like cace woulde haue doen, and we being in like estate, woulde haue doen as they did. After that the Englishemen, wer thus retired from ỹ siege of Orleaunce & seuered them selfes in diuerse tounes & fortresses, holdyng on their part: The duke of Alaunsou, the Bastard of Orleaunce, Jone the puzell, the lorde of Gancort, & diuerse other Frenchemen, came before the toune of Jargeaux, where the Erle of Suffolke
xx and hys two brethren soiorned the.xij. daye of June, and gaue to the toune a great and a terrible assaut, whiche the Englishmen, (beyng but a handfull) manfully defended on three partes of thesame. Poyton of Sentraules, perceiuyng one part of the toune to be vndefended, scaled the walles on that part: and without any difficulte toke the toune, and slewe sir Alexander Pole brother to therle, & many other, to the nombre of two hundred: but they not much gayned, for they lost.iij.C. good men and more. Of thenglishmen wer taken.xl. beside his brother Jhõ. After this gain and good lucke, the Frenchemen returnynge towarde Orleaunce, fell in contencion and debate, for their captiues & prisoners
xxx and slewe them all, sauyng the erle and hys brother.

¶ The.bij.pere.

After the gaynyng of the toune of Jargeaux, thesame army cam to Meum, and toke the toure at the bridge, and put there in a garrison, and frõ thence remoued to Bangency. Whiche garrison, beyng not ditailed rendered the toune, so that they might departe wyth bagge and baggage, frankely and freely: whyche desire to them was graunted. At this toune of Bangency, met wyth
xl the duke of Alaunson, Arthur of Britayne the false forswoꝛne gentleman to the kyng of Englande, newely made Constable of Fraunce (as you haue heard,) with whom was the lorde Delabret with.xij.C. men: to whom daily repaired freshe aide out of euery parte, as the Erale of Vandosme, and other, to the nombre of.xx.or.xxiij.M. men. All these men of warre, determined to go to Meum, and to take the toune, but

they wer infoꝛmed, that the Englishemen, had lefte the toune desolate, and wer returned to the loꝛd Talbot to Jeneuile. Then thei cõcluded to passe towarde that toune. But, as they marched foꝛwarde vpon a Saterdaie, thei had perfite knowledge, that the loꝛde Talbot wyth .v. thousand men, was commyng to Meum. Wherfoꝛe, thei intendyng to stop hym a tyde, conueyed their company to a small billage called Patay, whiche way, they knewe that the Englishmen must nedes passe by. And first thei appoynted their hoꝛsemẽ, whiche were well and richelye furnished, to go befoꝛe, and sodainly to set on the Englishemen, oꝛ they wer, either ware oꝛ set in oꝛdꝛe. The Englishmen commyng foꝛwarde, perceiued the hoꝛsemen, and imaginyng to deceiue their enemies, commaunded the fotemen, to enuirone & enclose thẽselfes about, with their stakes, but the French hoꝛsmen came on so fiersly, that the archers had no leyser, to set themselfes in a raie. There was no remedy, but to fight at aduenture. This battaill, cõtinued by the space of thꝛe long houres. And although thenglishmen wer ouerpꝛessed, with the nombꝛe of their aduersaries, yet thei neuer stedde backe one foote, til their capitain the loꝛde Talbot, was soꝛe wounded at the backe, and so taken. Then their hartes began to faint, & thei fled, in which flight, there wer slain aboue xij. C. and taken. xl. wherof the loꝛde Talbot, the loꝛd Scales, the loꝛd Hungerfoꝛd, & sir Thomas Rampston, were the chief: howbeit diuerse archers which had shot all their arrowes, hauyng only their swerdes, defended thẽself, & with ỹ help of some of ỹ hoꝛsmẽ, cam safe to Meum.

When the fame was blowen abꝛode, that the Loꝛde Talbot was taken, all the Frenchmen not a litle reioysed, thinkyng surely, that now the rule of the Englishemen, shoulde shoꝛtly assuage and waxe faint: foꝛ feare wherof, the tounes of Jeneuile, Meũ, Foꝛt, and diuerse other, returned from the Englishe part, and became Frenche, to the greate displeasure of the Regent. Frõ this battaill, departed without any stroke striken, sir Jhon Fastolffe, the same yere foꝛ his valiauntnes elected into the oꝛdꝛe of the Garter. Foꝛ whiche cause the Duke of Bedfoꝛd, in a great anger, toke from hym the Jmage of sainct Geoꝛge, and his Garter: but afterward, by meane of frendes, and apparant causes of good excuse by hym alledged, he was restoꝛed to the oꝛder again, against the mynd of the loꝛde Talbot.

Charles, callynge hym selfe Frenche Kynge, beynge aduertised of this victoꝛy, thought now, that al thynges succeded, accoꝛdyng to hys opinion and good hope, whiche euer, was of that hie coꝛage and haut mynd, that in his moste aduersitie, he neuer dispaired in good lucke at length: so that the Erle of Salisbury beyng dedde, and the loꝛde Talbot liuing in captiuitie, (which wer ỹ gloꝛye of his enemies) he thought to enterpꝛise great and waighty thinges, wher befoꝛe he medeled with small and litle doynges. Foꝛ fulfillyng of his mynd and appetite, he determined, first to conquere the citie of Reynes, to the intent, that he beynge there, might accoꝛdyng to the fashion of his pꝛogenitoꝛs, with all

accustomed

accustomed Ceremonies, be sacred and anoynted kynge with the holy ampulle, that all men might se and perceiue, that he was, by all lawes and decrees, a iust and a lawfull kyng. Wherfore he assemblynge to gether a great army, & hauyng in his company Jone the Puzel, whom he vsed as an oracle and a southsaier, passed through Champaigne, by the toune of Anxer. They within, sent to him messengers, prayng him of certain daies of abstinēce of war, in the which (yf they wer not rescued) they promised to rēdre ỹ toune. He not willing to recōpēce with ingratitude, the louing hartes of the citezens, graunted gently to their peti-
x cion, and leuyng there certain persons, to se that they shoulde not iugle with him departed from thence to Troys, beyng the chief citie of Chā-paigne, whiche he besieged .xij. dayes. Sir Philip Hal capitain there, vnprouided bothe of vitaill and men, mistrustyng, that aide woulde not come in tyme, vpon cōposicion rendered the toune, so that he & his, with all their moueables might in sauetie depart the citie: whyche demaund was agreed to. After that Troys was yelded, the cōmonaltie of Chalons, rebelled against sir Jhon Iwbemōd their capitain, and constrained hym to deliuer the toune vpon like cōposicion, whyche against hys wil, he was fain to do: and likewise dyd the citezens of Reys, desirynge
xi hym to geue saueconduite to all Englishemen, safely to departe.

When he had thus conquered Reyns, he in the presence of all the noblemen of his faccion, and the dukes of Lorayne and Barre, was sacred kyng of Fraunce, by the name of Charles the .vj. wyth all rites & ceremonies therto apperteining. Thei of Anxer which wer not rescued within the tyme appoynted, brought the kayes to hym, and submitted themselfes to his obeysaunce: likewise diddē all the cities and tounes adioynyng, geuyng thankes to almightie God, whiche hauynge compassion of their misery, had restored them to libertie and fredome. The
xxx Duke of Bedford, hearyng that these tounes and soyssons also, had returned to the part of his aduersaries, and that Charles late Dolphyn had taken vpon hym the name and estate of the kynge of Fraunce, and also, seyng that daily, cities and tounes returned from thenglishe parte and became frenche, as though the Englishemen had now lost all their hardy chieftaines and valiaūt men of warre, espied and euidently perceiued, that the laste and vttermoste poynt of recouery, was dryuē only to ouercome by battaill, and to subdue by force. By whiche victory, (as he putte hys confidence in God) he trusted not onelye to scourge and plague the cities, whiche were so sodainly chaungeable, but also to assuage and caulme the haute corage of the newe sacred frenche kynge
xl and his companions. Wherfore, be hauynge together .x. M. good Englishemen, (beside Normans) departed out of Paris, in warlike fashion and passed thyough Brye to Monstreau Faultyow, and there sente by Bedforde his herault letters to the frenche kyng, alledgynge to hym that he contrary to the lawes of God and man, yea, and contrary to the finall conclusion, taken, concorded, and agreed betwene his noble bro-

ther kyng,Henry the fifth,and kyng Charles,the.v.father to thesaied nowe vsurper, leuyng all humayne reason and honest communicacion, (which sometyme appeaseth debates and pacifieth strifes) onelye allured and intised by a deuilishe wytche, and a sathanicall enchaunteresse, had not onely falsely and craftely,taken vpon hym, the name, title and dignitie of the kyng of Fraũce: But also had,by murder,stelynge,craft, and deceiptfull meanes,violently gotten,and wrongfully kept,diuerse cities and tounes,belongyng to the kynge of Englande,his moste beste beloued lord,and moste derest nephew. For profe wherof,he was come doune from Paris,with his armye,into the countrey of Brye, by dent of swerde and stroke of battaill,to proue his writynge and cause trewe, willyng his enemie to chose the place, and he in thesame, wouldegeue hym battayle.

The newe Frenche kynge,departyng from his solempne Ceremonies at Reins,and remouyng from thence to Dampmartine, studiyng how to compasse the Parisiãs,ether with money,or with promes, was some what troubled with this message,howbeit,he made afreshe countenaũce,& a Frenche brag,answeryng to the herault:that he wolde soner seke his Master,and the Duke should pursewe hym. The duke of Bedford hearyng his aunswer,marched toward hym,and pitched hys rp feld in a stronge place,and sent out diuerse of his raungers, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forward. The Frenche kyng was in maner determined to abyde the battayll, but when he hard saie by his espialles, that the power and nombre of the Englishmen,wer to hys army equall in power,he determined that it was more for his profite, to abstain frõ battaill without daũger,then to entre into the coufficte with ieopardy: fearynge,least that with a rashe corage, he might ouerthrowe al his affaires whiche so effecteously proceded. And so well aduised,he turned with his army,alitle out of the waye. The duke of Bedford perceiuyng hys faint corage,folowed hym by mountaines and dales, tyll he came rrp to a toune in Barre,not farre from Senlys,where he found the Frẽch kyng and hys army. Wherfore he ordred hys battail, like a man expert in marciall science,settyng the archers before,and hymself with the nobiemen in the mayne battaill,and put the Normans on bothe sides for the wynges. The Frenche kyng also ordered his battailes, accordyng to the deuise of hys capitaines. Thus,these twoo armies without any greate doyng,(except a fewe skirmishes, in the whiche the dukes light horsmen dyd very valiauntly)laye eche in sight of other, by the space of twoo daies and two nightes. But when the Frenche kynge sawe,and perceiued,how glad,how diligent and coragious the Englishmen were pl to fight and geue battaill,he imagened that by his tariyng,one of these twoo thynges must nedes chaũce:that is to saie,either he shoulde fight against his will, or lye still like a cowarde, to his greate rebuke and infamy. Wherefore in the dedde of the night, (as priuely as he coulde)he brake vp his campe and fled to Bray. When this slight was perceiued

in

in the mornyng, the Regent could scace refrain his people, from folowyng the Frenche army, callyng them, cowardes, dastardes, and loutes, and therfore, he perceiuing that by no meanes, he could allure the new Frenche kyng to abide battaill, mistrustyng the Parisiās, and geuynge no great credit to their faire, swete, and flatterynge wordes, returned agayn to Paris, to assemble together a greater power, and so to prosecute his enemies.

In this season, the Bohemians, (whiche belike had espied the vsurped authoritie of the bishoppe of Rome) began to rebell against his sea, which, (as Eneas Siluius doth report wer) fallē into certain sectes of heresie. Wherfore, Martyn the fifth bishop of Rome, wrote vnto them to abstain from warre, and to be reconciled by reason, from their damnable opinions. But they, (beyng persuaded to the contrarye) neither gaue eare vnto hym, nor yet obeyed hys voyce. Wherfore the bishop of Rome, wrote to the princes of Germany, to inuade ỹ realme of Beame as the denne of heretikes, and caue of deuilishe doctrine. Beside this, he appoynted Henry bishoppe of Winchester, and Cardinall of. S. Eusebie, a man very wel borne, (as you haue hard) but no better borne thē high stomacked, and yet no higher stomacked, then abundantly enriched, to be his legate in this greate iorney, and to bryng out men from the realme of Englande, into the countrey of Beame. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the said Cardinall, to take the tenth part of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promocion. This matter was declared in open Parliament in Englande, and not dissented, but gladly assented to, wherfore the bishop gathered the money, and assembled foure thousand men and mo, not without great grudge of the people, whiche daily were with tallages and aides weried, and sore burdened. And when men, munitions, and money wer ready for his high enterprise, he with all his people came to the sea stronde at Douer, ready to passe ouer the sea into Flaunders.

But in the meane season, the Duke of Bedforde considerynge, how tounes daily wer gotten, and countries hourely wonne in the realme of Fraunce, for lacke of sufficient defence and nombre of men of warre, wrote to his brother the duke of Gloucester, to releue him with aide, in that tempestious tyme and troubelous season. When thys letter was brought into Englande, the duke of Gloucester was not alitle amased, because he had no army redy to sende at that tyme: for by the reason of the Crewe, sent into Beame, he could not sodainly reyse a newe armie. But because the matter was of suche importaunce, and might neither be, frō day to day differred, nor yet long delaied, he wrote to the bishop of Winchester, to passe with all his army toward the duke of Bedforde, whiche at that tyme had bothe nede of men & assistaunce, considerynge that now, all stoode vpon losse or gaine: whiche thyng doen, and to hys honor acheued, he might performe his iorney against the vngracious Bohemians. Although the Cardinal was some what moued with this

countermaunde,yet leaſt he ſhould be noted,not to ayde the Regent of Fraunce,in ſo greate a cauſe and ſo neceſſarye an entrepryſe, he bowed from his former iorney, and paſſed the ſea with all his companye, and brought them to his coſyn,to the citie of Paris.

Charles the Frenche kynge, hauynge knowledge in the meane ſeaſon by his eſpialles,which went round about the countrey, to intiſe and ſollicite tounes and cities, to returne from the Engliſhe part, and become Frenche, that the inhabitãtes of Champeigne, and Beauoys ſ
ought hym greate loue and ſynguler fauor, and gladlye coueted to renounce the ſubiection of England, and to be vnder his protection, and ſ
alſo offred to open him their gates,ſo that they ſhould not therby,be in ieoperdy of their lifes & loſſe of their goodes, with all haſte & diligence remoued towarde Champeigne. The Duke of Bedford beyng aduertiſed of his progreſſe,and hauyng his armie augmented, with the new aide,whiche the cardinal had of late conducted,marched forward with greate ſpede to encountre and geue battayll, to hys mortall enemy the Frenche kyng. When the duke was come to Senlys, the Frenchemen wer lodged on the Mountpilioll,betwene Senlis and Champiegne. Euery army knew of other,and euery hoſte might behold other. Then ſ
the cãpes wer trenched,and the battailes pitched, and the feldes ordered. Thus,theſe great armies lay two daies,nothyng doyng but with ſkirmiſhes,in the whyche the Normans ſore vexed the Frenchemen. Wherfore the lorde Regent,gaue to them many high laudes and praiſynges,and determined ſurely the next daye,to ſet on the French kyng in his campe,yf he would not remoue out, and abide battail. But while kyng Charles dyd politiquely conſider,what a variable lady, Fortune was,and what a ſodain and vnthought chaũce of a ſmall thyng, might do in a battaill:for the detrimentes and ouerthrowes,that he and hys nacion had taken and taſted by thenglichemen, wer to them a lernyng, an example and a plaine experiment,to auoyde open ioynyng, mutuall ſ
conflict,and force to force. And beſide that,he had by hys explorators & ſpies,plain and perfect knowledge, ỹ many and diuerſe cities & tounes in Fraunce,abhorryng thenglyſhe libertie,and aſpiryng to the Frenche bondage & natiue ſeruitude,(accordyng to the nature of Aſſes, whiche the more they be charged with,the more they deſire) would,(whẽ they ſawe their tyme) not onely rebell and returne to his faccion and parte, but alſo were ready to aide and aſſiſte hym, in recouery of hys deſired realme and auncient dominion,in expellynge alſo the Engliſhe nacion, out of the territories of Faunce. And therefore, he imagined that the duke of Bedforde,was ſo haſty to geue hym battaill,thynkynge,that yf ſ
ye then wer ouercome,the game for the Engliſhemen had been clerely gotten,& to the Frenchmen,a perpetuall checkemate. Wherfore he determined neuer,(except very neceſſitie compelled or cõſtrained him) to fight in open battaill with the Engliſhemen, nor by a feld to aduenture his realme with thẽ,of whom his predeceſſors ſo often tymes had been

vanquiſhed,

banquished. Wherefore, like a carpet capitain, he in the night, remoued his campe and fled to Crespy, and yet his nōbre was double to the Englishe army. The duke of Bedforde, seyng that the Frenche kyng was, thus cowardly retrayted, and as a man, whiche durste not once assaye the stroke of an Englishe arme, shamefully reculed: with all his power and armie, returned agayn to Parys, sore suspectyng the deceiptfull faith of the pollitique Parisians. The Bishop of Winchester, after, the Frenche kynges flight, went into Beome, and there did somewhat, but what it was, authors kepe silence, and so do I: But shortly, he without
x any greate praise, and small gayne, returned into Englande, more glad of hys retraite, thē of hys aduaūsyng forwarde. Sone after, the bishop of Rome without his agrement, vnlegated hym, and set another in his stede & authoritie, with which doyng, he was neyther cōtēt nor pleased.

¶ The.viij.pere.

the.viij.pere

ON the.vj.day of Nouembre, being the day of sainct Leonard, kyng Henry, in the eight yere of his reigne, was, at Westminster with all pompe and honor, crouned kynge of this realme of England. At which coronacion, to reherse the costly fayre,
xx the delicate meate, the pleasaunt wines, the nombre of courses, the sortes of dishes, the labors of officers, the multitude of people, the estates of Lordes, the beauties of Ladies, the riches of apparell, the curious deuises, the solempne banquettes, it would aske a long tyme, and wery you: Wherfore leauyng the pleasaunt pastyme in Englande, I wyll returne to the troubleous warres in Fraunce.

After that the Frenche kynge was fled from the Duke of Bedford, (as you haue harde before) and was come to Crespy in Ualoys, he was credibly informed, how the citezens of Champaigne, desired greatly to be vnder his gouernaunce and subiection. Wherfore, he mindynge not
xxx to lese so faire an offred prey, ceased not, til he came to the toune, where, with all reuerence and benignitie, he was receiued and welcomed. And after that, were rendered to hym, the tounes of Senlis and Beauoys. And the Lorde Longuenall tooke by stelth, the castle of Aumarle and slewe all the Englishemen, & in short space, the lorde Barbasan, whiche longe hadde been prisoner in the Castle Gaylard, so muche, what with faire worde and large promises, persuaded his kepers, that he not only deliuered his awne persone, but also caused the toune, to turne from thenglishmen, to the part of kyng Charles his Master. Whyche kyng, although he muche reioysed, at the good successe, that Fortune had to
xl him sente, yet he was somwhat desperate, how to recouer his countrey from the possession of the Englishemen, except he vnknitted the knotte and league, betwene the duke of Burgoyn and them. Wherfore, he sent his Chauncellor, & diuerse Ambassadors to the duke of Burgoyn, first, excusyng himself of the death & murder, of duke Jhon his father, & after, declaring to him, that there could be nothing more foule, more dis-

honest,

honest,nor more detestable,then,for his awne peculiar cause, & priuate displeasure,to ioyne with his auncient enemies,and perpetual aduersaries,against his natiue countrey and naturall nacion:not onelye requiryng hym,of concord,peace, and amitie, but also promysyng golden mountaines,and many more benefites,thē at that tyme,he was either able or could performe. This message was not so secrete,nor the doyng so closely cloked,but the Duke of Bedforde, thereof was plainly informed. Whiche,beyng sore troubled, and vnquieted in his mynd,because he sawe the power of thenglishe nacion, daily waxe lesse, he, of all thynges,first forseyng,yf any losse should of necessitie chaunce, of those tounes and countreis,whiche hys noble brother,kyng Henry the fifth had conquered,in the very countrey of Fraunce, for lacke of tuicion or defence:yet for an ankerholde,he determined to kepe, possesse, & defende, the Duchie of Normandy, the olde inheritaunce and auncient patrimony,of the kynges of Englande, and from them onely, by force & not by iustice,by violence and not by ryght,sithe the tyme of kynge Henry the thirde, (the deuilishe deuision then reignyng in the realme)wrongfully deteined,and iniuriously vsurped. Wherefore,he diligently prouidyng, for thynges ỹ myght chaunce,appoynted gouernor of the citie of Paris, Lewes of Luxenborough,bishop of Turwine and Ely,being Chauncellor of Fraunce,for the kyng of England,a man of no lesse wit, then of birthe,leuyng wyth hym,a conuenient nombre of Englishemen to defende bothe the citie and territory of Paris, & the isle of Fraunce then beyng in the Englishmens possession and gouernaunce.

These thynges thus ordered, he departed from Paris, into Normandy,and called at Roan a parliament, of the thre estates of the duchie,in the whiche he declared vnto them,the great liberties,the manifolde priueleges, the innumerable benefites, whych they had receiued of the kynges of Englande,duryng the tyme, that they were possessors and lordes of thesame duchie,not puttyng in obliuion,the misery, bondage,and calamitie,whiche they had sustained,by the intollerable yoke and daily tributes,continuallye layed in their neckes like Asses, by the cruell and coueteous Frenchemen: and puttyng theim also in remembraunce,how the kynges of England, wer not only brought furth and discēded,of the Normans bloud & progeny,but wer the very true & vndoubtfull heires,to thesame countrey and duchie, lineally succedyng & lawfully discendyng from Rollo the hardy, first duke and prince of the same dominion: Requirynge theim farther, to liue in loue and amitie emongest theim self,to be true and obedient, to the kyng their soueraigne Lorde,and to kepe their othe and promes,made and sworne to his noble brother,kyng Henry the.v.promisyng to them,Englishe libertie and priueleges royall. While the duke of Bedford was thus, intertainyng and encouragyng the Normans, Charles the new frenche kyng, beyng of hys departure aduertised, longyng and thyrstynge for to obtain Paris,the chief citee, & principall place of resort, within the whole realme

realme, of Fraunce, departed from the toune of Senlis well accompanied, and came to the toune of sainct Denise, whiche he found desolate, and abandoned of all garrison, and good gouernaunce. Wherfore, without force and small damage, he entered into the voyed toune, and lodged his armie at Mountmartyr, and Abberuilliers, nere adioynynge, and lyng to the citie of Paris. And from thence, sent, Jhon duke of Alaunson, and his sorceresse Jone, (called the mayde, sent from God) in whom, his whole affiaunce then consisted, with thre thousande light horsmen, to get again the citie of Paris, either by force, or by faire flatx teryng, or reasonable treatie, and after thē, he without delaie or deferryng of tyme, with all hys power, came betwene Mountmartyr & Paris, and sodainly, approched the gate of sainct Honore, settinge vp ladders to the walles, and castyng faggottes into the diches, as though, he would with a French bragge, sodainly haue gottē the faire citie. But thenglishe capitaines, euery one kepyng hys ward and place assigned, so manfully and fiercly, with a noble corage, defended themselfes, their walles and toures, with the assistence of the Parisians, that thei rebutted and draue awaie the Frenchmen, & threwe doune Jone, their great goddesse, into the botome of the toune ditche, where she laie behynd the xi backe of an Asse, sore hurte, tyll the tyme, that she all filthye with mire and durte, was drawen out, by Guyschard of Thienborne, seruaunt to the duke of Alaunson. The Frenche kynge, seyng the greate losse, that he had susteined at this assaut, and accompted, his pretensed conquest, in maner impossible, leuyng the dedde bodies behind hym, and takyng with hym, the wounded capitaines, whych wer of no small nombre, returned into Berry. Butt in the meane waye, the citezens of Laignie, became his subiectes, & made to hym an othe, promisyng to continewe from thence furth to hym, both true and obedient.

The Duke of Bedford, beyng in Normandy, and hearynge of thys xxx sodain attempt, lost no tyme, nor spared no trauaile, till he came to Paris. Where he, not onely thanked the capitaines, & praised the citezens for their assured fidelitie and good will, towarde their kynge and souereigne lorde, but also extolled their gardines, & manly doynges, aboue the Starres, and high elementes: promisyng to them, honor, fame, and greate aduauncementes. Whiche gentle exhortacion, so incoraged and inflamed the hartes of the Parisians, that they sware, promysed & concluded, to be frendes euer to the kynge of Englande and hys frendes, and enemies alwaies to his foes and aduersaries, makyng proclamacion by this stile. Frendes to kynge Henry, frendes to the Parisians, xi enemies to England, enemies to Paris. But if they spake it wyth their hartes, either for feare, that Charles the Frenche kyng, should not punishe them, if he once obteined the superioritie, ouer their citie, & toune, or that thei flattred thenglishemen, to put thē selfes in credite with the chief capitaines, you shall plainly perceiue, by the sequele of their actes.

Sone after these doynges, came to Paris wyth a greate company,

Philip

Phillip duke of Burgony, whiche was of the Regent, and the lady hys wyfe, honorably receiued, and highly feasted. And after long consultacion had, for recouerying of the tounes, lately by the Frenche kyng stolen and taken, it was agreed, that the duke of Bedford, should rayse an armie, for the recouery of thesayd fortresses, and that the duke of Burgoyne, shoulde be hys deputie, and tary at Paris, for the defence of the same. After this greate businesse, thus concluded, and appoynted, the Duke of Bedforde hym self, without any greate resistaunce, recouered again the toune of sainct Denise, and diuerse other Castles. And after that doen, he sent the Bastard of Clarence, to laye siege to the Castle of Toursie, beynge bothe by the naturall situacion, and mannes pollicie, very strong, and in maner vnable to be beaten doune. The siege continued sixe monethes, but in conclusion, the capitain discomfited of all releue and succor, rendered the fortresse, the life of hym and hys souldiers only saued. Whiche offre was taken, & the castle rased, and cast doune to the grounde. Durynge this siege, sir Thomas Kirell knight, with foure hundred Englishemen, departed from Gourney in Normandy, and rode by Beauoys, spoylyng, robbyng, and wastyng the countrey, to the suburbes of Cleremont. Wherof, hearyng the Erle of thesame toune, assembled all the men of warre, of the garrisons adioynynge, to fight with thenglishmen, and so the Frenchemen with all diligence set forward, & found their enemies in a straight place, nere vnto Beauois. The erle of Cleremount seyng, that he coulde not hurte them, with his men of armes, by reason of the straight, came doune on fote with all his company, and fiercly set on the Englishmen. The fight was fierse, and the aduauntage doubtfull. But in conclusion, the archers shot so terrible, that the Frenchmen, not able to abide the smart, and gaules of the arrowes, fled a pace, and the Englishmen leuyng the straight, leped on horsebacke, and folowed the chase. In the whiche wer taken twoo hundred prisoners, and thryse as many slain. The Erle, by the swiftnesse of his horsse, escaped hys enemies, and came to the toune of Beauoys: & so sir Thomas Kiriell, with plentie of spoyle & prisoners, returned to Gorney, renderyng to God his hartie thankes, for that good chaunce and happie victory.

Yet Fortune sent not this good lucke alone, for the erle of Suffolke at thesame very season, besiegynge the toune of Aumarle, whereof was capitain the lorde Rambures, (after .xxiiij. great assautes geuen to the fortresse) had the toune and castle to hym symply rendered. Wherfore, he caused .xxx. of the tounes men, for their vntruth, to be hanged on the walles, and all the reste he raunsomed, & sent the capitain into Englande, where he remained sixe yeres continually, & after by exchaung was deliuered. After this, the erle fortified the toune, with men, munycions and vitaile, and so by la itle and litle, the Englishemen recouered again many tounes, whiche before they had loste, without anye greate losse of their people. Whiche thyng, the Frenchemen well consideryng,

imagened

imagined by what means, how to get again the toune of Laual, which the Lorde Talbot (before as you haue heard) gat, by scaling in a night. Wherfore, to possesse their desired prey, they with money, and gay promises, first corrupted a Miller, that kept a Mill adioyning to the wall, so that the Miller, suffered the Lord Homet wyth thre hundred other to passe through hys Mill into the toune, in a very darcke night. Whē they were entered, they slewe the kepers of the gate, and let in the lord Bertrand de la Ferrier, with fyue hundred men of armes: which either slewe or toke prysoners, al thenglyshmen within the toune. And shortxly after, sir Stephyn de Vignoles called the Heire, toke by scaling, the toune of Lonuiers in Normandy, and dyd muche damage, to all the tounes adioyning.

The.ix.yere.

While these chaunces happened, betwene the Englyshe men and Frenchemen, Philip duke of Burgoyne, maried the Lady Isabel, doughter to Jhon, kynge of Portyngall and great aunte to the kynge of Englande. In honour of whyche mariage, he instytuted and beganne an ordre of.xxxvi. knightes wythoute reproche, called the ordre of the golden fleece, and deuysed statutes, mātxxi els, collers, and Ceremonies for the same, muche lyke to the ordinaunces, of the noble ordre of the Garter begonne in Englande, almooste an hundred yeres before the inuencyon, of this fraternitie & frendshyp. On the which wife, he begat, the hardye duke Charles, father to Marie, after maried to Maximilian kyng of the Romayns, as (when place requireth) shalbe hereafter to you declared.

In thys very season, the Englishmen in the cold moneth of Decembre, besieged the toune of Laigny, in the whiche was the Puzell and diuerse other good captaynes. But the weither was so cold, & the rayne xxi so great and so continual, that they of force compelled, not by their enemies, but by intemperate season, reysed their siege: and in their returne the Puzel and al the garrison within the toune, issued out and foughte wyth thenglyshmē, where, (after long fyghting) both parties departed without either great gayn or losse. After this enterprise done, the duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the erles of Arundel and Suffolke, and the Lord Jhon of Luxenbrough, and wyth a great puissaunce, besieged the toune of Champeygne: whych toune was well walled, manned and vitailed, so that the besiegers, must either by assaut or long taryng, wery or famyshe them within the toune. So they cast trenches, xl and made moines, and studied al the waies that they could deuise how to compasse their cōquest and enterprise. And it happened in the night of the Assencion of our Lord, that Pothon of xentraxles, Jone de Puzell, & fyue or syxe hundred men of armes, issued out in Chāpeygne, by the gate of the bridge, towarde Mowntdedier, intendyng to set fire in

the tentes and lodgynges of the lord of Baudo, whiche was then gone to Marigny, for the duke of Burgoyns affaires. At whyche tyme, Sir Jhon of Luxenborough, with eight other gentlemen (which had riden aboute the toune to serche and viewe, in what place the toune might be most aptly and conueniently assauted or scaled) were come nere to the lodges of the lorde of Baudo, where they espyed the Frenchmẽ, which began to cut doune tentes, ouerthrowe paulions, and kil men in theyr beddes. Wherfore, shortly they assembled a great nombre of menne, as wel Englishe as Burgonions, and coragiously set onth e Frenchemen. Sore was the fight and greate was the slaughter, in so much that the Frenchemen, not able lenger to endure, fled into the toune so fast, that one letted the other to entre. In whiche chace was take, Jone the Puzell, and diuerse other: whiche Jone was sent to the duke of Bedford to Roan, wher, (after log examinacion) she was brẽt to ashes. This witch or manly woman, (called the mayde of GOD) the Frenchmẽ greately glorified, and highly extolled, alledgyng that by her Orleaũce was vitayled: by her, kyng Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her, ỹ Englishmen were often tymes put backe and ouerthrowen. O Lorde what dispraise is this to the nobilite of Fraunce? What blotte is thys to the Frenche nacyon? What more rebuke can be imputed to a renoumed regyon, then to affirme, wryte & confesse, that all noble victories, and honorable cõquestes, whiche neyther the kyng with his power nor the nobilitie with their valiauntnesse, nor the counsayll wyth their wyt nor the cõmonaltie with their strength, could compasse or obtain, were gotten and achiued by a sheperdes doughter, a chamberlaine in an hostrie, and a beggers brat: whyche blinding the wittes of the French nacion, by reuelacions, dreames & phantasticall visions, made thẽ beleue thinges not to be supposed, and to geue faythe to thynges impossible. For suerly, ỹ credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie, openlye done, and commonly shewed, this woman was not inspired wyth ỹ holy Ghost, nor sent from God (as the Frenchmen beleue) but an enchantaresse, an orgayne of the deuyll, sent from Sathan, to blynd the people and bryng them in vnbelefe: as by thys letter, sent from the king of England to the duke of Burgoyn, to you euydently shall appere.

Most dere and welbeloued vncle, the feruent loue and great affec-
" cyon, whyche you (lyke a very catholyque prynce) beare to our Mo-
" ther holy Churche, and to the aduauncement of our fayth, doth bothe
" reasonably admonysh, and frẽdely exhort vs, to signifie and wryte vnto
" you, such thynges, which, to the honor of oure Mother holye Churche
" strengthenyng of our fayth, and pluckyng vp by the rotes, of moste pe-
" stilent errors, haue bene solemply done wythin our citie of Roan. It is
" commonly renoumed, and in euery place published, that the womanne,
" commonly called the Puzell, hath by the space of twoo yeres and more,
" contrary to Goddes lawe, and the estate of womanhed, bene clothed in
" a mannes apparell, a thyng in the sight of God abhominable. And in

thys

this estate, caried ouer and conueied, to the presence of our chief enemy
and youres, to whom, & to the prelates, nobles, and cõmons of his part
she declared that she was sent from God, presumptuously makyng her
vaunt, that she had communicacion personally, and visibly wyth sainct
Michael, and a greate multitude of Aungels, and sainctes of heauen,
as saynct Katheryn, and saynct Margarete: by the whyche falshode &
subtiltie, she made diuerse to beleue, and trust in her faythe, promisinge
to them great and notable victories, by the which meane she did turne
the hartes of many men and women, from the truthe and veritie, and
x conuerted them to lyes and errors. Besyde thys, she vsurped a cote of
armes, and displayed a standard, which thynges be apperteining only
to knightes and esquiers: and of greate outrage, and more pryde and
presumpciõ, she demaunded to beare the noble and excellent Armes of
Fraunce, whych she in part obteyned, the whiche she bare in many skir-
mishes and assautes, and her brethrẽ also (as men report) that is to say:
the feld azure, a swerd, ỹ point vpward in pale siluer, set betwene twoo
flower deluces, firmed with a croun of gold. And in this estate, she cam
into the feld, & guyded men of warr, and gathred cõpanies, & assembled
hostes to exercyse vnnaturall cruelties, in shedyng of christen bloude, &
xx stirring sedicious, and commocions emongest the people, inducing thẽ,
to periury, rebellyon, superstition and false error, in disturbing of peace
and quietnes and renewyng of mortall warre. Besydes this causyng
her self to be honored and worshipped of many, as a woman sanctified &
dãpnably openyng dyuerse imagined cases longe to reherse, in diuerse
places wel knowen and apparantly proued. Wherby almoste al chry-
stendom is slaundered. But the diuine puyssaunce, hauynge cõpassyon
vpon hys true people, and wyllyng no lenger to leaue thẽ in peryll, nor
suffre thẽ to abyde styll in wayes dangerous, and newe cruelties, hath
lyghtly permitted of hys great mercy and clemency, the sayed puzel to
xxx be taken in your host and siege, whiche you kepte for vs before Cham-
peygne, and by youre good meane delyuered into our obeysaunce and
dominion. And because we were requyred, by the byshoppe of ỹ Dio-
ces, wher she was takẽ, (because she was noted, suspected, and defamed
to be a traitor to almighty God) to delyuer her to hym, as to her ordy-
nary and ecclesiasticall iudge: We for the reuerence of oure Mother
holy Churche, (whose ordinaunces we wyl preferre, as oure owne de-
des and wylles, as reason it is, and also for the aduauncement of chri-
sten fayth, bayled the sayed Jone to hym, to the intente that he shoulde
make processe against her: not willing any vengeaunce, or punishmente
xl to be shewed to her, by any officers of our secular Justices, which they
might haue lawfully & reasonable done, considerynge the greate hur-
tes, damages and intõuenences, the horrible murders, & detestable
cruelties, & other innumerable mischiefes, whyche she hathe cõmytted
in our territories, agaynst our people, & obediẽt subiectes. The whych
byshoppe takynge in compayny to hym, the Vicar and inquisitor of er-

„ tors and herisies, and callyng to them, a great and notable nombre of
„ solempne doctors, and maysters in diuinitie, and lawe Canon, begã by
„ great solempnitie and grauitie, accordyngly, to procede in the cause of
„ thesayed Jone. And after that, thesaid byshop and inquisitor, iudges in
„ thys cause, had at diuerse dayes ministered, certain interrogatories to
„ thesayd Jone, and had caused the confessions & assercions of her, truly
„ to be examined by thesaid doctors and maisters, and in conclusiõ gene-
„ rally, by all the faculties of our dere and wel beloued doughter the V-
„ niuersity of Paris. Against whom, (the confessions and assercions, ma-
„ turely and deliberatly considered) the Judges, Doctors, & al other the x
„ parties aforesayde, adiudged thesame Jone, a superstricious sorceresse,
„ and a diabolicall blasphemeresse of God, and of his sainctes: and a per-
„ sone scismatike and erronyous, in the lawe of Jesu Christe. And for to
„ reduce and bryng her agayn, to the communion and company, of oure
„ Mother holy Churche, and to purge, her of her horrible, and pernycy-
„ ous crymes and offences, and to saue and preserue her soule, from per-
„ petuall payne and dampnacion, she was most charitably and fauorably
„ admonyshed and aduysed, to put away and abhor, all her errours and
„ erronious doinges, and to returne humbly to the right way, and come
„ to the very veritie of a Christen creature, or elles to put her soule & bo- xx
„ dy in great perell and ieoperdy. But al thys notwithstandyng, the pe-
„ relous and inflamed spirit of pride, and of outragyous presumpcion, y
„ whych continually enforceth hym selfe, to breke and dissolue the vnitie
„ of Christen obedience, so clasped in hys clawes, the harte of this womã
„ Jone, that she, neyther by any ghostly exhortacion, holy admonicion, or
„ any other wholsome doctryne, whiche might to her be shewed, woulde
„ mollyfye her hard hart, or bryng her to humylitie. But she aduaunced
„ and auowed, that al thynges by her done, wer wel done: yea, and done
„ by the commaundementes of GOD, and the saynctes before rehersed,
„ plainly to her apperyng: Referryng the iudgement of her cause, onely xxx
„ to God, and to no iudge or counsayl, of the Churche militant. Where-
„ fore, the Judges Ecclesiasticall, perceyuyng her hard harte, so long to
„ contynue, caused her to be brought furth, in a common auditory, before
„ the Clergie and people, in a great multitude, there, for that purpose as-
„ sembled. In whiche presence wer opened, manifested & declared, solẽp-
„ ly, openly, and truly, by a maister in diuynytie, of notable learnyng and
„ vertuous lyfe, to the aduauncement of the catholicke fayth, and extir-
„ pyng of errors and false opinions, all her confessions and assercyons,
„ charitably admonishyng, and persuadyng her to returne, to the vnion
„ and felosvip of Christes Churche, and to correct and amend, the fautes
„ and offences, in the whych she was so obstynat and blynde. And accor- xl
„ dynge to the lawe, the iudges aforesaide, begãne to procead and pro-
„ nounce the iudgement and sentẽce, in that case of right apperteyning.
„ Yet, before the iudge, had fully declared the sentence, she began some-
„ what to abate her corage, and sayed that she would, reconcile her self to

our

our Mother the holy Churche, bothe gladly and willyngly. The Judges, and other Ecclesiasticall persones, gentely receyued her offer, hopyng by this meane, that bothe her body and soule were gotten agayn oute of eternall losse and perdicion. And so, she submitted her self, to the ordinaunce of the holye Churche, and wyth her mouthe openly reuoked her errours and detestable crimes: and thesame abiured openlye, signing with her hande thesayd abiuracion and reuocacion. Where vpon, oure Mother the holy Churche, beyng pitifull and merciful, glad and reioysing of a sinner, that will conuerte, willynge the strayed shepe
x to returne again to his folde and flocke, condẽpned thesayed Jone only to do open penaunce. But the fire of her pride, whiche was in her harte, sodainly brast out into hurtful flammes, blowen oute by the belowes of enuie: and incontinent after she tooke agayn al her errours and false opinions, by her before adiured and reuoked, for whyche causes, accordynge to the iudgementes and institucions of holye Church, to the intent that she hereafter should not defyle any other membre of the flocke, of our Lorde Jesus Christ: was again exhorted and preached to openly. And because she still was obstinate, in her trespaces and villanous offences, she was deliuered to the secular power, the which cõ=
xx dempned her to be brent, and cõsumed her in the fyre. And whẽ she saw that the fatayll daye of her obstinacy was come, she openly cõfessed, ỹ the spirites, whiche to her often dyd appeare, were euyll and false, and apparant liers, and that their promes, which they had made to deliuer her out of captiuitie, was false and vntrue: affirmyng her selfe by those spirites to bee often beguiled, blynded and mocked. And so beynge in good minde, she was by the Justices caried to the olde marked, within the citie of Roan, and there by the fyre consumed to ashes, in the syght of all the people.

This letter the kyng of Englande sente not onelye to the Duke of
xxx Burgoyne and other Princes, to declare the veritie of the matter, and the administracion of Justice, but to admonyshe all rude and ignorant persones in all other countreyes, to refrayne from the credite & belefe of the saiynges of suche profane prophesies, and traftie imageners, as thys peuysh paynted Puzel was. Yet notwithstandinge, this lawfull processe, this due examinacion and publicke sentence, Jhõ Buchet, and diuerse Frenche writers affirme her to be a sainct in heauen. But because it is no poynt of oure faith, no man is bound to beleue hys iudgement, although he were an Archedeken. But Paulus Emilius, a famous wryter, rehersyng that the citezens of Orleaunce, had buylded
xl in ỹ honor of her, an Image or an Idole, sayth, ỹ Pius bishop of Rome and Antony bishop of Florence, much merueyled & greately wondered at her actes and doynges. Wyth whych saiyng, I can very well agree that she was more too bee marueyled at, as a false Prophetisse, and seducer of the people: then to be honored or worshipped as a sayncte sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all

auncient wryters, alwell deuine, as prophane, alledge these thre thinges, beside diuerse other, to apparteyne to a good woman. First, shamfastnesse, which the Romain Ladies so kept, that seldome or neuer thei were sene openly talkyng with a man: which vertue, at thys day emõgest the Turkes, is hyghly estemed. The second, is pitie: whyche in a womans harte, abhorreth the spillyng of the bloud of a poore beaste, or a sely birde. The thirde, is womanly behauor, aduoyding the occasyon of euil iudgement, and causes of slaundre. If these qualities, be of necessitie, incident to a good woman, where was her shamefastnes, when she dayly and nyghtly, was conuersaunt with comen souldiours, and men of warre, emongest whom, is smal honestie, lesse vertue, and shamefastnesse, lest of al exercised or vsed: Where was her womanly pitie, when she takyng to her, the harte of a cruel beaste, slewe man, womanne, and chylde, where she myght haue the vpperhand: Where was her womãly behauor, when she cladde her self in a mannes clothinge, and was cõuersaunt wyth euery losell, geuynge occasyon to all men to iudge, and speake euyll of her, and her doynges. Then these thinges, beinge thus plainly true, all men must nedes confesse, that the cause ceasinge, the effect also ceaseth: so ꝙ, if these morall vertues lackynge, she was no good womã, then it must nedes, consequently folowe, that she was no saynct. xx

The properties that appertaine to a good womã.

Nowe leauynge thys woman, consumed to ashes, lette vs returne agayne, to the siege of Compeigne, whiche styll contynued. Durynge whyche tyme, the Regent sent to the duke of Burgoyne, lyynge at the siege, the Earle of Huntingdon, sir Jhon Robsert, wyth a thousande Archers, whyche dayly skirmished, wyth theim of the toune, and made such Bastiles and fortresses, that the toune must nedes be rendered or els they within, famished. But se the chaunce, whẽ victory was at hãd tidinges were brought to the duke of Burgoyn, that Phillip duke of Brabant, was departed oute of thys worlde, leuynge behynde hym, no heire of his bodie: To whom, the sayed duke pretẽded to be next heire. xxx Wherfore, he takyng wyth him, his best capitaynes, for the recouery of so great a duchy, departed from the siege, leuyng his poore people behynd hym, and ordeyned in hys place, for his luetenaunt, sir Jhon Luxenborough, whiche beyng, of small strength and lesse corage, after the dukes departyng, aduysed the Englyshmen, to depart for that tyme, til the next sommer: whiche therto at the first, would in no wise agree. But there was no remedy, for he was capitain generall, and had the ordynaunce vnder hys rule, so that wythout that, they could nothyng doo: Wherfore in greate displeasure, they returned into Normandy. After whose departure, the captain set fire in all the bastyles, and secretly departed, leuynge behynd hym, dyuerse peces of ordynaunce, for lacke of carriage. Wyth whych returne, ꝙ dukes of Bedford and Burgoin, were fore displeased: for yf he had continued hys siege, eyght dayes lenger, ꝙ toune had bene rendered, wythout dent of swerd. For pestilence & famyne, had almoste consumed al the souldiors, and left the toune, wyth-

out

out sauegard or defence.

After this siege broken vp, Jhon Duke of Norfolke, toke agayne the tounes of Dãpmartyn, and the Chasse Wongay, and diuerse other tounes. And therle of Stafford, toke the toune of Brie, in Coũtie Robert, and from thence, forraged al the coũtrey to Sens, and after toke Quesnoy in Brye, Grand Puys, and Rampellon, with many prisoners as sir Jaques de Milly, and sir Jhon de la Hay. Duryng whyche time the Frenchmen toke Louiers & Villuense. And then the toune of Melune rebelled, and had such ayde, of other tounes adioyninge, that the
x Englyshe souldyours, were fayne to leaue Melune, Moret, & Corbel. Thus accordynge to the chaunce of war, the one part gat, and ỹ other lost. Thus the Englyshe affaires (as you haue heard) within ỹ realme began to wauer, and waxe variable, whyche caused the Englishe capitaines, to be of diuerse opinions. For one part, beynge sory and pensiue adiudged the thynges present, lyght and of no moment, in comparyson of them whyche they saw likely to folowe: and another sort, adiudged that present tyme, to be mooste ieoperdus, and most repleted with perils. Because they sawe, the power of their enemies, now increased and their owne strength rather decayed, then cõserued. And so euery man
xx studyng on this busyneste, aduised secretely with him self, what coũsail was best to be taken, and what way was best to be folowed, to remedy these thynges, thus wauering, in a doubtful balance. And then it was concluded, that it was moste apte and mete, for the tyme present, that kyng Henry in his royal person, with a newe army, should come doune into Fraunce, partly to comfort and visite hys own subiectes ther: partly, eyther by feare or fauour, (because a chylde, of hys age and beautie, doeth commonly allure to hym, the hartes of elder persones,) to cause the Frenchemen to contynue, in their due obeysaunce towarde hym. Wherfore, after a great hoste, conuenient for that purpose, assembled,
xxx and mony for the maintenaũce of warre, redy gathered, and the realme sette in an ordre, and the Duke of Gloucester, appoynted gouernoure whych duryng the kynges absence, appeased diuerse riottes, and punyshed many offenders, the kyng wyth a great power, tooke shipping at Douer, and landed at Calice, and there taried a good space, and frõ thence he remoued to Roan, where with al triumphe, he was receiued and there soiorned, tyll the middest of August, hys nobles dayly consultyng, on their great busynes, and weyghty affaires.

The tenth pere.



xl In the moneth of Septembre, he remoued from Roan to Ponthoise, and so to sainct Denyce, to the intent to make hys entry, into the citie of Parris, and there to be sacred kyng of Fraunce, and to receyue, the sceptre and Croune of the realme and countrey.

There were in hys cõpany, of his owne nacyon, his vncle the Car-

The Coronacion of king Henry the.vi in Paris.

dinall of Winchester, the Cardynall and Archebyshoppe of Yorke, the Dukes of Bedforde, Yorke, and Norffolke, the Earles of Warwycke, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntingdon, Ormond, Wortayn, Suffolke and of Gascoynes, the erle of Longuile, and Marche, beside manye noble men of England, Guian, and Normandy. And the chiefe of the French nacion, wer the dukes of Burgoyn, and Lewes of Luxenbrogh Cardinall and Chauncellor of Fraũce for kyng Henry, the Bishops of Beauoys and Reyon, both peres of France, beside the Byshop of Paris, and diuerse other bishoppes, therle of Vaudemount, & other noble mẽ whose names were very tedious to you to here rehersed. And he had x in a gard, aboute his person, thre thousand strõg archers, some on horsbacke and part on fote. And as he was commyng, betwene sainct Denice and Paris, he was mete at the Chapell, in the meane waye, by Sir Simon Morner prouost af Paris, wyth a greate company, al clothed in redde Satin, with blewe whoddes, which dyd to him, due reuerẽce and lowe obeysaunce. After whome, come diuerse ryche and notable burgesses, of the toune of Paris, al appareled in Crimosyne clothe. After they had done their reuerence, there approched to the kinge, the.ix. worthies, sittyng rychly on horsebacke, armed with the armes to them apperteignynge. Next after them, came the knight of the watch, for the xx prouost Marchauntes, and with him, al the officers of the court, appareled in blewe and hattes redde. And in a long space after, came maister Phillip de Moruillier, chiefe president of the Parliament, appareled in a robe of estate: and al the ocher presidentes of the Parliament, clothed in robes of Scarlet, and in like robes folowed the Lordes of the Chãber of accomptes, and of the finaunce, the Maisters of the Requestes, the secretaries and regestres, and euery company, as their course came saluted the kyng, with eloquent oracions, and heroicall verses, and so conueyed hym to the gate of saynct Denice, where the prouoste, of the Marchauntes, & the Shirifes of the toune, receyued hym with a Canapie of blewe veluet, rychly embraudred, wyth flower of delices gold, xxx and bare thesame ouer hym, through the toune, whiche on euery syde, was hanged wyth rych clothes of Arras and Tapistrie. And at euery porte and bridge where he pãssed was set a pageaunt, of greate shewe and smal coste, whyche because they were but tryfles, I ouer passe, and speke but of one deuyse, made before the gate of the Chastelet wherupon a stage stode a goodly chylde, clothed wyth habyt royall, set full of flower delices, hauyng two Crounes on hys hed, representyng ỹ yõge kyng, and on his ryght hande, stoode twoo noble personages, in the armes of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and on the lefte syde on hym, stoode xl thre personages, clothed in the Armes, of Bedforde, Salysbury, and Warwycke, whiche to hym delyuered, the swerde of Englãde. Thys pagiaunt was well regarded, & hyghly praised. From thence he departed, to the palace, & offered in the Chapell, and from thence he departed, to the hous of Tournelles, & there toke hys repast. And after dinner

Isabell, late wyfe to kyng Charles, hys grandfather, longe before di-
sceased. And the next day he was cõueyed, to Boys de Vincẽnes, wher
he reposed him self, til the. xv. day of Decẽbre: on which daye, he retur-
ned to the palayce of Paris. And on the. xvij. of the said moneth, he de-
parted from the place, in greate triumphe, honorably accompanyed, to
our Lady Church of Paris: where, with al solempnitie, he was anoin-
ted and crowned kyng of Fraunce, by the Cardinal of Winchester: (the
bishop of Paris, not beyng content, that the Cardinal shoulde do suche
a highe Ceremony, in his Churche and iurisdiccion.) At the offering,
x he offred bread and wyne, as the custome of Fraunce is. When ỹ deuine
seruice was finished, and all Ceremonies due, to that high estate were
accõplished, the kyng departed towarde the palaice, hauing one croune
on hys hed, and another borne before hym, and one scepter in hys hand
& the second borne before hym. What should I speake of the honorable
seruice, the daintie dishes, the pleasant conceiptes, the costly wines, the
swete Armony, the Musycall instrumentes, which wer sene & shewed
at that feast, sith all men may coniecture, that nothynge was omitted
that myght be bought for golde, nor nothyng was forgotten, that by
mannes wytte could be inuented. Yet this hygh and ioyous feast, was
xx not wythout a spotte of displeasure, for the Cardinall of Whinchester,
whyche at thys tyme, woulde haue no man to him egall, commaunded
the duke of Bedforde, to leaue of the name of Regent, duryng the time
that the kyng was in Fraunce: affyrmyng the chief ruler beyng in pre-
sence, ỹ authoritie of the substitute, was clerely derogate: accordyng to
the cõmon saiyng: in the presence of the high power the final authoritie
geueth place. The duke of Bedford, toke such a secret displeasur with
thys doyng, that he neuer after fauoured the Cardinal, but repugned
& disdayned at all thynges that he dyd or deuysed. And so because the
xxx Cardynall would haue no temporall Lorde, eyther to hym superior, or
wyth hym egall, he set furthe thys proude & arrogant conclusyon, tho-
rowe which vnhappie deuision, the glory of thenglyshmen wythin the
realme of Fraunce, began first to decaye, & vade awaye in Fraunce.

The next day after thys solempne feaste, were kepte tryumphãt iu-
stes and Turneys, in the whych, the Erle of Arundell, and the Bastard
of Sent Polle, by the iudgement of the Ladies, wã the pryce, and gat
the honor. When he had kepte open hous to all comers, by the space of
xx. dayes, because the ayre of Paris, was somewhat contrariant to his
pure complexion, he was aduysed by his counsayll, to returne to Roã.
But before his departure, he caused al the nobilitie, ỹ presidentz of the
xl parliament, the prouostes of the cyty, and of the Marchauntes, and the
chief burgesses of the toune and cyty, and al the doctors of the vniuer-
sitie, to be assembled in hys presence: to whõ the duke of Bedford sayde
in this maner.

It is not vnknowen to you all my lordes, aswel spiritual as tempo-
rall, howe thys noble regyon and famous countreye, of antiquitie cal-
led

An Oracion of the duke of Bedforde made to the Parisians.

led Gaule,and now in Fraunce,sith the tyme of Charles surnamed the Greate,beyng both Emperor of Rome,and kyng of this realme,hathe bene accompted, reputed and renoumed the moste chriſten region and fámous seigniory within the circle of al chriſtendō:yea, and within the whole part of Europe,and not vndeseruingly for thre causes. First,for your sincere fayth and obedient loue toward your sauiour & redemer Jesu Christ. The second, for obseruyng your fidelitie & due obeysaūce, to your kynges and soueraygne Lordes. Thirdly,for keping and performing your promyses and agrementes,aswell by worde as by wrytyng:from the whiche no Pagane,nor honest Christian, will or shoulde disagree. Thys famous renoume and immaculate honor,so longe contynewyng without reproche or blotte: I thinke, yea,and doubt not,but you will to the death kepe,defend and obserue, as your noble parentes and auncient progenitors,before you(to their ineffable prayse) haue vsed and accustomed. Wherfore, sith it is not vnknowen to all you, that the noble and vertuous prince, kyng Henry the fyfth,my most dearest and welbeloued brother,was the very true inheritor and the vndoubt full successor,to the croune of this realme of Frauuce, as cosin and heir to Lady Isabel, doughter and sole inheritrice,to the kynge Philip,the Faire. For the recouery of which right and title, what paine he tooke and what charge he was at, I wel knowe and some of you haue felte, as a great scourge to youre nacyon,onely prouided by God to afflycte and punyshe them:whych wyll wythhold & vsurpe, other mens rychtes,possessions,and inheritaunce. But God our sauiour and redemer, (whych wil not suffre his people,intendyng to conuert,to be dampned for euer,but gently calleth them to mercy and saluacion)of hys greate goodnes & gentlenes,willed the holy ghost to shed and poure into the hart of the noble prince, king Charles, your late welbeloued and most drad soueraigne lord,the knoweledge of the lawful line,and of the true pathe of the inheritaunce of the croune & scepter of this realme. Which verteous man, hauynge neyther an harte hardened in hys owne opinion,nor a mynd ambicious of Empire(as many tyrauntes, and couetouse princes, before this daye haue had, vsed and accustomed) for aduoydyng farther effusion of chriſten bloud, and for the saluacion of hys soule wythout battayl or stroke of weapō was contēt(vpon an honorable composicio) to restore the lawfull inheritaūce to the true heire and to rendre his title to the rycht lignage,& vndoubted lyne. Whych treatie and fynal composicion, was nether wātonly ouerloked,nor vnwysely ouersene. For al the noble peres of thys realme,both spiritual & temporall:yea,& the most part of the nobilitie(except a certayne wylde and wylfull persones)wyth the whole comminaltie(in whom the very base & burdē of the realme doth consist) not onely by worde, but by auncient wrytyng,signed with their hādes,and strēgthened wyth the seales of their armes,here redy to be shewed, haue frankely & frely wyth out scruple or cōtradiccion,agreed and affirmed thesame. By whyche

compoſicion, (as the mirror and plain ſhew and token, of kyng Henries
ryght) he was by the three eſtates, aſſigned, and allowed, as heire ap-
parant to the ſaid kyng Charles, lately deceaſſed. But cruell death ſe-
peratyng his body from his ſoule, longe before the exhortacyon of hys
people, ſuffered him not to poſſede and enioye the title and regalitie of
this his due inheritaunce, and ſucceſſion royal. Yet, God willynge not
the ſtocke, of ſo noble, ſo famous, and ſo vertuous a prince, to remayne
bare yn wythout budde or flower, hath ſent to hym, and frō him to you
a flouriſhing child, a goodly prince of bothe the noble houſes, of Englād, &
Fraunce, indifferently diſcended: as who would ſaie, that by nature, he
is neither perfect Engliſhe, nor perfect Frenche, but a man indifferent
called an Engliſhe Frenchman, and a Frenche Engliſheman. Whyche
noble prince, and your ſoueraigne Lorde, you may with glad hartes,
and louinge countenaunces, ſe, hear and behold. And as for hys hono-
rable behauor, & princely maieſtie: fewe princes of full & rype age, be to
hym comparable or equipollent. As for his beautie and other giftes of
nature, ſcace Abſalon can be to hym aſſembled. But, hauing reſpecte to
the vertuous diſpoſicion, the Godlye mynde, and ſincere conſience, of
ſo noble a childe and pryncely infant, I ſurely thinke, & perfectly beleue
& that he is aboue all other, the blaſyng Starre, and the vnmatched Pa-
ragon. Thys precious ſtone and noble Iuell, is not onely come oute of
his naturall countrey, and nouriſhyng region, to receyue the Crowne
and poſſeſſion, of this realme and dominion, but alſo, (lyke a good ſhep-
herde) to vieue, ſe, and knowe you, as his wel beloued flocke, and moſte
deſired ſubiectes: and you likewyſe, (as louing and obedient vaſſalles)
to behold, and knowe your ſoueraygne lord and prince, to the intente
that as you, aboue all other nacyons, aſwel Chriſten as Ethenycke,
haue ſerued, loued and obeyed, your Rulers and Kynges before theſe
daies: ſo, he now doubteth not, but to fynde you as louyng to hym, as y
xxx Turtle to her make, as ſure to him, as the Adamant to the ſtele, and as
permanent in thys obedience, as the hard mountayne of Olympe, which
neither craft nor engine cā either conſume or remoue. And all miſtruſt
of your ingratitude, is clerely baniſhed from his harte: conſyderynge,
that he knoweth, that you dayly hear it preached, that you ſhoulde fear
God, and honoure your kyng, and that he, which is in ſtubburneſſe and
obſtinacie toward hys Prince, is diſobedient towarde God. For the
Prynce in earthe is the Vycar of G O D, and hedde and ſheperde of
Chriſtes flocke: to whō both ſpiritual perſones and temporall, be ſub-
iectes, and inferior in al cauſes of rule & gouernaunce. And althoughe
xl ſome perſones within this realme, ſeduced more by phantaſtical error
then obſtinate arrogancy, haue takē part, and entered into amitie with
Charles de Valoys, vntruly callyng hym ſelf the French kyng: yet the
very true and vndoubtful prynce, and our ſoueraygne Lorde, here be-
yng preſent, is reſolued and content, to remit and pardō their offences
and crimes, ſo that they wythin twelfe dayes, returne to the true folde

and

and forsaked the infected flocke, and sedicious company. Wherfore his requeſt is at that tyme, this you, for the fidelitie, whiche you haue euer borne to hym, and for the loue, that he hath, and styl intendeth to beare to you, will vouchaſe hereafter, wythoute lettinge of time, diligently study, and buſely take payne, both to kepe his louing ſubiectes in good ordre and due obeyſaunce towarde hym, and alſo to ſe theim lyue in mutuall amitie and brotherly concorde, betwene theim ſelfes: not forgettyng, that the olde prouerbe, which ſayth: inward diſcord, bryngeth realmes to ruyne. Which honorable requeſtes, yf you accomplyſh and performe, (as of your bery boundē duty, you be bound in dede) you ſhal deſerue ſo much fauor, of your king and ſouereigne Lorde, that to all your honeſt requeſtes, hys eares ſhalbe open, and to al your reaſonable deſires, hys mouth ſhall not be ſtopped: & thus he wiſcheth you, health in bodies, increaſe in your ſubſtaunce, and to your ſoules, ioye and felicitie without ende perpetually.

When the duke had finiſhed and ended this oracion, the people beyng glad and reioyſyng at his ſayinges, cryed: lyue kynge Henry, lyue kyng Henry. After whiche crye paſſed, the noble men aſwell of Fraūce and Normandy, dyd to hym homage, and the common people, ſware to hym feaultie: to whome, (although he were a childe) he gaue bothe pleaſaunt and faire wordes, with hartie thankes, and many gratifications, to the great admiracion of the Frenche people.

After he had feaſted, the nobles and commons of Fraunce, wythin the citie of Paris, he with a great company, departed from thence, and by ſmall iourneyes came to Roan, wher he celebrated wyth greate ſolempnitie, the highe feaſt of Chriſtmas. Whyle theſe noble Ceremonies wer thus in doyng, in the citie of Paris, ſondery chaūces, diuerſly happened in ſeueral places, to the diſpleaſure of the one part, & to the gain of the other. For Sir Fraunces Surrien Arragnoys, a noble captayn in Normandy, toke by force and pollicy, the toune of Mountarges, wt a great prey of treaſure and priſoners, and therein he put a garriſon and vitayled the toune, to the greate diſpleaſure of the French kynge. Aboute theſame ſeaſon, the Earle of Arundell, beynge truly informed, that the Lorde Bouſac, Marſhall of Fraunce, was come to Beauoys, intendyng to do ſome feate in Normādy, aſſembled the nomber of thre and twentye hundred men, and layed him ſelfe priuelye, in a cloſe place, not farre from theſayd toune, and ſent a great nombre of lyght horſſemen, to ronne to the barriers of the citie. The Frenchmen like valiāt men of warre, iſſued out, and manfully fought with the Engliſhemen: whiche ſodainly towarde the ſtale. The Frenchmen, corragiouſly followed, thinking the game gotten on their ſyde: but when they wer entered, into the ſtrayght, therle ſet freſhly on them, ſo that after long fightyng, there wer ſlayn and taken, in maner al the Frenchmen, ſaue a few whych fled into the toune, wyth the Marſhal. Emōgeſt the capitaines was found pryſoners, the valiaunt captayn, called Pointon of Sanctrayles

trailes, (which without delay,) was exchaunged for the lorde Talbot, before taken prisoner, at the battaill of Patay. There was also taken one, called the shepherd, a simple man, & a sely soule, whom, the Frenchmen reputed, to be of suche a holinesse, that if he touched the walle of a toune, of their enemies, that incontinent, it would fall to the grounde, & ouerturne, Such false phantasticall fainers, were at that tyme much regarded, and no lesse beleued in Fraunce.

This chaunce succeded not, fortunaly alone: for Richarde Beauchampe Earle of Warwicke, had a great skirmishe, before the toune of
x Gourney, where he discomfited & repulsed his enemies, and beside the carions, whiche wer left dedde on the ground, he tooke prisoners, three score horssemen, all gentlemen of name and armes. Like chaunce of infortune, happened at the same tyme, to Renate or Reyne duke of Barr, a greate frend to Charles the French kyng, bothe, in lendyng hym money, and also in ministeryng to hym aide and succors. This Duke bearyng displeasure, to Anthony Erle of Vaudemont, his cosyn and kynsman, gathered together a greate armie, and besieged the toune Vaudemont. Therle, before the dukes approchyng, to thentent ỹ he would not be encloled and compassed about by his enemies within a wall, lea-
xx uyng behynde hym, a conuenient crue of men of warre, to defende the toune for a tyme, with all deligence rode to ỹ dukes of Bedford & Burgoyne, beyng then at the greate triumphe at Paris, whose part he had euer taken. After longe consultacion, it was agreed that sir Jhon Fastolffe, should go with hym, hauynge in his companye sixe hundred Archers, and the duke of Burgoyne sent to hym, his Marchall, called sir Anthony Doulongō, with. xv. hundred men. The earle of Vaudemont thus beyng accompanied, marched toward his enemies. Duke Reine, hearyng of his commyng towarde him, was somewhat dismayed, featyng, least yf his enemies shoulde approche to the walles, and be espied
xxx by the garrison within the toune, that, at one tyme he should be assailed before, by them that would issue out of the toune, and behind, by therle and his armye. Wherefore, like a hardy capitain, he brake vp hys siege, and met face to face, with therle and his company: betwene whom, was a cruell and a mortall battaill. The horsemen indured longe, but in conclusion, the Englishe Archers, so galled the horses and so wounded the men, that the Barroys, and their frendes, wer cōpelled to flie: in which chace was taken, the saied duke of Barr, the bishop of Myes, the Lorde of Rodemaque, sir Euerard of Saleabery, the Vicount Darcy, & two hundred other, beside three thousande men, whiche were slaine. In this
xl lucky tyme also, no lesse occasion of victory, was offred to the Englishemen, beyng in another parte, yf, when the pigge had been profered, thei had opened the poke: for Robert, Lorde Willoughby, and Mathewe Gough a valiaunt Welsheman, with. xv. hundred Englishemen, layed siege to a toune in Aniow, beyng bothe by situacion, and pollicie, verye strong, and defensible, called sainct Seueryne. The Englishmen, assai-

led it not so corragiously, but they within, with egall audacitie, boldelye made defence: so that fortune semed, to waie bothe the parties in egall balance. Charles the French kyng, beyng thereof aduertised, sent with all spede, the lorde Ambrose de Lore, with many noble and baliaũt personages, to aide and releue his frendes, inclosed in the toune by hys enemies. This lorde de Lore, beyng capitain of the toune, made muche haste to comfort his deputie and capitain within thesame, and so marched forward with greate spied: but fearyng to be sodainlye compassed aboute, he taried styll at Beaumont, lokyng for the armye and capitaynes, that should folow, and then altogether to set on their enemies, and so to reyse the siege. Whiles he there made his abode, and toke his leysure, the Englishmen, by their especialles, were assertened and aduertised, what progresse their enemies made, & what they intẽded. Wherefore, they pollitiquely prouided, to fight with the one parte, before the whole puyssaunce wer ioyned. And so a greate parte of them, departed secretly in the night, toward their enemies, and found the watch so out of order, & ouersene, that a thousande men wer entered into the campe before thei were espied. But the slaiyng of men, and cuttynge doune of tentes, awaked the capitaines, whom this sodain feare, and vnlooked chaunce, so greately abashed, that no man in maner, either coulde heare his felow or hymself, or could make signe to expulse and driue out their enemies out of their campe. But when the day beganne to appere, and the sunne had setfurth his bright beames, that all thynge might be sene and perceiued, the Englishemen, geuen to couetuousnes of spoyle, and desire of Rauyne, neither chaced, nor folowed their enemies, but beyng content with their prey and gayne, began to retraite toward the siege again. But se the chaunce: the Frenchmen which wer commynge after, heard by the noyce of the people, that some fraie was then in hande, put the spurres to the horse, & set on their enemies, beyng laded with bagges and wallettes, of preys and spoiles. The other part, which before fled, returned again, and assailed their enemies. The Frenchmẽ egerly assailed, and the Englishemen manfullye defended, whyche beynge out of order, wer compelled to flie, of whom, Mattew Gough and diuerse other wer taken prisoners, and yet of the other parte, many were slain, and a great nombre taken, emõgest whom, was the lord of Lore, which for all the battaile, was kept and not deliuered.

The lord Willoughby, hearyng of this chaunce, reysed the siege and departed, verie sore displeased. Therfore, let euery capitain take good hede of victorie, the whiche as she is harde to obtain, so she is quicke to flie awaie: for it is dailye sene, that he, whych thynketh suerlye, that the hath her in his handes, before he can catche her, is deceiued, & ronneth into a great losse and daũger: and on the other side, when she is gotten, (except good watche be hourely kept) she will steale awaie, with muche hurte and detriment, to the first gainer. Thus the Englishmen, for the gredy appetite of gain, lost the triumphaunt victorie, whiche they had

in their handes. While the Englishe and Frenche nacions, thus stroue and contended, for preeminence, principalitie, yea, & for the superior power of life, by the vnreasonable rage of warre in Fraunce, the rich men were spoyled of their goodes, the spirituall persones, were taxed and brought low, the commō people wer slain, murdred, and trode vnder ỹ foote, women wer defiled, virgins wer rauished, tounes wer destroied and wasted, tounedwellers and citezens, wer robbed and exiled, beautiful buyldynges, wer cruelly brent, nothyng was spared, by the cruelties of Mars: whyche by fire, bloude, or famyne, might be catched or destroied, beside a hūdred more calamities, that daily vexed and troubled the miserable French nacion. Although Fraūce, wer at this tyme, thus miserably afflicted: yet Englande, was not without doloure & trouble: for daily Englishemen, aswell noble as meane personages, were slaine taken, wounded, or hurte, their substaunce was cōtinually exacted, and cōsumed for maintenaunce of the warres, so that mischief and calamitie was indifferent to bothe the nacions, and quyetnes and gayne, were expulsed & banished from them both: in so muche that the lamentacion and dolor of both the coūtreis, wer heard through the whole west part of the worlde, and of their continuall discencion, al Europe and Affrike, had their eares and mouthes full, so that all men, not onely marueled, that Fraūce could so muche trouble so long time sustain, but more wondered, that the realme of Englande, beynge but an Ile, was able to to scourge, plague and trouble, the large Frenche region, for whiche cause Eugnye the fourth, beyng bishop of Rome, intendyng to bringe thys cruel warre, to a frendely peace, sent his Legat, called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holy crosse, into Fraunce, to thentent to make an amitie, and a concorde betwene the two Princes & their realmes. This wise Cardinall came first to the Frenche kynge, and after to the duke of Bedford beyng at Paris: exhortyng concord, and persuadyng vnitie, for wynge, declaryng, and arguyng, peace to be moste honorable, and more profitable to Christian princes, then mortall warre, or vncharitable discencion. Which gouernors of Christes people, ought to haue an ye, to the profite of their people, to se Justice duly ministred, to rule thēselfes by reason and not by wil, and to abstain frō malice, and abhorre all wronge and iniury, to whiche thynges, warre is euer enemie & cleane cōtrary.

When the Legate had thus persuaded the princes on euery parte, bothe, gently aunswered, that they wer contēt to come, to a reasonable ende. But when the firste communicacion was moued, and by cōmissioners treated, their dooynges wer so farre disagreable, from their worldes, that not onely reasonable & honest condicyons of peace, coulde be neither heard nor accepted, but more frowardnes, pertinacie, & malice was kindeled and sprong in their stomackes, then before that time had been sene. The Cardinall beyng in vtter dispaire, of cōcludyng a peace betwene the two realmes, (least he should seme to departe empty of all thynges, for the which he had taken so muche trauayll) desired a truce

for sixe yeres to come, which requeſt, as it was to him, by bothe parties hardly graunted, so was it of the Frenchmen, sone and lightly broken, after his returne: For the Bastarde of Orleaunce, newly made Erle of Dumoys, tooke by treason the toune of Charters, from the Englishemen: affirmyng by the lawe of armes, that stealynge or biyng a toune, without inuasion, or assaute, was no breach of league, amitie, nor truce. In the whiche toune, he slewe the bishop, because he was a Burgonyõ, through which occasion, newe malice increased, and mortall warre began again, to rise and spryng.

Whyle these thynges wer doynge in Fraunce, Henry Beauffordeꝑ Cardinall of Wincheſter, was sailed agayn into Englande, to appeace and represse certain diuisions and commocions, spronge vp, by mischeuous and pernicious persones, within the realme, which vnder the colour of a newe secte of religion: coniured together, to disquiet & vexe, ẏ whole quietnes of the realme. But after that Williã Maundeuile and Jhon Sharp wer taken, and executed by the gouernor and the kynges Justices, the remnaunt yelded, & confessed their offences: wherof two articles wer these, as some men write: that priestes should haue no possessions, and that all thynges, by the ordre of Charitie, emongest Christen people, shoulde be in common. After this seditious coniuracion, by ꝑ diligent enquirie, was thus quẽched out, the Cardinall began to commen with the duke of Gloucester, concernyng the affaires and busines of Fraunce: and suspecting that the truce would not long continue betwene bothe ẏ realmes, (as it did not in dede) diuised, how to send more aide, and men to the Duke of Bedforde, and gathered vp more money, and treasure, for the further maintenaũce of the warres, and resistence of their enemies. Wherupon the Duke of Gloucester, called a Parliament, in the whiche, money was assigned, and men wer appointed. Duryng whiche Parliament, James the kyng of Scottes, sent Ambassadors, to conclude a peace, with the duke of Gloucester, which, (because ꝑ the kyng was absente) referred ẏ matter to the. iij. estates. After longe consultacion, (not without greate argumentes) a peace was graunted and concluded, which all men iudged, longe to continue, because kynge James, was then vexed, with ciuil warre and intestine discencion, and also the Frenchemen had taken truce, (as you haue hard) for. vj. yeres.

When the Parliament was finished, the Cardinall well garnished with men and money, departed out of Englande, and came to Roan to the kyng, to whom also resorted from Paris, Jhon Duke of Bedford, to debate and consult of thynges, not vnlikely to happen and chaunce. Wherfore, a greate counsail was celebrate, within the Castle of Roan, ꝑ and many doubtes wer moued, & fewe waighty thynges out of hande concluded. Some imagined, that their enemies, would not longe kepe promise, nor yet obserue the trude, by them solemply graunted: cõsideryng, that the Frenche hartes brente, & their iyes were bery sore, to se the riche Duchie of Normandye, the faire citie of Paris, and the pleasaunt

saunt Isle of Fraunce, to be brought and reduced, vnder the obeysaūce and subieccion, of thenglish nacion. Wherfore, thei woulde not omit, or ouerse one thyng, that soūded to defence, least the Frenchmen sodainly, (not keping their promes, & brekyng the truce,) might cause thenglishmen to be in greate & perilous ieoperdy, not knowyng what coūsaill to take, nor sodainly to prouide a remedy for a mischief, bothe for lacke of men and substaunce. Other wer of opinion, that nombres of men, could not long be maintained and kepte together, without breache of truce, and violatyng of peace: knowyng that the handes of men, be properly
x geuen to spoyle, and euer redy to gain, and moste especially, when they be daily redy in harneis, prone and quicke to set on their enemies. And therfore, thei would the walled tounes, to be well manned & defended, and the rest of the army, to be sent into England again, there to remain and tary, till the tyme of the truce wer expired and ouer passed.

After this disputacion, with many argumentes ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmond late erle of Mortayn, and now by the death of Jhon duke of Somerset, (which died without heire male, leauing behind hym, a sole doughter called Margaret, after, countesse of Richemōd) erected to the name and title, of duke of Samerset, liked
xx and approued, the first argument, & first moued reason: affirmyng best, that warre muste be prouided for, and that money out to be disbursed, and to aduoyde all doubtes, that a greater army, was necessarye to be gathered together and assembled. When al thynges wer agreed, kyng Henry departed to Calice, and from thence to Douer, and so by easye iorneis he came the.xxj. daie of Februare, to the citie of London, where he was receiued, not onely with greate pompe and triumphe, but also highly presented with giftes and money, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian, you maie rede at large, whiche thyng I ouer passe.

After that the kynge, was departed into Englande the Duke of
xxx Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, and capitain of Calice, taried behynde in the Marches of Picardy: where he was informed, that certain souldiors of Calice, grudgyng at the restraint of wolles, beganne to mutter and murmure against the kynge and his counsaill, so that the toune of Calice, was like to stand in ieoperdy. Wherfore the duke, forseynge the mischief that might insue, & thinkyng it wisedom, to withstand the first mocion, caused the chieftaynes of this faccion, to be apprehended, and after due examinacion had, diuerse were put to death, and many banished & exiled the Marches for euer. After that he had purged ỹ toune of that vngracious and sedicious company, and had furnished it, wyth
xl new souldiors & discrete mē of war, he was determined, first to repaire again to Paris, but his harte would not serue hym: for sith his departure, Lady Anne his wife and Duchies, was departed to God, and honorably enterred in the Celestyns at Paris: by whose death, and for other causes, (as partely you haue hard) the sure loue, and approued fidelitie, betwene the duke of Burgoyn, his brother in lawe & hym, be-

gan to waxe fainte and colde. For whiche cause, he, beyng persuaded by the lorde Lewes of Luxenborough, bishoppe of Tyrwine and Ely, and Chauncellor of Fraunce for kynge Henry, agreed to marye the Ladye Jaquet, doughter to Peter, Erle of sainct Paule, and niece to the saied bishop, and to lorde Jhon of Luxenborough: to the intent, that by this newe affinitie, the olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, whyche he had with that noble familie of Luxēborough, shoulde be reneued and inforced, and with a more surer knot, knit and confirmed. Wherupon, he departed from Calice to Tirwyne, where, he was highly receiued of the Erle of sainct Paule, and of his brethren, and there he maried, the faire and freashe Ladye Jaquet, of the age of. xvij. yeres, wyth all triumphe and nupciall solempnitie. After whiche Ceremony ended, he returned with his newe spouse to Calice, and so into Englande, where, he wyth his wife remained, vntill August next, and then returned again to Paris. The duke of Burgoyne, (whose mynde began to incline, a litle and litle, toward kyng Charles) was sore greued and angry, that the duke of Bedforde, was ioyned in affinitie, with the noble and famous hous of Luxēborough: by the whiche he sawe, that the power of the Englishmen, should be greatly aduaunced. But the mariage was fully ended, and he coulde finde no remedy. xx

¶ The.xi.pete.

The.xi. yere

WHyle these thynges were doynge thus, in other places the Frenche souldiors lackynge wages, (and emongest theim, a great nombre, whiche in hope of prey, and desire of spoile, had caste vp the plough, and left their labor,) began priuely, (as tyme serued, and occasion gaue place) to take bothe Englishmen & Burgonyons, and raunsomed and spoyled theim, at their pleasure. And although, they were prohibited thus to do, (duryng the time of truce and peace) yet inconclusion, xxx they spared not openly to robbe, spoyle, & burne: yea, & to steale tounes, whyche they affirmed to be no breache of truce. The Englishmen, pricked and vexed, with these open wronges, and manifest iniuries, prepared for warre, after the sixe moneth, that the truce was taken and concluded. And by this meanes, the war was renued and begonne again. The vntrue Frenchemen, breakers of peace, and not kepers of truce, reysed a crewe of men, and sodainlye tooke the toune of sainct Valerie, standyng in Normandy, on the Riuer of Somme: and another armye, vnder the conduict of sir Ambrose, lorde of Loze, wasted and destroyed all the countrey aboute Caen. The Duke of Bedford, not myndyng to rl lye styll in ydlenesse, sent the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Warwickes sonne the Lorde Lisle, Adame Marshall of Fraunce, for kynge Henry, and. xij. C. men, with ordinaunce and municions, to besiege the toune of Laigny, vpon the Riuer of Marne. Whiche Earle, with the shot of a Canon, brake the arche of the bridge, & gat from the Frenchymen, their

bulwarke,

bulwarke,and set it on fire. Diuerse assautes were attempted, but the toune was well defended:for within,were shut vp, eight hundred men of armes,beside other meane souldiors.

The duke of Bedford,beynge therof aduertised,gathered an armye of sixe thousande men of warre,whereof wer capitaines,Robert,Lord Willoughby,sir Audrewe Ogard, Chamberlein to the duke, sir Jhon Saluaine,Baylife of Roan,sir Jhon Montgomerie. Bailife of Caux, sir Phillip Hall, Baylife of Vernoyle, sir Richard Ratclife, deputie of Calice,sir Raufe Neuell, sir Raufe Standishe,sir Jhon Hanforde,sir
x Richard Euthin,sir Richard Harrington, Balife of Eureux, sir Wyl-liam Faulthorpe,sir Thomas Griffyne of Irelande,Dauy Halle, Thomas Stranguish,Leonard Ormestõ,Esquiers,and Thomas Gerard, whiche solde the toune of Mounstreau Faultyou, to the Frenchemen: and with all thynges necessarye, came to the siege before Laigny. He, there,made a bridge of boates,and brought his ordinaunce so nere the toune,that to all people,it semed not longe able to resist.But the Earle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleaunce, with diuerse hardy capitaines,as valiauntly repulsed, as the Englishemen assauted. Thys siege contynued, as fire against flame, and sometyme flame against fire. For al-
xx though the Englishemen slewe more nombre,yet they gat neither prey nor boty:and although the Frenchemen, kept valeauntly the walles, and defended the loupes,yet they loste bothe men and capitaines, and wer long secluded from their aide and succors, till Charles the French kyng,perceiuing this toune, to be the thre corner key,betwene the territories of the Englishemen,the Burgonyons,and his awne, and that the losse therof,should turne hym to innumerable damages, and incredible hurtes,sent the lorde of Rieux,Poyton,the Heire,the lorde Gancort,and sixe thousand men,with great plentie of vitailes, to thentent, either to reise the siege,or to vitaile the toune. The French capitaines,
xxx made a bragge,as though they would fight with thenglishemen,within their felde and Campe. The Englishemen would not issue out, but kept themselfes in good ordre,euer lokyng for their entrie and inuasiõ. The Regent perceiuyng,that thei approched not,sente to theim an herault of Armes,declaryng his intent, and the corage of his companye, whiche nothyng more desired,then battaill. And to shewe hymself as a capitain,meanyng that, which he offred,& not dissimulyng that, which he spake:he incontinent,deuided hys men into three battailes,no more wisely ordered,thẽ pollitiquely gouerned:as who would saie, come on Frencheman,yf thy harte will serue.But his aduersaries, more craftie
xl then hardy,more pollitique then coragious,framed themselfes in such ordre of battailes, as thei wer able to do all thyng, and yet inconcluliõ, (concernyng marciall feates) they did nothyng. For, while thei made a proude bragge, and a stoute skirmishe with the Englishemen,they appoynted diuerse rude and rusticall persones,to conueye into the toune, xxx.oxen & other small vitaill,but this swete gain, was sowerly payed

foꝛ,if the losse with the gayn, be pondered in one balaunce:foꝛ hauynge
regard to.xxx.leane oxen, in the conflict were slain,the loꝛd Sentray-
les,bꝛother to Pothon,the baleaunt capitain Jhon,bꝛother to the loꝛd
Gawcoꝛt,and fiftie other noble and baleaunt personages,beside other
common people,whiche bought that bargayne, aboue the pꝛice of the
common Markette. The Frenchemeu,perceiuynge their infoꝛtunate
chaunce,and not only consyderyng,the vnspeakeable heate, which then
weried their people,beyng in the beginnyng,of the hote moneth of Au-
gust:but also,perceiuyng the Englishemen, to be planted and settled,in
a place vnable to be wonne,and in a grounde, bothe daungerous to in- x
uade,and hard to assaile, like men desperate of gain, and without hope
of victoꝛy,departed to Foꝛt vnder Yerre,where,by a bꝛidge of tunnes,
they passed into the Isle of Fraunce. The Duke of Bedfoꝛde, (lyke a
wise pꝛince)not myndyng to lease the moꝛe foꝛ the lesse,noꝛ the accident
foꝛ the substaunce,fearyng that Paris and other tounes,moꝛe necessa-
ry to thenglishemen,and of moꝛe estimacion, would returne to hys ad-
uersaries,thynkyng yf the greater power were holden,the lesse should
be sone obtained,reysed his siege,and returned to Paris,nothyng lesse
myndyng,then to trie his querell with dent of sweard,against his ene-
mies:and so sent Bedfoꝛd his herault,to the loꝛde Gawcoꝛt, and other xx
chieftaines of his army,offeryng hym battaill,and a pitched feld, with-
in a conuenient grounde, where so euer he woulde, wythin the Isle of
Fraunce,assigne oꝛ appoynt. To the whiche officer of Armes, the capi-
taines aunswered,that battaill thei feared not,noꝛ the Englishe puys-
saunce,thei not muche regarded,but they saied:that tyme was to gain,
and tyme was to lose,of the whiche twoo,thei doubted not to espie the
one,either to their greate gain,oꝛ to their apparaunt losse. Wherupon
thei sent the loꝛde Ambꝛose de Loꝛe, with.viij.C.hoꝛsemen, to robbe & xxx
spoyle the pooꝛe people,commyng to the faier, on the day of sainct Mi-
chaell the Archangell,kepte in the suburbes of the toune of Caen. But
whē Dauy Halle Esquier,capitain of the toune, foꝛ the duke of Yoꝛke,
issued out to fight with hym,he departed by flight, wythout any either
botie oꝛ gain of the faier. The Frenchmen perceiuyng,that neither po-
wer,foꝛce,noꝛ pollicie,coulde auaile against the Englishe nacion,deter-
mined to trippe and deceiue them,by their accustomed seruaunt,called
master Treason,and so by money,coꝛrupted Piers Audebeuffe, Con-
stable of the castle of Roan,that the Marshall of Fraunce, and the loꝛde
Fountaynes,with twoo hundꝛed persones disguised, entered into the
Castle,but thei wer sone espied,and dꝛiuen to the dongeon, where thei
wer takē and yelded:wheꝛof some wer hanged,some hedded,and some xl
raunsomed at the pleasure of the Regent:and suche ende had the tray-
toꝛs,whiche would by treason, rather then by battaill, obtained their
pꝛey and desired purpose.

This pageaunt plaied, the Regent sent Peter of Luxenboꝛoughe
Erle of sainct Paule,and Robert,loꝛde Willoughby, with a competent

crue

crue of men, to besige the toune of Sainct Ualerie, whiche the Frenche men alitle before had taken. These valeaunt capitaines, not myndyng to slepe their busines, enuironed the toune with a strong siege. Within the toune, wer sir Lewes de Uancort, sir Phillippe de la Toure, and sir Reignold de Uersailles, capitaines, with three hundred good fightyng men, which by the space of.iij.wekes. manfully defended the same. But at the.xxi.daie. their perceiuyng the fiersenes of thenglishemen, and the weakenes of themselfes, (hauyng no hope of relief, nor confidence in any aide) rendered the toune, their horsse and harneis onely saued. The
x Erle put, in the garrison of the toune, freasshe and valeaunt souldiors, and appoynted capitain there, sir Jhon Awbemond: in whiche toune sodainly, (whether it wer by infeccio of the ayre, or by corrupt vitaill by long lying, whiche the tounes men dyd eate,) a great pestilence sprang, in the infortunate coūtrey. Whiche, after so many calamities and euill chaunces, beyng twoo tymes besieged by the Frenchemen, and thyse recouered by thenglishe nacion, was now infected and corrupted, with the pestilent plague: whereby twoo partes of the people, within shorte space, wer destroyed and consumed.

After thys toune gotten, the Earle of sainct Paule, and the Lorde
xi Willoughby, returned to the Regent, where, they wer well welcomed. And after, the said Erle departed from Paris, to laie siege to the Castle of Monchas, but beyng encamped, nere to the toune of Blangy, he, by a sodain maladie, finished his daies, and departed the worlde, leauynge his seigniories, to Lewes his sonne and heire. For whiche dedde Erle, wer solempne obsequies kepte, bothe in Paris and in London, because he was father in lawe to the Regent. In the meane season, the Frenchmen entered into the costes of high Burgoyne, and brent, toke, and destroyed tounes: for whiche cause, the Burgonyons beyng sore displeased, assembled a greate army, bothe to reuenge their querels, and also
xii to recouer again the tounes, from theim iniustely taken: to whom, (as to his frendes) the duke of Bedford, sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kiriel, with a conuenient company of souldiors, which enteryng into the laundes of Laonoys, wer encountred wyth a great nōbre of their enemies: but by whose force, (after long fight) the Frenchmen wer slain and dispersed: wherof wer left dedde in the feld, an hundred & sixtie horsemen, beside prisoners, whiche after in a fury, were all killed and put to destruccion.

The .xij. pere.

xl WHyle these chaunces thus happened in Fraunce, Jhon lorde Talbot, gathered together, a crue of chosen men of warre in Englande, to the nombre of.viij.C. and sayled into Normandy, and passed by Roan toward Paris, and in his way, he toke the stronge Castle of Joing, betwene Beauoys and Gisors, and caused all the Frenchymen within, to be hanged on the walles,

The.xij.pere

les,and after, raised and defaced the Castle, and came to the Duke of Bedford,to Paris. The presence of whiche renoumed capitain,(a maruelous thyng it is to se) so incoraged the hartes of the Englishe nacion, that thei thought, nothyng able to resist their puyssaunce, and so discoraged the hartes of the Frenchemen,that thei wer in doubt,whether it wer better to fight,or to flie. And this was not without a cause:for surely,he was a chosen capitain,& in marciall feates, a man fullye instructed,and his corage and practise in warre, was fearfull to the Frenche nacion,and to his awne countremen,an especiall hope & a sure defence. When this hardy Baron,had commoned with the Regent,and agreed & what waie he should take, without long delay or prolongyng of tyme, he departed from Paris with his army,and besieged the Castle of Beaumont vpō Oise,wherof was capitain, Sir Amadour de Vignolles, brother to the Heire. Whyche castle was sone rendered,vpon condiciō. After that, he regained without longe siege,the tounes of Creile, the bridge of sainct Maxens,the new toune in Esmoy, Crespy in Valoys, and Cleremoūt in Beauoys: and so with greate riches,and fatte prisoners,he returned again to Paris. Thus, prosperous successe happened,not to the lorde Talbot alone:but also thesame very season, therle of Arundell,toke the Castle of Bomelyne,and rased it to the ground, & and after,tooke by force the Castle of Doyle, and from thence came to sainct Seleryne,where the lord Ambrose of Lore,was capitain,which issued out,and fought with the Englishemen so egerly at the firste,that he droue them backe an arowe shot by fine force. But the Earle so incoraged his men,that they toke newe corages to them, and set so fiercly on the Frenchemen,that they slewe a greate nombre, & droue the remnaunt into the toune.

After thys victorye,he besieged Louiers,wherof was capitain, the Heire,and his brother,which rendered the toune,without stroke or assaute. For all this good lucke,therle forgat not to returne,to the toune & of S. Seleryne,but assembled a great army, and enuironed the toune about with a strong siege. Whē he had lien there almoste.iij.monethes euery daie attemptyng or dooyng somewhat, for the performaunce of his enterprise,in conclusion at the thre monethes ende,he gaue so fierce an assaut,that by force he entred the toune,and slewe Jhon Allemagne and Gulliam sent Aubyne, the chief capitaines,and.viij.C.other men of warre,and the Childzen of the lord Lore, wer taken captiues:he replenished and fortified the toune again with newe men, and municios, and made there capitain,sir Jhon Cornwale. Whiche acte thus accomplished,he departed,and came before the stronge toune of Sillye, and & there pitched his campe. The inhabitauntes of thesame,somewhat dismaied with the chaunce,that late happened to the toune of.S.Seleryne,deliuered to him pledges,vpon this cōdicion: that if thei wer not rescued,within.xxx.daies nexte insuyng, then they, (their lifes saued) shoulde rendre the toune, into his possession: whiche offre was taken.

The

The capitaines within the toune, sent a post to the French kyng, to aduertise hym of their hard chaunce, which incontinent sent to them, Arthur, erle of Richemond, (but after some writers, Jhon duke of Alaunson) with a greate company of men. When therle sawe the Frenche succors appere, he restored again ỹ pledges to the gouernors of the toune, and issued out of hys campe, takyng a place moste mete and conuenient for to abide battaill, for whiche he sore thirsted and longed. The Duke or the Erle, (take which you list) lyng by a brooke side, whyche a man might stride ouer, seyng the Englishemen, so warlike and strongly embattailed, thought it not for hys profite, to geue battaill, or to sette forward: but in the dedde time of the night, cowardly fled, and with shame returned: although some Frēch writers affirme, that he loked that the erle of Arundell, shoulde haue geuen hym battayll, and because he profered not forward, therfore the Frenchmē departed. This appereth to be an apparaunt lye, and a Frenche bragge: for yf they came to rescewe the toune, why dyd not they geue battayl, & so driue away thenglishmē from the toune: If they came to fight, why departed they without any stroke striken: But it semeth that thei came, to make a French face, and for to do nothyng. For thei, without skirmishe or succorynge the toune departed in the night secretely, (as you haue heard.) Whē thei within the toune knew, that their succors failed, thei rendred them selfes, to ỹ mercy of therle of Arundel, which gently receiued thē, & leauyng a garrison in the toune, departed to Maunς, and in the meane waie, toke the Castles, of Mellay and sainct Laurēce. About this tyme, the lord Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kiriell, returnynge with great victories out of the parties of Burgoyne, tooke in their waye, the toune of Louiers, and furnished it, bothe with men, and municions.

Emongest so manye good chaunces, some euill are accustomed to fall and happen, or els the gayners, will not knowe themselfes. So it happened, that a greate nombre, of rude and rustical persones in Normādy, dwellyng by ỹ sea coast, either prouoked, or intised therunto, by the Frenche kyng, or desirous of alteracion & chaunge, (whiche thyng the commen people muche couete and desire) made an insurrection, & put on harneis, & by force expulsed certain garrisons, out of their houldes, and toke certain tounes: publishyng and proclaimyng openly, that their onely purpose and intent was, to expell and banish, the whole Englishe nacion, out of their coūtreys and coastes. Wherfore, it maye euidently appere, that the blacke Ethyopian, or the blacke coloured rauē, will soner turne their colours, than the vniuersal people, bred in fraūce will hartely loue, or inwardly fauor, an Englishe borne child. And yet, the Normans of long tyme, louyngly and gentely, haue obeyed to the subiection of Englande, and haue of the Englishe nacion, been well accepted and regarded, but now thei, forgettyng their duetie, and remēbryng their hurtes, did not doubt, to rebell against their prince and soueraigne Lorde.

This

This mischeuous cõpany, thus frantiquely gathred together, with all spede marched toward Caen, to the intent there, bothe to assemble a greater nombre of people, and also to consult, what way thei should follow in their newe begon attẽptate. But the dukes of Yorke & Somerset, which then wer lyng in Normandy, hearynge of this vngracious faccion & troubelous cõmocion, & hauyng knowledge by their espiales what iorney they intẽded to take: incõtinent without delay, sent, therle of Arundell, and the lorde Willoghby, with. vj. M. archers, and. xiij. hundred light horsses, to staie and kepe them, either for settyng furthe, or makyng farther progresse. Therle of Arundell goyng one waye, appoynted the Lorde Willoughby, with twoo thousande Archers, and a certain nombre of horsemen, to go afore hym, to lye in watche and stale, secretly by the waye, to stop the iorney and passage of the rebelles, whẽ they should approch. The lorde Willoughby, couertly couered hymself and his company, sendyng worde to the Erle, of the place where he lay, to thentent that he might make a signe and a token, (when tyme should be most luckey and fortunate,) to inuade & set on their enemies. Which thynge doen, the erle folowed at the backe, the ragged route and mischeuous multitude, as a man, that draue the deare before hym into the buckestalle, or the sely coneis into the secrete hay. When the ignorant multitude, approched ner to the place of the stale, the Earle made a token, and shot a gonne for a signe. Then the Lorde Willoughby, set on them before, and the Erle behynde, shotyng so fiercly, that the dastarde people, partly, amased with the sodain chaunce, and partlye, galled and wounded with the shot of the arrowes, threwe awaye their harneis: desiryng nothing but death. Therle of Arundel, (moued with compassion) caused his souldiors to leaue of & staye, from farther murther or bloud sheding, & apprehendynge such, as he thought, to be the ledars & chief stirres of the people, let the other returne home frankly and freely: but yet there were a. M. and more slain, before the souldiors, could be brought again vnder their standerdes.

After this commocion appeased, and the sodain rage in the begynnynge staied and brideled, diligent inquirie was made of the malefactors, and suche as wer found gilty, by diuerse terrible executions, (accordyng to their desertes,) miserably ended their traiterous lifes. During which rebellion, Peter Rokefort and his cõpanye, gat by treason the toune of Deape, & diuerse other houldes, therunto adioynyng. After the Erle of Arundell, had obtained so manye conquestes, and notable victories (as you haue heard) he attẽpted an other, whiche was the last worke and extreme labor, of his liuyng daies. For the duke of Bedford, beyng informed, that his aduersaries, had sodainly surprised and takẽ the toune of Rue, and therin had put a garrison, which sore vexed the coũtreis of Ponthiew, Arthoys, and Bolenoys, sent word to therle that he, without delaye, should besiege thesaid toune. Therle obeyed to his cõmaundement, and incontinent, sente for all the people vnder his gouer-

gouernaunce, and in his marching forward, came to Gourney, where he heard tel, how that there was a certain Castle, nere Beauois, called Gerborye, whiche either by force of ralyng, or violency of weather, was sore decaied and defaced. And because this place was opportune and very necessarie, to prohibite, let and stop Thenglishmen, to make sodain runnynges in, or rodes into the countrey of Beauoys: Charles the Frenche kyng commaunded Sir Stephen de Veignolles, commonly called the Heire, to se the castle reedefied and fortified. The saied sir Stephen with a great company, came to the grounde, and lackyng neither stuffe necessary, nor artificers sufficient, in small tyme erected the Castle, and began to defende the fortresse. The Erle of Arundell, beyng credibile informed of their dooynges, and perceyuyng that this newe edification, was very preiudiciall to the Englishe part, determined first to take the Castle, supposyng litle or no resistence, therein to be shutte vp, but he was deceiued, for there was the Heire, with many good and valeaunte capitaines. The Erle with fiue hundred horsemen, encamped him selfe in a litle close, not farre from the Castle: The Frenchemen, which were thre thousand men, perceiuing that the Erle and his horses were wery, and that his archars were not yet come, determined for their aduauntage to set on him, before the comming of his footmen, whiche they knewe to be litle more, then a mile behynde the Erle. Wherfore, for a policie, they set furthe fiftie horsemen, as though they were no mo in the Castle. The Erle perceauing that, sent furth Sir Randolfe Standishe, to encountre with them, hauing in his company a hundred horses: The Frenchemen fought corageously a while, and sodainly came out all the remnaunte, and slewe sir Randolfe Standishe, and all his company, and boldly set on the Erle and his bande, whiche manfully defended them, so that the Frenchemen gat litle aduauntage, for al their great nombre. The Heire perceiuing the hartes, corrage and defence of this Englysh people, caused thre Culuerynes to be shot emongest theim, whereof, one strake the Erle on the ancle, and so brake his legge, that for pane he fell from hys horsse, then the Frenche men entered emongest the Englyshe army, and tooke the Erle being on the grounde, prysoner, and sir Rychard Wooduile, and sixe score more, and there were slain almoost two C. The remnaunt saued them selfes aswell as they might. The Erle was caried to Beauoys, whereof this hurte he shortly died, and was buried in the friers Minors. He was a man of a singuler vertue, constancie and grauitie, whose death in so troubelous a worlde, did sore appall the hartes of his nacion. By this infortune, Rue was not besieged, nor Gerborie taken, suche is the chaunce of warre, thus Lady Fortune daily turneth her whiele, and mightie Mars, often varieth his countenaunce, so that one tyme the Englyshemen gat by assaut and yeldyng, dyuerse strong tounes, Castles, and pyles. At another season, the Frenche people, somtyme by bargain, somtyme by assaut, obteined thesaied cyties and fortifications againe, or other in their stede. Whiche dayly attemptes, Iomit

mit and other passe, because in them, no notable acte, nor great warlyke feate was doen or committed. For small thynges, require litle wrytyng, and fewe actes, require lesse speakyng. For I assure you, that he, whiche should write the negligent losses, and the politique gaynes, of euery cyte, fortresse, and turrett, whiche were gotten and loste in these dates, should fatigate and wery the reader, more with volumes, then queares and the hearer, more with trifling woordes, then with notable matter. Wherfore, sithe in all myne authors, I fynde no matter, either greatly necessarie, or muche conuenient to be spoken of, concernyng any hygh enterpryse: I therfore, leauyng both the nacions, dayly studiyng how to greue, and gain of the other, will turne again to other thynges accidentall whiche chaunced in this .xrii. yere.

ABOVT the moneth of June, Jhon duke of Burbon and Auerne, taken prysoner at the battaill of Agyncourte .xviii. yeres paste, (as you before haue heard) now paiyng his raunsome, whiche was .xviii. M. l. sterlyng, and hauyng ready prepared all thinges necessary, for his triumphaunt returne into his countrey, was taken with a mooste sore and greuous feuer, whiche shortely vnbodied his soule, in the cytie of London, on the daye appointed, for his departure into Fraunce: whose corps was enterred, in the Grey Friers of the saied cytie. So by thys, euery creature maye se that man purposeth & God disposeth. I may not forget a chaunce whiche happened this yere, to the examples of princes, and a spectakle of gouernours. For the deuill hymself, to set farther diuision betwene the Englishe and Frenche nacion did apparell certain catchepoules, and Parasites, cõmonly called titiuils and tale tellers, to sowe discord and dissencion, betwene the dukes of Bedforde and Burgoyne, not faining trifles nor phãtasies, but thinges of reproche, repugnaunte to bothe their honors, estates, and dignities, with the whiche, eache of them was as well pricked, as hastely spurred, so that all loue, betwene theim ceased, all affinitie was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was cast by disdayn, into the caue of oblituion. Suche a pestilent breath hath Flattery, and suche mischiefe ensueth, of Princes light credence. This grudge was perceiued, by their mutuall frendes, whiche by charitable exhortacion and Godly aduertisement, exhorted theim, to renewe their old loue and familiaritie, and to mete and enterview, in some place decent and conuenient. The Duke of Bedforde, gladly condiscended, to come to sent Diners, beyng the duke of Burgoyns Toune, and thyther, accordyng to hys appoyntment, he in honorable estate, came and resorted, and likwyse dyd the duke of Burgoyne. The duke of Bedford, beyng Regent of Fraunce, & sonne, brother, and vncle to kynges, though it that the duke of Burgoyne, shoulde first haue visited and saluted hym: duke Philip on the other parte, beyng Lorde & souereigne of the toune, iudged it not mete, nor to stande with his honour, to go to hym, where he was lodged, but was content, by entreatie of frendes, to mete with hym in a place indifferent, betwene bothe their harbero wes: Whiche offer

was

was not accepted, & so, bothe parties departed discontent, & neuer after sawe or commoned with other. What should I speake of the courage of these two proud prynces, the duke of Bedford minding to haue no pere, and the duke of Burgoyne, willing to haue no superior, by whose proud disdain, and enuious discord, shortly England lost, and Burgoyne gayned not long, as you shall perceiue, in this history ensuyng.

¶ The. xiii. yere.

The. xiii. yere

THe Bastard of Orleaunce, called the erle of Dumoys, the lorde Rochefort Marshal of Fraunce, with other, in the beginnyng of this. xiii. yere, tooke the toune of sancte Denise by treason, and skirmished with theim of Paris, and leauyng behynd hym a greate garryson, tooke the toune of Howdone, and the bridge of saincte Warence by composicion, and at that tyme was taken the toune, of Pount Weulane, by sodayn scaling of twoo fyshermen: whiche entered vp at a common priuie, standing on the walle. Thus tounes vnwalled, were preys to rauenous men of war, so that the poore inhabitauntes within theim, (not beyng able to kepe their fidelitie or allegeaunce, when shielde and defence lacked,) were constrained and compelled, to yelde and rendre theimselfes, to the more power, and vpper hande: Least they being nedy and innocente people, should be vexed and turmented, with the vnreasonable men of warre: So that in all Christendome, no Region was more vnquiete, more vexed, more poore, nor more to be pitied, then the countrey of Fraunce. And although the rude and poore people, suffered many plagues and aduersities: yet the souldiours, prospered not in all thynges. For although prey and spoyle sometyme refreshed their mindes, and did comfort their stomakes, yet sometime they were slain, taken, and licked vp, or thei were ware. For euery pryncе studied and circumspectely compassed, how to kepe, defende and releue, the cyties and tounes, of their seuerall faccion, and priuate fidelitie. Wherefore, when sacietie of slaughters, and abundaunce of murthers, had replenished the stomakes, of bothe the nacions, and that bothe in generall, perceiued their hurtes,, pondered their losses, and considered their ruynes, and dayly afflictions: Although their stomakes were haute, and their hartes stony, yet they waxed lofte, priuely inclyning to peace, and wyshyng concorde, and not without an vrgente cause: For all thynges necessary to mans lyuyng, penurie shewed her selfe furth, and aboundaunce was hidden in a caue. The corne fieldes laye vntilled, the meddowes were ouer troden, the woodes were spoyled, so that all men went to harneis, and no man to the plough. The churches were seldome vsed for deuocion, but many tymes spoyled, for desyre of gayne. These, and suche innumerable mischiefes, caused bothe the people, beyng enemies to desire peace, and yet the one part, disdained openly to offre it, or the other priuatly to receiue it.

THE erle and noyes of this perillous and insaciable warre, was

blasted throughout Europe, detested throughout Christendome, and especially, at the Counsayll of Basill, where then themperor Alberte, and all the Princes and potestates of Christendome, or their deputies, were assembled, for the vnion of the vngracious scisme, in the vsurped sea of Rome vntruly, and against all scripture, called sainct Peters sea. Wherefore the Emperor and the temporall princes, supposyng the exhortacion of Spirituall fathers, shoulde more profyte emongest the twoo hygh stomacked, and proude encoraged nacions, of Englande and of Fraunce, desyred Eugeny then bysshop of Rome, to be the author and arbitrer, of that great stryfe and contencion: So that by his meanes, counsaill and exhortacion, the weapon myght be taken out of the handes of two so inuincible nacions, whiche neuer would yelde or bowe, the one to the other, neyther yet, once heare of abstinence of fyghtyng, or refusyng from warre: So much were their hartes hardened, and so princely were their stomackes. And one thyng, muche put them in hope, of some good conclusion, because the duke of Burgoyn was wyllyng, (so that it were not of his awne suite,) to returne and reconcile himselfe, to Charles, his mortall enemie and auncient aduersary. Wherfore, by authoritie of this generall Counsaill, two discrete persones, called the Cardinalles of sainct Crosse, & Cypres, came to the toune of Arras in Arthois, whether, were sente for the kyng of Englande, Henry Beauffort, Cardinall of Wynchester, Henry Archebyshop of yorke, William de la Pole Erle of Suffolke, and Jhon Hollander Erle of Huntingdon, with diuerse other knightes and Esquiers: And for the French kyng, were there present, Charles Duke of Burbon, Lewes Erle of Vandosme, Arthur of Bretayne, Constable of Fraunce, the Archebyshop of Reyns, and sir Philip Hartort. There was the duke of Burgoyne, in proper persone, accompanied with the duke of Gelders, and the Erles of Estampes, Lygnye, sainct Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, and Daniell, sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great galaunt company.

VPON the date of the first session, the Cardinall of sainct Crosse, declared to the thre parties, the innumerable mischiefes, the multitude of inconueniencies, whiche had succeded, throughout al Christendom, by their daily discord and continuall discencion: exhorting and requiring them, for the honor of God, for the loue that they bare to the settyng furthe of Christes religion, and for the aduauncement, of the publique wealth of all Christendom, that they would laye al rancor apart, represse al wrath and anger, and conforme themselfes to reason, and to Godly concorde, by the whiche, they should receaue, honor, profite, and continuall quietnesse, in the worlde, and of God, a reward euerlasting. After whiche admonicion, thus to them geuen, and after diuerse daies of communication, euery part brought in their demaunde, whiche were most contrary, and harde to come to a good conclusion. The Englishemen required, that kyng Charles shoulde haue nothyng, but at the hande of the kyng of Englande, and that not as duetie, but as a benefite, by hym of his

mere

mere liberalitie geuen, and distributed, to whiche the Frenchemen aun-
swered, that kyng Charles would haue the kyngdome, frankely & frely,
without begging it of another man: requyryng the kyng of Englande,
to leaue the name, Armes, and title of the kyng of Fraunce, and to be
content with the dukedoms of Aquitain and Normandy, and to forsake
Paris, and all the tounes, whiche they possessed in Fraunce, betwene
the Riuers of Loyre and Somme, beyng no percell of the Duchie of
Normandy. The Englyshemen, loth to lease so good a boty as Paris,
did not esteme and allowe, the demaundes of the Frenche Ambassadors
x and they on the otherside, couetyng and desyryng, to obteine againe the
renoume and glory of their Region, whiche was Paris, woulde in no
wise condiscende, to any part of the Englishe requestes. Thus, the pryde
of the one part, and the ambicion of the other, letted concorde, peace, and
quietnes. The Cardinals, seyng the frostie hartes and hardened myn-
des of bothe parties, determined nat, to dyspute the titles, but offered to
them, honest and reasonable condicions, of truce and peace, for a season:
whiche articles bothe parties, either for frowardnes, or for disdaine o-
penly refused: In so muche as, the Englishmen in great displeasure, de-
parted to Calice, and so into England. One writer affirmeth, that they
xx beyng warned of a secrete conspiracie moued against them, sodainly re-
moued from Arras, and so sayled into their countrey.

VVHILES this treatie of peace, was thus in communication at Ar-
ras, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Willoughby, the lorde Scales, with
the Lorde Lisle Adame, and fiue thousande men, besieged the toune of
S. Denise, with a stronge bande. The Erle of Dunoys hearyng ther-
of, accompanied with the Lorde Lohac, and the Lorde Bucill, & a great
company of horsemen, haisted thitherwarde, to rayse the siege, and in the
meane waie, they encountered with sir Thomas Kiriell, and Matthew
Gough, rydyng also toward. S. Denise, betwene whom, was a great
xxx conflict, and many slayn on both parties: But sodainly came to the aide
of the Frenchemen, the garrison of Pount Melance, which caused then-
glishemen to returne, without any great harme or damage, sauyng that
Matthew Gough, by founderyng of his horsse, was taken and caried to
Pount Melance. Duryng whiche fight, the toune of sainct Denise, was
rendered to the lorde Talbot, and the other lordes, whiche caused al the
walles to be rased; and abated doune to the ground, sauyng the walles
of the Abbay, and a Toure called Uenyn. After this toune gotten, the
Lorde Willoughby, left Sir Jhon Ruppelley at Pounthoyse, and de-
parted to gouerne Paris, whiche then began to smoke, and sone after,
xl brast out in flame, (as you shall shortly, apparauntly perceiue). After
whose departure, thenhabitauntes of Pounthoyse rebelled, & droue out
thenglishemen by very force, and rendered themselfes subiectes to kyng
Charles. This toune was small, but the losse was great, for it was the
very conuenient kaye, betwene Paris and Normandy, so that nowe the
gate betwene them bothe, was set open and the passage at large.

LET vs now againg, returne to the counsaill at Arras. After the Englishe Ambassadours were departed, the Frenchemen & the Burgonyons began familiarly to commō of a peace, and talke of an amitie, to the whiche mocion, Philip duke of Burgoyne, was neither deffe noz straūge: For he in the beginning of his rule, being muche desyrous to reuēge and punishe the shamefull murder doen to his father, and to kepe hym selfe in his high estate, and preminence, began to be associate, and to reigne with thenglishe power, and to serue the kyng of England thinking that by his amitie and ioyning, that he should neither harme noz hurte, the common wealth of the countrey, whereof at that tyme he bare the whole rule, noz yet lose one iote oz poynt, of his authoritie, oz gouernaūce. But when it happened, contrary to his expectacion, that the kyng of Englande, by the right course of inheritaunce, toke vpon hym the whole rule and gouernaunce, within the realme of Fraunce, and ouered by the aduise of his counsayll, all causes, iudgementes, warres, and concordes, and that the duke iudged that he was not had in greate confidence, noz in perfite truste, as he thought, because the Duke of Bedforde, would not suffre the toune of Orleaunce, to be rendered to hym (as you before haue hearde): He therfoze ymagined, and determined with hym selfe, to returne into the pathe agayne, from the whiche he had straied and erred, and to take part, and ioyne with his awne bloud and nacion: So that some honest meane, might be sought by other, and not by hym selfe, least peraduenture by hys awne sekyng, he myght bynde hymselfe in condicions hurtfull, and soze inconueniences, to the Frenche kyng, and also be noted of vntruth and traiterous behauoz, toward the kyng of Englande and his nacion: To whom he had done homage, leage, and swozne fealte. Now this Counsayll, was foz hym a cloke foz the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie, of the Frenche kyng, (whiche thyng in his harte, he moste coueted and desired) but was therunto persuaded, by the generall counsaill, and by the byshop of Rome, whom it was reason, in all honest requestes, that he should submitte hymselfe, and humbly obey. And so, shadowed with this counsayll, without long argument oz prolongyng of tyme, he tooke a determinate peace, and a finall conclusion, vpon these condicions: that he should haue to hym deliuered, the counteis of Arthoys, Pontiew, and Bullonoys, and the tounes of Amience, Corby, Mondidier, Peron, sainct Quintyne, and Abbeuile, with many other seigniozies, and superiozities, which be not foz my purpose to reherse. Prouided alwaie, that the Frenche kyng, paiyng in redy money, to the duke oz his heires, four C. M. crounes, should haue the said tounes and countreys, to be redeliuered again: And many other thynges, the Frenche kyng graunted, to the duke of Burgoyne, whiche after, he was not able to perfozme, noz accomplishe, foz he had no power, to make denial to the duke, of any demaunde oz request, which the Duke either phantasied oz moued: as who would saie, that he thought in hymselfe, that suche an aduersary, whiche desired so honest, and so reasonable

sonable condicions, (consideryng the state of the tyme, and the occasion of concorde, moste apparauntly offered to hym,) ought neither to be refused nor cast away, the whiche chaunce, was to hym luckey and fortunate: for surely, the thing forsene and loked for, succeded and toke place, as you shall perceiue. This concorde, was so pleasaunt to the Frenche king, that he, not only sent for hym: but as a swanne that swimmeth after her make, met hym in proper persone, at the cytie of Reynes, and (after long cõmunication) standing vp vpõ his fete, said to him these wordes.

The oracion of the French kyng to the duke of Burgoyne.

DVKE Philip, coisyn, and pere of Fraunce, with all my harte welx come, and of your comming, my harte is fulfylled with ioy, and my spyrites be refreshed with solace, for now, all doubte of the recouery, of my lande and seignory, is clerely banysshed, and fully abandoned: consyderyng that I haue nowe, ioyned and vnited to me, the principall pere, the moste noble prince, (nexte to the Croune) and the mooste valeaunt captain, that hath bene, or is, in our dates, sene, or knowen, whome the nobilitie honor, the chiualry fauor, and the pooze commons loue, and dayly desyre to beholde: So that all men loue, and embrace you, aboue al creatures, and worshyp and reuerence you, aboue all Lordes, because you, beyng a straiyng shepe, are nowe returned, to your olde flocke, and lyke xa man wanderyng out of the pathe, are nowe brought agayne, to the right waye, and true limite. For surely, this text was euer beaten muche in my hedde: That euery realme, deuided emong theimselfe, shoulde turne to desolacion, and that all discord, should bring pouertie, and that of all dissencion, should succede mysery: whiche intollerable calamities, I euer iudged to ensue, by the discorde and controuersie, betwene vs twoo. But nowe the sore is cured, and the ship brought into the sure hauen: Trustyng perfectly, and nothing mistrustyng, but by your helpe and aide, we shall expell, cleane pull vp by the rootes, and put out, all the Englyshe nacion, out of our realmes, territories, and dominions. xxAnd if you helpe vs, (as you maie) and if you ayde vs, (as you be able) we here promise you, in the worde of a prince, to be yours, yea, so yours, that all ours, shalbe yours, at your commaundement and desire, not as ours, but as yours, to doo and spende at your pleasure. To the whiche, the duke of Burgoyne aunswered, that he would let scape nothyng, that appertayned to his duetie, nor forget any poynt, whiche myght turne to his dishonour.

VVHEN this league was sworne, and this knot was knit, the duke of Burgoyne, to sette a vayle, before the kyng of Englandes yes, sent Thoison Dor, his kyng at Armes, to kyng Henry with letters: That xxi he, beyng not only waxed faint, and wering, with contynuall warre, and dayly conflictes, but also chaked dayly, with complaintes and lamentacion, of his people, whiche, of the Frenchemen, suffered losse and detriment, embrayding and rebukyng hym openly, affirming, that he onely was the supporter and mainteyner, of the Englyshe people, and that by his meanes and power, the mortall warre was continued and sette

forward, and that he more diligently studied, and intentiuely toke pain, bothe to kepe, and maintein thenglyshemen in Fraunce, and also to aduaunce and promote their desires, & intentes, rather then to restore kyng Charles his cosyn, to his rightfull inheritaunce, & paternall possession: by reason of whiche thinges, and many other, he was in maner compelled and constrained, to take a peace, and conclude an amitie with kyng Charles, exhortyng kyng Henry, with many flatterying woordes, when honest and reasonable condicions were offered, to take them, and to make an ende of the warre, which so long had cõtinued, to the decay of both the realmes, and to the effusion of Christen bloud, beside the greate displeasure of almightie God, whiche is the aucthor of peace & vnitie: promising hym his aide, and furtheraunce in that behalfe, with many glosyng and flatterying worde, whiche I passe ouer.

HERE is to be noted, that the Duke of Burgoyne, whiche thought hymselfe by this concord, in maner dishonored, and spotted with infamy sente his letters to the kyng of Englande, rather to purge and excuse hymselfe, of his vntruthe and infidelitie, (yea of periury, if a poore man maie vse that terme, of so greate a prynce) to thentent that it should appere, that he by compulsion, and not by voluntarie affection, was turned to the Frenche part: Not for any malice or displeasure, whiche he bare to kyng Henry, or to the Englishe nacion. This letter was not a litle lokked on, nor smally regarded of the kyng of England, and his sage counsaill: not onely for the waightines of the matter, but also for the sodain chaunge of the man, & for the straunge superscripcion of the letter, which was: *To the high and mightie prince, Henry, by the grace of* GOD *Kyng of Englande, his vvelbeloued cosyn*: Neyther naming hym kyng of Fraunce, nor his soueraigne lorde, accordyng as, (euer before that tyme) he was accustomed to do. Wherfore all they, whiche were present, beyng sore moued with the craftie deede, and vntrue demeanor of the duke, (whome they so muche trusted) could neyther temper their passions, nor moderate their yre, nor yet bridle their toungues: But openly called hym traytor deceyuer, and moofte inconstant prince. But when the tumor of the Dukes returning, was publyshed emongest the common people, they lefte woordes and went to stripes: For they beyng moued and pricked, with this vnhappie tidynges, ran fiercly vpon all the Flemynges, Hollanders, and Burgonyons, which then inhabited within the cytie of London, and the suburbes of thesame, and slewe and hurte, a greate nombre of them, before they, by the kynges proclamacion, could be prohibited, to leaue of and abstaine, from suche violence, and iniurious doyng: For the kyng nothyng more mynded, then to saue innocent bloud, and defende them, whiche had not offended.

AFTER the letter twise redde, and wisely brooked, he willed the officer at Armes, to tell his master, that it was not conuenient, nor honourable for hym, to be enemie to the Englyshe nacion, without cause or occasion geuen, but his duetie, (all thynges consydered) was to haue kept

kept his auncient truthe and olde allegeaunce, rather then to be the occasion, of newe warre and freasshe discencion: Aduertisyng hym farther, that it was not the point of a wiseman, to leaue and let passe, the certain for the uncertain, admonyshyng hym also, not to myngle and myxte hys safetie and sureneſſe, with the vnstableneſſe and vnsuretie of his newe alye, and cosyn kyng Charles. When the messenger was departed, the kyng of England and his counsayll, thought and determyned, to worke some displeasure to the Duke, and to set some conspiracie, agaynst hym in his awne countrey. Wherfore by rewardes, they did suborne and corrupt certain gouernours and rulers, of tounes & cities, within the Dukes countreis and dominions, (which nacions surely, be euer prone & ready to commocion and rebellion.) But the Gantois, whiche of that feate euer beare the bel, and were the common rylers, against their soueraigne lordes, some of theim ymagening, that the power of the Englishmen, was not long like to continue, within the realme of Fraunce, more for feare, then loue of their Duke, sat styll and moued not, but let other tounes alone, which sore troubled the Dukes wittes, and a great while, did disquiet and vexe his senses.

xl THIS yere the. xiiii. daye of September, died Jhon Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, a man, as politique in peace, as hardy in warre and yet no more hardy in warre, then mercifull when he had victory, whose bodye was, with great funerall solempnitie, buried in the Cathedrall churche of our Lady, in Roan, on the Northside of the high aulter, vnder a sumptuous and costly monument: Whiche tombe and sepulture, when kyng Lewes the. xi. sonne to this kyng Charles, whiche recouered agayn Normandy, dyd well aduise and beholde, certayne noble men in his company, hauing more youthe then discrecion, and more enuie in their hartes, then consideracions of their parentes, counsayled hym to deface and plucke doune the tombe, and to cast the deede carcasse
xxx into the fieldes: Affirming, that it was a greate dishonour, bothe to the kyng & to the realme, to se the enemies of his fathers, and theirs, to haue so solempne and riche memorial. Kyng Lewes aunswered again, saiyng: what honour shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monument, and to pull out of the grounde and take vp, the deed bones of hym, whom in his lyfe, neither my father, nor your progenitors, with all their power, puyssaunce, and frendes, were once able, to make flie one fote backward, but by his strength, wytte, and pollycie, kepte theim all out of the principal dominions, of the realme of Fraunce, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandy: Wherfore I saie, first, God haue his soule,
xl and let this body nowe lye in reste, whiche, when he was a lyue, woulde haue disquieted, the proudest of vs all: And as for the tombe, I assure you, is not so decent, nor conuenient for hym, as his honoure and Actes deserued, although it were muche richer, and more beautyfull.

¶ The. xliii. yere.

After

The.xiiij.yere



After the death of this noble pzince, a valeaũt capitain, the bzight sunne, that commonly shone in Fraunce fayre and beautifully vpon the Englyshemen, began to be cloudie, and dayly to waxe darker: Foz the Frenchmen seing the chiefe capitain taken away, began not only to refuse their obedience, & lotaltie, which they had swozne, and pzomised to the kyng of Englande, but takyng swearde in hande, rebelled, and persecute , and openly defied the Englishemen, yet all these myschaunces, not one poynt abated, the valeaunt cozages of the Englishe people: Foz they nothing mistrustyng God, noz good Foztune, set vp a newe sayle, and began the warre newe agyn, and appoynted foz regent in Fraunce, Rychard duke of Yozke, sonne to Richard erle of Cambzidge. Although the duke of Yozke, bothe foz birthe and cozage, was wozthy of this honoz and pzeferment, yet he was so disdained of Edmond duke of Somerset, beyng cosyn to the kyng, that he was pzomoted to so high an office, (which he in verie dede, gaped and loked foz) that by alwayes and meanes possible, he bothe hindered and detracted hym, glad of his losse, and sozy of his well doyng, causyng hym to lynger in Englande, without dispatche, tyll Paris and the floute of Fraunce, were gotten of the Frenche kyng. The Duke of Yozke, perceiuing his euell wyll, openly dissimuled that, which he inwardly thought pzively, eche wozkyng thynges, to the others displeasure. This cancard malice, and pestiferous diuision, so long continued, in the hartes of these twoo Pzynces, tyll moztall warre consumed theim bothe, and all moste all their lynes and offspzynges, as within few yeres you shall perceyue and se.

THE Nozmans of the countrey of Caux, beyng somewhat hartened, by the death of the duke of Bedfozde, began a newe rebellion, and slewe diuerse Englishemen, and robbed many pzety tounes, which were of kyng Henries faccion & parte, & toke the toune of Harflew by assaute, and diuerse other tounes. The lozde Talbot beyng aduertised, of thys rebellion, sent foz the Lozde Scales, syz Thomas Kirtell, and the Lozde Hoo, whiche afflicted and plagued the people of Caux, that they slew aboue fyue thousand persones, and bzent all the tounes, and billages in the countrey, not beyng walled, so that in that parte, was neyther habytacion noz tillage, foz all the people fled into Bzitayne, and all the beastes of the coũtrey, were bzought to Cawdebec, where a good shepe was sould foz an Englishe peny, and a kowe foz. xxii. pence. Daily was skirmishyng & fightyng in euery parte, in so muche that the Lozde Scales with foure hundzed Englishemen, discomfited at the Rye besyde Roan, the Heire and fiftene hundzed valeaunt Frenchemen, and syz Rychарde Reignold de Fountayne, syz Aleyne Gerond, Aleyne de Monsay, and Greffrey Grame capitain of Scottes, and thze hundzed, and mo were taken pzisoners, besyde seuen fayze and plesaũt coursers. But this victorie staied not the hartes of the Frenche nacion, foz their myndes were so

so full of treason, and their malice so greate against the Englyshemen, that many tounes turned, to the part of kyng Charles, without cõquest or desire, and diuerse were sould for couetousnes, and many were deliuered by treason, as Depe, Boys de Vyncennes, and other.

HERE is one especiall pointe to be noted, that either the disdayne emongest the chiefe peres of the realme of England (as you haue heard) or the negligence of the kynges counsaill (whiche dyd not with quicke sight forese and preuent thynges for to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of Fraunce, betwene the ryuers of Somme and Marne, and
x in especiall of the noble cytie of Paris. For where before tymes there were sent ouer, for the aide & tuicion of the tounes, and cyties, brought vnder the obeysaunce, of the Englyshe nacion, thousandes of men, apte and mete for the warre, and defence: Nowe were sent into Fraunce, hundredes, yea scores, some rascall, and some not able to drawe a bowe, or cary a byll. For the lorde Willoughby, and the Byshop of Tyrwyne, whiche had the gouernaunce, of the greate and large cytie of Paris, had in their company, not two thousande Englishemen. Whyche weakenes kyng Charles well perceiued. Wherfore he appoynted Arthur of Bytayne, the Erle of Dumoys Bastarde of Orleaunce, the Lordes de
xx la Roche, and Lisle Adam, and other valiaunt capitaines, aswell Burgonyons as Frenche, to go before Paris, trusting by the fauor of certaine cytezens, with whome he had greate intelligence, and knewe thenglyshemennes power and doynges, shortely to be lorde of the cytie and toune, without any greate losse or battayll. So these capitaines came before the cytie of Paris, but perceiuing, that all thynges succeded not, accordyng to their expectation, returned to Mount Marter, and the next daie, sodainly set on the toune of sanct Denise, where, the Englyshmen manfully defended theim selfes, but being oppressed with so greate a multitude, they were compelled to flie into the Abbaye, and into the
xxx Toure of Venyn, for succor and refuge: in whiche conflict two hundred Englyshemen were slayne, and the rest, vpon a reasonable composicion, rendred the toune, and departed to Paris.

THOMAS Lorde beaumond, whiche of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued out of Paris, with sixe hundred souldiors, onely intendyng to see, and viewe the doynges and nombre of the Frenche armye, but he was sodainly espied, and compassed aboute: So, that within a small space, he was discomfited and taken, and with hym foure score prisoners, beside two hundred which were slain in the fielde, and the remnaunt chased to the very gates of the cytie. The Parisians
xl and in especiall the Master of the Halles, and some of the Vniuersitie, and Michaell Lailler, and many notable burgesses of the toune, (whiche euer with an Englyshe countenaunce, couered a Frenche harte) perceyuing the weakenes of the Englyshemen, and the force and strengthe of the Frenchemen, signifiyng to the Frenche capitaines, their myndes and intentes, willed them to come with all diligence, to receiue so ryche a prey

a prey to theim, without any difficultie, offred and geuen. The Constable delaiyng no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charterhous: And the lorde Lylle Adame, approching the walles, shewed to the cytezens a charter, sealed with the greate seale of kynge Charles, by the whiche he had pardoned them their offences; and graunted to them all the olde lyberties and auncient priuileges, so they would hereafter be to hym, obedient, true, and seruisable. Whiche thyng to theim declared, they ranne about the toune, crying: Sainct Denise, liue kyng Charles. The Englishemen perceauing this, determined to kepe the gate of S. Denise. but they were deceaued, for the cheynes were drawen in euery streate, and women and children cast doune stones, and scaldyng water on the Englyshemennes heddes, and the citezens persecuted them, from streate to streate, and from lane to lane, and slewe and hurt, diuerse and many of theym. The Byshop of Tyrwyne, Chauncellor there for kyng Henry, and the lord Willoughby, and syr Simon Morier, toke great paine, to appeace the people, and represse their furie: but when they saw, that all auayled not, they withdrue them selfes, to the Bastyll of sainct Anthony, whiche fortresse, they had well vitailed and furnyshed, with men and municions.

VVHILES this rumor was in the toune, therle of Dumois and other scaled the walles, and some passed the Riuer by boates, and opened the gate of sainct James, at the whiche the Constable with his banner displaied entered, at whose entrie, the Parisians were very glad, and made great ioye. The byshop and the lord Willoughby, with their smal cõpany, defended their fortresse, tenne dayes, lokyng for aide, but when they sawe that no comforte appered, they yelded their fortresse, so that they & theirs, with certaine baggage, might peaceably returne to Roan, whiche desire was to them graunted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the Englishemen, with the moste spitefull wordes, and shamefull termes, that could be inuented or deuysed: so that al men maie apparauntly perceiue, ỹ their hartes neuer thought as their toungues vttered. For notwithstanding their obeysaunce and fidelitie, sworne to kyng Henry, and nothyng regarding the fynall composicion, to the which they had sette their common seale, when they sawe the Englyshemen at the weakest, they turned the leafe and sang another long: Declaryng to all men their inconstaunt hartes, their wauering mindes, & vntrue demeanor. Thus was the citie of Paris brought agayne into the possession of the French kyng, whiche, there, altered officers, and ordeined lawes, at his pleasure, for the surety and safegarde of hym, his realme, and people.

AFTER this glorious gain, the Frenche kyng besieged the toune of Crayle, vpon Oyse, whereof sir William Chãberlayn, was capitain. whiche with fiue hundred Englishemen, issued out of the toune, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, and slewe twoo hundred, and toke a greate nombre prysoners: The remnaunt not lykyng their mar-

ket

ket,departed to Champeigne,and other tounes adioynyng. Durynge whiche season xij. Burgeles of the towne of Gysors,solde it for money to Poyton of Xantrayles, but he had not the Castle deliuered, Wherfore with all his power,he besieged thesame, whereof the Lorde Talbot beyng aduertised,sent for the lorde Scales, and thei bothe with .xviii. hundred men,rescued the Castle,toke the Towne and discomfited their enemies and slewe of theim aboue foure hundred persones. Now was the old prouerbes verified,that he that commeth a day after the faire, commeth to late,and when the stede is stollen, it is no bote to shutte the stable doze.For when Paris,saincte Denise,saincte Germaynes in Lay, and many other townes in Fraunce,were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succors and sufficient garrisons,then the Duke of yorke appoyncted at the parliament before, to be Regent of Fraunce,and by the disdayne and enuie of the duke of Somerset, and other,not till now dispatched, was sent into Normandy, wyth eyght Thousande men,and in his company the Earles of Salsburye,and Suffolke,and the Lorde Fauconbridge,and diuerse valiaunt capiteines, When he was landed at Harflewe,the Erle of Salisbury,besieged the Castle of Chamboys, whiche shortely was to him rendred.Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where he sett good ordres,and did great Justice in the countrey wherefore the Normans in their Chronicle, highlye extoll and muche magnifie hym, for that poynte:howbeit,thei saie,that he gate by long siege,the Towne and Abbey of Fecampe,and did none other notable act during the time of his rule and gouernaunce.

Phillip Duke of Burgoyne whiche,(as you haue heard) brake bothe his othe and promyse with the kinge of England,imagened with himself,that the Englishmen were like shortely,to be expulsed out of al the townes on that side the sea,and that thei had no certayne refuge nor place to resorte to,out of Neopatry but onely the towne of Callice Wherfore,he assembled his counsaill, and the heddes of the cities and tounes of Flaundres,Brabant,Hollande,and Zelande, in the towne of Gaunt,where was declared to theim,the right,title,and interest,that he had to the toune of Calice, and the Countie of Guysnes, as a very patrimony,belongyng to his inheritaunce: shewing farther, that thesayed toune was the golfe,and swalower vp,of all the golde and siluer of his countries and dominions, forasmuche as ther was the staple of woolles,tynne, leade,and other marchaundise, for the whiche, the Englishemen would take no common currant money,but only golde and siluer, to the greate impouerishement of his seigniories, and Regions:saiyng farther, that Calice onely was the common stop,betwene his countreys and Brittayne,and Spayne,so that Southwarde nor Westwarde,his subiectes could not passe,without the daungier of that towne,Wherefore these detrimyentes considered,he determined,(if they would assent) shortely to recouer and conquer, that toune and the countie of Guisnes To this purpose al the counsail,and common people, not onely agreed.

but also promised aide, bothe of men and money. Lorde how the Flemi-
nges bragged, and the Hollandres craked, that Calice should be wonne
and all the Englishemen flaine, sweatinge, and staring, that thei woulde
haue it, within thre dayes at the mooste: thynkyng verely that the toune
of Calice, coulde no more resyste their puissaunce, then a potte of double
beere, when they fell to quaffyng.

To tel you what ordenaũce was new cast, what pouder was bought
what engyns were deuised, what harneis was prouided, what vitaile
was purueyed for this great enterprice: I will not cumbre you, in re-
hersing euery thyng particularly, because the Flemminges write, that
the prouision was more then toung could speake, or harte could thinke
yet you male beleue as you list. These doynges were not so priue, but
sir Jhon Radcliffe deputie of the toune of Calice, was thereof enformed
and shortely of the same, aduertised king Henry, and his counsaill, whi-
che incontinent sent thither, the Erle of Wortayne sonne to the Duke
of Somersette, and the Lorde Cammeis with .xv.C. men, and greate
foyson of vitaille, whiche issued oute of Calice, and came before Grauе-
lyne, where thei were encountred, with a greate nombre of Flemminges
whiche were shortely discomfited, and foure hundred of theim slain, and
sixe score taken prisoners, and caried to Calice, And within twoo dayes
after, the Englishmen draue by fyne force, the lordes of Waurayn, and
Bado, to the barriers of Arde, & discomfited the company, to the nõbre
of .xv.C. and slewe vij. valeaunt capiteynes, and toke many gentlemen
prisoners. Phillip duke of burgoyne, abiding still in his high & war-
lyke enterprise, assẽbled together of Flemynges, Picardes, Hollãders,
and Henowiers a great army, to the nombre of .xl.M. so well armed, so
wel vitailed, so wel furnished with ordenaunce, & so wel garnished in al
thynges, that thei thought in their hartes, and blasted emongest theim
selues, that the Calicians, would leaue the toune desolate, & flie for their
sauegard, hearyng onely the approchyng of the Gauntoys. But thei
reckened before their host, and so payed more then their shotte came to.
When this gallaunt army, was passed the water at Grauelyn, the duke
intendng to begyn his greate conquest, besieged and assauted the lytle
and poore Castle of Dye, whiche hauing in it but .L. souldiors, of the
whiche .xii. sold their liues derely, the remnaunt compelled by necessitie
yelded them selfes symply to the duke, which to please the Gauntoys,
beyng of the moste puissaunt cõpanye in his army, liberally gaue to thẽ
bothe the Castle and the prisoners, as a signe and token of good lucke
and fortunate victory. Whiche rude & beastly persons, nothyng expert
in warre, or lawes of Armes, not only rased and abated the Castle, but
also hanged .xxix. of the captiues, and had so doen with al the remnaunt
if the duke, (disdayning their crueltie) had not intreated for the rest.

After this victory, litle honorable and lesse profitable, the Pycar-
des beseged the Castle of marke, and three tymes assaulted it, more to
their losse, then gayne. The Englyshemen within, whereof Syr Jhon
Geddyng

Geddyng was capteyn, set out the banner of sainct George, and rang the beiles, to thintent to haue succours from the toune of Calice. But the capitaines there, minding not to leese the more for the lesse, nor the substaunce for the accident, wished them good lucke, and god fortune. without any ayde sēdyng. For doubt of the dukes great armye & power, The souldiors within Marke, beyng but twoo hundred and sixe, seyng no hope of succor, and desperate of comfort, rendred theimselues to the duke vpon condicion: that their lifes and limmes should be saued, and so thei wer conueied in suer custody, to the toune of Gaunt, and the Castle of Marke was rased and defaced.

AFTER this Acte dooen, the Duke of Burgoyne, accompanyed with the Duke of Cleues, the Earle of Estampes, the Lordes of Dantoyng. Croy, Cresquy, Humyers, and many other valeaunt Barons, & knightes. with his great armye, came before the toune of Calice, and placed his siege about thesame, moost to his aduauntage, and to the moste displeasure of his enemies. He gaue three great assautes to the toune, but his people wer not so fierce to assaut, but thenglishemen were as quicke to defend: so that he, gayning so litle at these .iii. enterprises, was contēt to absteyn frō farther approchyng toward the walles. At the first assaut the Heyre, whiche was come to se the duke of Burgoyn, was sore wounded and hurte. Beside this, the duke had dayly one greate rye sore, which was bycause that at euerye tyde, shippes arriued in the hauen, out of England, openly before his face, laden with victail, munitiōs, and men and also the Calicians woulde for the nonce, putte out cattaill into the marishe, vnder the toune walles, to thentent to prouoke the Flemmings to come within their catchynge, and daungier, whiche beinge coueteous of prey, and gayne often aduentured, and seldome returned agayn: For many by this meanes wer taken prisonets, but many mo slaine with ordenaunce. The duke one day rode aboute, to viewe and behold the situacion, and the walles of the toune, to thentent to take his moost aduaūtage, eyther by assaut or shot of ordenaunce. He was quickly espyed, and with the stroke of a Canon, a trōpeter whiche rode next before hym and three borles in his company, wer slain out of hande. When he sawe that all thynges succeded not to his purpose, he fyrst sett the Lorde of Croy, and a conuenient nombre to beliege the Castle of Guysnes, where thesaied capitain gat litle profit, and did lesse harme: And after deuised how to stoppe the Hauen, so that no succours shoulde entre there, and also, to prohibite thē within the toune, to make any egresse or rode outward, and so by this meanes, to famyshe and compell them to yeld, and rendre the toune. This deuise was set forward, and nothyng slepte: For .iiii. great hulkes were laden, with great square stones, semented & ioyned together with lead, to thentent that they should lye still like a moūt and not to seuer a sonder. These shippes with the tēnaunt of the dukes naule, wer cōueied into the mouth of Calice hauen, and in a full sea by craft and pollycy, were sounke doune to the ground, but whether God

 would

would not that the Hauen should be destroyed, eyther the conueyers of the hulkes, knewe not the very channell, these toure great shippes at the lowe water, late openly vpon the sandes, without any hurte doyng to the rode or chānel, which whē the souldiers had perceiued, thei issued out of the toune, and brake the shippes, and caried bothe the stones and the tymbre into the toune, whiche serued theim well to their fortificatiōns. The seconde deuise was also accomplished, whiche was a stronge Bastile, set on a litle Mountayne, furnished with .iiij. C. men and muche artilarye, whiche fortresse, did let the englishmen to issue out, when thei would to their greate displeasure and disturbaunce.

WHILES these thynges wer in doyng, there arriued into the dukes armi, an herault of England called Pembroke belonging to the Duke of Glouceste, whiche declared to the Duke of Burgoyne, that the Protectour of England his maister (if God would sende him wind and wether) would geue battayle to hym and his whole puissaūce, either there or in any other place, within his awne countrey, where he woulde appoynct: but the day he could not assigne, because of the inconstancy of the wind, and mutabilitie of the aire. The duke (like a noble man) awnswered the herrault: sir saie to youre master, that his requeste is both honorable and reasonable, howbeit he shall not nede to take payn, to seke me in myne awne Countreye, for (God willyng) he shall finde me here, till I haue my will of the towne, ready to abyde hym and all the power that he can make. After this aunswere made, the Herault was highlye feasted, and had a cup and a hundred golden guyldrens, to hym deliuered for a reward, and so returned to Calice. After whose departure, the Duke called a greate counsell, in the chiefe pauillion of the Dauntoys. and there declared bothe the heraultes message and his awnswere, desiring them to regard his honor, the estimacion of their Countreis, and the honesties of themselues, and like men to receiue their enemies and valeauntly to defende their aduersaties, promisynge to theim victorye, gain, and perpetual glory. Lorde how the Flemmynges threatned, how the Picardes craked, and how the Hollandres swore, that thenglishmē should be kylled and slayne, promising to the duke rather to dye then to flye, or to be recreaunt. Whiles this great matter was in consultacion, the Calicians, not well contented with the bastile, whiche the duke had newly buylded, issued out of the toune, in a great nombre, part on foote, and part on horsebacke. The footemen ran to assault the bastile, and the horsemen went betwene the army and the assailaūtes, to stopp the ayde and succors whiche mighte come. The alarmy was sounded, in somuch that the Duke in propre persone, was commynge on foote to releue his people but by the meanes of the horsemen, he was staied and kept back a space, in the whiche delaye of tyme, the Englishmen by fine, force gat the place, and slewe. Clx. persons, the remnaunt were taken prisoners, and defaced the fortresse, and set it on fire, carying with theim, al the ordinaūce and artillary, into the toune of Calice, to the great displeasure,

of

of the Duke and his counsaill. The next daye after, there sprange a rumor in the army (no man coulde tel how) that the Duke of Gloucester with a greate puissaunce, was all ready embarked and shipped, and would arriue at the next tyde, and come doune before Calice, and raise the siege. What was the very cause, I cannot truly write: but surely, thesame night the duke fled away, and sent in al the hast to the Lorde of Croy, to reise his Siege before Guysnes, whiche tidynges were to hym very ioyous, for he neyther got nor saued: so these twoo cappteynes departed, leauing behynde, bothe ordinaunce, victaylle, and great ryches. The Frenche writers to saue the honor of the Duke of Burgoyne, saie, that there was a certaine discord and commocion, emongest the Flemynges and dutch nacion: affirming, that the great Lordes and the Picardes, (whome the Frenchemen greatly extoll) would betraye and sell the Fleminges, and their frendes, & that, for thesame cause, in a great fury thei cried, home, home, & woulde not tary for no request the Duke could make, nor no exhortacion that could be geuen: and so by their misgouernaunce, the Duke was enforced to raise his siege, and to departe. The Flemishe authors affirme the contrary, saying: that they were readye to abide the comyng of the duke of Glouceſtre, but the duke of Burgoyne fearing to be trapped, betwene the Duke of Gloucesters armye before and the Garrison of Calice behynd, so that he could escape by no waye, fled away in the Nyght, geuyng to theim no warnyng before. So that for lacke of tyme, and cõuenient space, to lade and cary their stuffe, and beyng commaunded to retire with all spede and diligence, thei were cõpelled to lose, and leaue behynde theim, their vitaill, and tentes, to their great losse and detriment. Now it is at your liberties, (gentle readers) whether you will geue credite to the Frenchemen. (whiche wer absent, and no doers in the acte) or to the Flemynges, (whiche were partakers of the losse and dishonor.) But the infallible veritie is, that he fled the .xxbj. daie of July in the night, and the nexte daye in the morning. the duke of Gloucester, landed in Calice hauen, and streyght wente into the Campe, where his enemies, the night before were lodged, and there he founde many goodly peeces of ordenaũce, and inespecially one, called Dygeon, named after the chief toune of Burgony, beside paulions, Woyne, Beere. Meale, and innumerable vittaill.

THE Duke of Gloucester, seyng his enemies reculed, hauyng in his company .xxb. M men, entered into Flaundres, burnyng houses, kyllyng suche as would resist, destroyng the countrey on euery parte, settyng fire in the Tounes of Poperiche and Batllens, and wasted the suburbes of many faire cities, and in al this waie, thei lost no man nor sawe any creature appere, to defend the countrey. After thei passed by Newe Castle, and destroyed Rymesture, and Vallõ Chappell, and then entered into Arthoys, to Arques, & Blandesques, settyng fire in euerye part where thei came. Thus they passed by sainct Omers to Guysnes, and so to Calice at sixe wekes ende, where thei were well refreashed

for in all this tozney, they had litle plenty of good bread, whiche caused muche faintnesse and diuerse diseases in the army. When the Duke of Gloucester had sufficiently plagued and wasted the countreys of the duke of Burgoyne, & brought great prayes of beastes and spoyle, to the toune of Calice, he settyng there all thynges in good ozdre, returned into England, where he was aduertised how James kyng of Scottes, contrary to hys othe, League, and promise, had besieged the Castle of Rokesbozough, with thirty Thousande men, whereof sir Raufe Eraye was capitain, whiche manfully defended it. xx. dayes, but the Sottysh kyng beyng aduertised that, the Earle of Nozthumberlande was comyng to fyght with hym, fledde with no lesse losse, then dyshonoz, to hys toune of Edenbzough.

The.xv. yere.

The xv yere.

After this daũgerous businesse finished, & for a tyme ended, by meane of frendes, and desire of Pzincies, a truce oz abstinence of warre for a certayne tyme was moued betwene the kyng of England, and the duke of Burgoyne, for which cause wer sent to Graueline for the kyng of Englande, the Cardinall of Winchester Henry Beauffozd, Jhõ Lozd Woubzey duke of Nozfolk, Humfzey Erle of Staffozd, & diuers other wel learned & honozable personages: & for the duke there appered ỹ duches his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lozde of Croy, and diuerse other. At whiche treaty, a truce was taken for a small tyme, and for a lesse space obserued. Whiche abstinence of warr was concluded betwene the kyng of Englande, and the Duches of Burgoyne, (enterleassing the duke and his name.) Some thinke that the kyng of England, woulde neuer enter in league with him, because he had bzoken his pzomise, writing and fidelytie writtẽ, sealed and swozne to him, and to his father. Other imagined, this to be doen by a cautell, to cast a myste before the Frenche kynges yes, to the entent he shoulde beleue that this feate was wrought by the duches, without assent oz knowledge of the Duke oz his counsayll, and so he was not bound to accomplishe, any acte oz thyng done in his wifes treatye. Thus you may se, that Pzinces some tyme, with soche vain gloses, and scoznfull exposicions, will hide theire doynges and cloke their purposes, to thentent that thei woulde not, eyther be espyed, oz plucke their hedde out of the Coller, at their pleasure. But, (as the common pzouerbe saiethe) he whiche is a pzomise bzeaker, escapeth not alway free: for it is well sene, that dayly it chaunceth bothe to Pzinces and meane persons, that for bzeakyng of faithe, and not kepyng of pzomise, many displeasures aryse, and innumerable inconueniences ensue.

ABOVT this season, Katherine Quene and mother to the Kynge of Englande, departed out of this transitozye lyfe, and buried by her husband

band,in the Mynster of Westmynster.This woman,after the deathe of kyng Henry the fifth her husband, beyng young and lustye, folowyng more her awne appetyte, then frendely counsaill, and regardyng more her priuate affection,then her open honour,toke to husband priuilye, a goodly gentylman,& a beautifull person, garniged with many Godlye gyftes,both of nature & of grace,called Owen Ceuther, a mā brought furth and come of the noble lignage,and auncient lyne of Cadwalader. the laste Kyng of the Britonnes,by whome she conceiued and broughte forthe.iij.goodlye sonnes,Edmonde,Jasper,and another,whiche was a
x monke in Westmynster,and liued a small tyme,and a doughter,whiche in her youthe departed out of this transitorye Life: After whose deathe Kynge Henry,because they were his bretherne of one wombe descended. created Edmond Erle of Rychemonde,and Jasper Erle of Pembroke, whiche Edmond engendred of Margaret,doughter and soole Heyre to Jhon,Duke of Somerset,Hēry,whiche after was King of this Realme. called king Henry the seuenth,of whome you shal heare more hereafter. Thys Owen,after the death of the Quene his wife, was apprehended and cōmytted to ward,because that contrary to the statute made in the vi.yere of this Kynge,he presumpteouslye had maried the Quene,with-
xx out the kynges especiall assent,and agremente,out of which prison he escaped,and lette oute other with him,and was agayne apprehended and after escaped agayn.

THE Duches of Bedford,sister to Lewes Erle of saincte Paule,mindyng also to mary rather for Pleasure, then for Honour, without counsaill of her frendes,married a lusty knighte,called sir Richarde Wooduile,to the great displealure of hez Uncle the Byshop of Tyrwine,and the Erle her brother: But they now could not remedy it for the chaunce was caste & passed. This sir Richarde,was made Baron of Riuers,and after Erle,and had by this Lady,many noble sonnes,and faire Doughxxx ters: whereof,one was Lady Elisabethe after Quene of Englande,maried to kyng Edward the fourth.(as hereafter you shall perceiue)

VVHILES this Mariage was celebratyng, Jane late Quene of England,and before Duchesse of Britayn,doughter to the Kyng of Nauer & wife to kyng Henry the.iuj.died at the mannor of Hauering,and was buried by her husband at Canterbury,in whiche time disceased the Cōtesse of Warwicke,and Henry Archebishop of yorke.

I thought here,to omyt and ouerpasse,the regainyng and conquest of the strong toune of harflew,once Englysh and after,(by crafte(turned to the Frenche part,except the Frenche writers,more then the Englyshe
xl authors,had made mencion and remembraunce,of the reduction of the same.For they saie and affirme, that the Duke of Somersett accompanied with the Lordes of Fauconbridge,Talbot,sir Fraunceis Surrien Arragonoys,Mathew Gough,Thomas Paulet, Thomas Haringtō, Walter Limbrike,Jhon Geddynge,William Watton,Esquiers,and Thomas Hylton Bailife af Roan, with a great puissaunce of the En-

glish paztie, compassed about and besieged the toune of Harflew, bothe by water, and by land. The Capitaine within the towne, was called Sir Jhon Destoutcuile, and Sir Robert his brother, with other, to the nombze of sixe hundzed good fightyng men. The assaylauntes lost no tyme, but made trenches, and cast diches, bothe to assaute the toune, and also to let the Frenche succozs that they should neither appzoche, noz ayde th citizens shut in and besieged. Diuerse assautes wer geuen, whith wer manfully resisted: but mozе to the losse of the defenders, then the assauters. Beside this, the Englishemen laied great ozdynaunce, before the gate of the toune, which continually vexed the inhabitauntes, and ouer x thzewe buyldynges, and destroyed mancions: so that neither house, noz high way was sure, oz refuge to the townes men. This siege endured long to the greate discomfituze of thee people: whereof they aduertysed the Frenche kyng and his counsaill, whiche sent thither the Erle of Ewe therle of Dumoys, called the Bastard of Orleaunce, the valeaunt Bastard of Burbon, the Lozde Gaucozt, Sir Giles of sent Simon, and the chief capitcines of all his realme, with foure thousand men both politique and proued. This valeaunt armye passed the Riuer of Soame betwene Amias and Corby, not mistrusting to gette that, whiche they lost and lefte behynd theim, and so thei came before the toune, and diuxi ded thẽselues in seuerall partes, to their most aduauntage: dayly skirmishyng with thenglishmen, but nothing pzeuailing, and so foz feare of losyng honoz, and desperacion of gayn, the flozishing Frenchemen, returned agayn with muche laboz, and litle pzofit. The capteynes of the toune seinge theire Pillers broken, and their chiefe ayders discomfited, tendzed the toune to the Duke of Somersette, whiche made there Capitaines, Thomas Paulet, William Limbzike, Chzistopher Barker, and Geozge sent Geozge, whiche many yeres, (till the diuision beganne in England) manfully and valeauntly defended the Toune, & Hauen, but afterward, when the sayd Duke was Regent, and gouernoz of Nozmãxxx dye, he not onelye loste the toune, but also the cittie of Roan, the Empire and chief tuell of the saied Duchie, with many other cities and fozтresses, whiche he mozе by entreatyng, then threatenyng myghte styll haue holden vnder his subiection. But al men haue not wit alike, noz all rulers be not of one condicion and pollicie. Foz this Duke Edmond, gatte this toune, with great glozy when he was but a Deputie, vnder the Regent, and after, beyng gouernoz him self, lost thesame, and all the whole duchie to his greate sclaunder and infamy, (as hereafter you shall perceiue). But who can pzeuent foztunes chaunce, oz haue spectacles to se all thynges to come, oz chaunces that be pzesent: seyng God disposeth pl that man purposeth, and that all wozldely deuises, and mannes cogitacions, be vncertain and vnperfite.

ALTHOVGH I haue long talked of Fraunce, yet I may not fozget the double dealing and craftie dismeanoz of James Kyng of Scottes whiche beyng, (as you haue heard) late pzisoner in Englande, not one-

lye

onely was garnished with learninge and Ciuilitie, (whiche thynges, wer rare and straunge before that tyme within the realme of Scotlād) but also set at liberty, and honorably sent home. And to the intent that his amitie might be perpetuall, and that loue mighte continually succeade betwene bothe the realmes, by hys meane and accorde: First his greate raunsome was abridged, and diminnished, and after, he was joyned in mariage, with one of the blond royal, to thentent that he, and his heires should be united and knit, to the progeny of England, with an indissoluble knot, like the twisted tree, whiche cannot seuer, and like the hard flinte, whiche will not waxe soft: yet this vngentle prince, and forgetfull frend, puttynge in obliuion, bothe the dutie of his obeysaūce toward his souereigne and liege lorde, and the othe and promise, that he made to kyng Henry, when he dyd to hym homage, and liege at the Castle of Wyndesore, (as before you haue heard) turned his backe to his frend and kynsman, and loked to ỹ Frenche parte, which neuer did hym honor nor profite, not onely sendyng into Fraunce daily, aide & succors agaynste thee Englishe nacion, but also by new aliaunce, sought and practised waies and meanes, how to ioine him self with forein princes & to greue and hurte his Neighbors and Adioynauntes, of the realme of England. And although his awne power wer small, to do to theim any great dammage, yet he thought that he, being linked in suche noble houses, should the lesse feare the malice of his enemies: vpon whiche feble foundation, he concluded .ii. mariages, the one with Lewes the dolphin sonne to Charles the French kyng, and the other with Fraunces Duke of Britayn. Whiche mariages, were not desyred for loue of riches, but onely for ayde, to resyst and driue out the Englishmen out of Fraunce For the Lady Margaret maried to the Dolphin was of suche nasty cōplexion and euill sauored breath, that he abhorred her company as a cleane creature, doth a carrion: whereuppon she conceaued such an inward grief, that within fewe daies after, she ended her dayes. Although this lady had suche impedimentes, (as you haue heard) yet her sister Isabell, maried to Frauntes duke of Britayne, lacked neither excedyng beautie, nor pleasaunt breath: but as for wit, womanhod, and Ciuyle behauour, she neuer had, nor exercised. Wherfore when the duke before his mariage, was by his counseill admonished, to refuse and forsake so innocent a creature, he, more moued with her fayre face, then her womanly wisedome, aunswered: that it was ynough for a woman, to iudge the difference betwene thee shurte and the dublette of her husbande and to knowe him in the darke, from an other man.

FOR these mariages, kyng James demaunded of his commons, a greate subsedy or tallage, whiche was sore grudged at, and in maner denied: so that he maried theim with fayre promises, and ayde and succor against thenglishemen, rather then with bagges of money, or chestes of plate. This forein alliaunce litle profited, or auayled the realme of Scotland, nor this new amity, defended not kyng James: For Wal-

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ter Steward etle of Athole,(whiche pretended a title to the Croune,by reason that he was begotten of kyng Robart the seconde, by his fyrste wife,and by whose occasion,Robert duke of Albany,murthered Dauid duke of Rothesay, eldez bzother to this kynge James) as in the storye of kyng Henry the fourth,you haue heazd declared)aftez the cozonacio of kyng James the first in Scotlande, earnestly solliceted hym to putt to death,duke Murdo,and all the ofspzinge of Robert firste duke of Albany,trusting that after he had destroyed that lyne,(which was a stopp in his way)to inuent some meane how to destroy the kyng and his children,and so to obteyne the crowne and pzeminence of the realme.Wherfoze he perswaded Robert Steward his nephiew, and Robert Grame his colyn, and diuerse other, to murther and sley the kynge their souereigne Lozde whiche thereto by deuilish instigacion incensed and procured came to the toune of Pezth,(commonly called S.Jhõs toune) and there entzed into the kynges pziuey chambze,and slewe first diuerse of his seruauntes, which made resistance,and after killed the kyng with many moztall strokes, and hurte the Quene, whiche, in defence of her husband, felled one of the traytozs:When this vngracious deede was blowen about the toune,the people rose in great plumpes, and founde out the pzincequellers, and theim bzought to streyght pzisone, whiche afterward,(accozdyng to their desertes) wer with most terrible tozmentes,put to death and executed.

AFTER James the firste, succeded James the seconde,his eldeste sonne,whiche fearing sedition and ciuile discozd, vexed moze his awne nacion,then the Englishe people.

NOVV leauing Scotland,let vs retourne to the busines of Fraunce Whiles the Scottes wer compassing,how to destroy their king:The Lozde Talbot,with a great company,layd siege to the Castle of Tankeruile,whiche after foure monethes, was to him simplye rendzed,and geuen vp.This toune was no greate gayne to the Englishemen: Foz in the meane season, the Frenche kyng in his awne persone,besieged the strong Towne of Monstreau Faultios,whereof Thomas Gerard was Capitaine:whiche,moze foz delyer of rewarde,then foz feare of enemies, sold the towne to the Frenche kyng, and had of him greate giftes,and good chere, whiche afterward, was well knowen, to his shame and repzoche. This toune had ben rescowed, oz the Frenche kyng foughten with all,if one chaunce had not happened: foz the duke of Yozke was discharged of the office of Regent, and the Erle of Warwicke pzeferred to the same,so that the duke of Yozke liyng at Roan, would haue gladly rescued the toune,if his authozitie had not surceased, and the Erle of Warwicke could not,foz the wind was so cleane cõtrary to him,that he and his army taryed foz the wind aboue tenne wekes. And so betwene the discharge of the one, and the charge of the other,this toune of Mõstreau,was deliuered and solde.

THIS pzesent yeare,was a parliament kepte at westminster, in the

whiche

which were diuerse notable conclusions ordained and taken, aswell for the preseruacion of peace and concorde at home, as for the maintenaūce of warre, and hostilitie in outward regions: in the whiche parliament. (who so will looke on the actes) shall perceiue that one act made, for byeyng & sellyng by straūgers, was profitable to the publyque wealth of this realme, if it wer wel kept. (as a few good actes or none be eyther by the negligēce of ỹ gouernors, or by the insolencie & pride of the people.)

NOVV must we speake somewhat of Charles the Frenche Kyng: whiche after he had gained again the citee of Parris, and diuers other tounes, was so puffed vp with pride, that he thought it but a trifle, to conquere Normandy, and expulse all the Englishe nacion, out of his countries and seigniories. Wherefore he sent Arthur of Britayn, Constable of Fraunce, & Jhō duke of Alāson, into Normandy with a great army, whiche besieged the toune of Auraūches, standyng vpō the knop of an hyl, nere to the Brittishe sea, bothe well walled and well manned. While thei lay there long, litle gettyng and muche spendyng, the lorde Talbot with a valeaunt company of men, approched nere the Frenche men, and encamped themselues, in the face of their enemies, to prouoke and entyse them to battail and fight The Frenchmen refusinge this offre, kept theim selues within their trenches dayly fortifieng and repairyng their campe. The Englishemen perceiuing their doynges, remoued their army halfe a mile farther, geuing their enemies, rome to issue out and to fyght, but all this litle auailed: For the Frenchemen laye still and stirred not. The lorde Talbot, seinge their faint hartes, reysed his feld, and in the open sight of them all entred into the toune, and the next day issued out, and founde the Frenchemen ridinge abrode, to destroy the playne country, whome he enuironed, bet, and discomfited, slayng many, and takyng diuerse prisoners. Although the Frenchemē gat neither honor nor profite by this iourney, yet thei enterprised a greater matter: for Ponthon of Sentrayles and the Heire, with diuerse other capiteines, and a great nombre of Frenchemen, hauing promise of certain Burgesses of Roan, to be let secretly into thee toune, came forward to a village called Ryse, and there lodged. The lorde Talbot, the lorde Scales, and sir Thomas Kiriell, hearing of theyre approche, set oute of Roan at midnight, and with greate payne came to Rise in the mornynge so couertly, that the Frenchemen, being sodaynly surprised and set on, like men madd and amased, ran away, & fled: in the chase were taked the lord of Fontaynes, sir Alleyne Geron, sir Lewes de Baile, & ix knightes and esquiers, beside other, and there wer slain, twoo hundred and more: the Heyre beyng sore wounded, by the swiftnes of his horse, escaped very narowly. The Englishmen returned to the toune of Rise, and found there a greate nombre of horsses, and other baggages, whiche thei ioyously brought with them to Roan.

The.xvi.yere.

Du

The xvi. yere

ON the sixt day of Nouembre, this present yere the erle of Warwicke, as regent of Fraunce, passed the sea, after he had been seuen times shipped and vnshipped, and landed at Humflewe, with a.M. freasche souldiors and came to Roan, and then the duke of yorke, returned into Englande, neither wholy pleased, nor halfe content. For he secretly smelled, that some men priuely disdayned his aduauncement, and enuied his promociō: yet, (like a wise man) he kept his toung close, whatsoeuer his harte thought. Betwene the chaunge of these twoo capitaynes, the duke of Burgoyne, (whiche sore enuied the glory of thenglishmen) beseged the Castell of Croytoy, with tenne thousande men and mo, hauyng with him greate plentye of gonnes, and goodly ordynaunce. The Erle of warwicke hearynge of this feate, sent the lord Talbot, the lorde Fawconbridge Sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Jhon Mountgomery, Thomas Limbricke, Thomas Chandos, Dauy Halle, and diuerse other knightes and esquiers, and many tall yeomen, to the nombre of fiue thousande men, whiche passed the Riuer of Somme, beside the towne of S. Valery: for the passage of Blāch Taque, was very daūgerous to go through, because the duke of Burgoyne had layed there ordinaunce, and other engyns, to let, trouble and stoppe the Englishemen to go ouer at that foorde. And yet, where the lord Talbot passed, his men wente in the water vp to the chinne, so glad were the men to rescew their fellowes. When the duke of Burgoyn was enformed of the approchyng of the lorde Talbot and other, he with all his power, sauinge foure hundred, whiche were left in a Bastile, by hym there newly buylded fled to Abbeuile, whiche Bastile was sone gained, and the men within eyther slayne or taken

After this towne receiued, the lord Talbot sente woorde to the duke of Burgoyne, that he would vtterly waste and destroye the countrey of Picardy, except he, (lyke a valiaunt Prince) would geue him battayle. And accordinge to his promise, he brente tounes, spoyled, and slewe many people in Picardy, but for all his doinges, the Duke woulde not appere but stale away from Abbeuile, and fled to Amias. So the Lorde Talbot was.xx. daies full, in the countreyes of Picardy, and Arthoyse, destroyeng and burning, all that they could se or come to and after departed. And in the meane season, sir Thomas Kirell had gotten all the Dukes cariages, and ordenaunce, and left asmuche vitaile in the toune of Croytoy, as would serue sixe hundred men a whole yere, and conueyed the remnaunt in safetie, to the Erle of Warwicke, which not onely, receiued the Capitaynes, with good semblaunce and louing cheare, but also highly magnified their Actes, and muche prailed their hardinesse.

After this enterprice acheued, Henry Erle of Mortayne sonne to Edmonde Duke of Somerset, arriued at Chierbuege with foure hundred archers, and thre hundred speres, and passed through Normandy, till he came into the County of Mayne, where he besieged a Castle, called

led S.Anyan,in the whiche wer three.C.Scottes,beside Frenchemen. This Castle he toke by a strong assaut, and slewe all the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmen,because thei wer once sworne English, and after brake their othe:and after he gatte also another Castle,twoo miles, from saint Julians, called Alegerche, whiche was shortly after recouered,and the Lorde Cameuys, whiche came to the rescue of the same,in the meane waie was trapped and taken. Thus the victory flowed some tyme on the one parte,and sometyme on the other,but the treason of the Frenchmen, far surmounted in gettyng, bothe the pollicy and strength
x of the Englishe capitaines: for by the vntruth and falshed,of the very Burgesses and inhabitaũtes of the tounes,of Meaux in Brie, and.S. Susanne, the same were sold and deliuered to the Frenche parte, in the ende of this sixtene yere.

The.xvii.yere.

What should I reherse the great tempestes,the sharpe blastes,the sodain pities, the vnmesurable wyndes, the continuall raynes,whiche fell and chaunced this yere in England:sithe suche tormentes be bothe naturall, and of God, at hys pleasure diuersly ordered and altred. Of these vntemperate stormes, rose such a scarcety,that wheat was sold at.iii.s.iiii.d.the bussxx hell,wine at.xii.d.the gallon,Bay salt at,xiiii.d.the bussel,and malte at.xiii.s.iiii.d.the quarter,and all other graynes, were sold at an excessiue price, aboue the olde custome. The.xvii. yere.

In the monethe of June, the Erle of Huntyngdone,(as Stewarde of Guyen)with twoo.M.archers,and foure hundred speres, was sente into Gascoyne, as a suppliment to the countrey, and the commons of the same. For the kyng of England and his coũsaill,wer enformed that xxi therle of Dumoys, lay on ỹ fronters of Tholose, secretly by rewardes and faire promises,entising and prouokyng diuerse tounes in Guyen, to become French,and leaue thenglishe naciõ. Wherfore,this erle(lyke a pollitique warrior)altered not onely the capitaines, in euery toune & citie,but also remoued the magistrates,and chaũged the officers, from toune to toune,and from rowme to rowme, so that by thys meanes at that tyme,the erle of Dumoys,lost bothe trauaile and cost. In the same moneth also,syr Richard Woodvile,syr William Chãberlain,syr William Peyto, and syr William Story, with a.M.men,wer sent to stuffe the tounes in Normandy,whiche surely at that tyme,had therof great xl nede:for thenglish capitaines,had smal confidence in the Norinãs, and not to muche,in some of their awne nacion. For that harlot bribery,and her felowe couetеousnes,ran so fast abrode with Frenche crounes, that vnneth any creature,(without an especial grace)could hold either hand close,or purse shut, suche a strong percer is money, and suche a gredie glotten is auarice. You haue harde before, howe that Kyng Charles

harte by gettyng of Paris, was set vpon a merie pynne, and thought daily that all thinges more and more, woulde bothe applie to hys purpose, and folowe his appetite. Whiche inuented imagination, sodainly bothe deceiued hym, and also appalled his haut corage, and abated hym somewhat of his proude stomacke. For sodainly there rose a straunge storme, and a quicke pitie, so mischeuous and so pernicious, that nothinge more execrable, or more to be abhorred, could happen in any Christian Region. Whiche seditious tempest, if wise counsaill had not with all spede repressed, no doubt, but kyng Charles, and the whole publique wealthe of Fraunce, had been turned vp, and cleane ouerthrowen. For Lewes Dolphyn of Vyen, and heire apparaunt to kyng Charles, a yong prince, of a froward stomacke and euil condicions, desiryng libertie, and to be out of ward and rule, with such as were of his nature and condicions, began to conspire agaynst his father, and souereigne lord. The chief of this vngracious faccion with hym, wer Jhon Duke of Alaunson, and Jhon Duke of Burbon. These confederates gathered together a greate power, and the Dolphyn tooke vpon hym, the rule and gouernaunce of the realme, orderyng causes, not in his fathers name, nor by his authoritie, but after his awne will, affeccion, and phantasie. When kyng Charles his father, had knowledge of thys vnnaturall disobedience, and insolent and proude doynges, he was (& no marueil) greatly moued with this sodain commocion: thinkyng hymselfe borne, & predestinate to trouble, remẽbryng, that it was no smal thyng, in his awne countrey so many yeres, bothe with straungers, & with his awne nacio, to fight and striue for rule and dignitie, but now to be constrained, to contend & make war, with his awne sonne and welbeloued child, for the Croune and regiment, of his realme & dominion. Yet these thinges did not bryng hym (beyng a man of greate wit, and counsaill, daily troubled and vnquieted with calamities and displeasures) into vtter despaire, or extreme wanhope: but lyke a pollitique prince, determinyng to withstand and resist the smoke at the beginnyng, before the fire & flame brast out abrode. called to gether all suche, as he had either in greate confidence, or especiall fauor, communicatyng to them, all his inwarde thoughtes, and priuie cogitacions. After long consultacion had, it was agreed by the mooste parte, that this sore was more mete to be cured, by pollitique and wittie handelyng, rather then by force, and dent of sweard. Wherfore, letters wer written, and postes wer sent to euery citie and borough, straightly prohibitinge all and synguler persones. either to heare, or obey, any precept or commaundement, set furthe or published, by the dolphyn himselfe, or by other, or in his name, and all offences doen in that confederacie, wer by open proclamacion, freely forgeuen and remitted. And beside this, diuerse graue and sage persones, wer sent to the dolphyn, and his alies, to common and cõclude a peace, and reconciliacion, betwene the Frenche kyng and theim, declaryng to theim, that their ciuile war, and inward discencion, was the very meane

to

to cause their enemyes, vtterly to plague and destroy their natiue coũtrey, whiche was almoste desolate, and brought into subiection, by the continuall warre practised before. By which meanes and perswasions, the knot of this sedicious facciõ, was losed and dissolued, and the kyng with his sonne, and other confederates, openly agreed and apparaũtly pacified. And so the spryng of these mischeuous secte, was stopped and repulsed, or the flodde had any thyng encreased, or flowen farther.

THE Englyshmen (whiche euer sought their aduauntage) hearynge of this domesticall diuision in the realme of Fraunce, reised an armye, and recouered again diuerse tounes, whiche were stollen from theim before, by the French nacion: and made great prouision, to recouer againe the citie of Paris, but when thei heard, that the dolphyn was returned again to his father, and that al his mates, were ioyned with the French kyng, thei left of from that enterprise, and reuoked their purpose.

The.xviij.yere.

IN the moneth of Nouembre this present yere, there was suche a great Frost, and after that, so depe a Snowe, that all the ground was couered with white, and all the diches hardened and frosen, whiche weather put the Englyshemen in comfort, to recouer again the toune of Ponthoise, by the Frenche kyng gotten before, by corruptyng with money, diuerse Burgesses of the toune. Wherefore, the Englishemen beyng clothed all in white, with Jhon lorde Cliffordе their capitaine, came in the night to the diches, and passed theim without daungier, by reason of the Froste, and sodainly scaled the walles, slewe the watche, and tooke the toune, with many profitable prisoners. When this toune was thus gotten, lorde Richard Beauchampe erle of Warwicke and Regent of Fraũce, died in the Castle of Roan, and was conueyed into England, and with solempne Ceremonies, was buried in his College of Warwicke, in a verie solempne and sumptuous sepulture. The.xviij. yere.

THEN was the duke of Yorke again, made regent of Fraunce, whiche accompanied with therle of Oxford, the lorde Bourchier, called erle of Ewe, Sir James of Ormond, the Lorde Clinton, and diuerse other noble men, sailed into Normandy: Before whose arriuall, the Frenche kyng beyng sore greued with the takynge of the toune of Pounthoyse, assembled a great army, and besieged thesaied toune himself, and made round about it, bastiles, trenches, & diches, and daily shot ordenaunce, and gaue therunto diuerse greate and fierce assautes. But Jhon lorde Clifford, like a valeaunt capitain, defended the toune with suche valeauntnes, that the Frenchemen rather lost then gayned. The Duke of Yorke at his landyng, hauyng true knowledge, of this siege, sent for the lorde Talbot, and a great nombre of souldiors, and so came nere to the toune of Pounthoyse, and there encamped hymself, and sent woorde to the Frenche kyng, that he was there, ready to geue hym battaill, if he

would come out of hys campe and Bastiles. Kyng Charles was ruled by hys counsaill, whyche in no wyse would suffre him to aduenture hys persone wyth men of so lowe and base degree: biddyng hym remembre, what losses he and hys auncestors had susteined, by geuyng to the Englischemen battaill: whyche thynge they principally desire, willynge hym to kepe hys ground still, and to bid theym entre at their perell, and in the meane season, to stoppe the passage of the Riuer of Dyse, so that no vitaile could be brought to the Englishe army by that way, by whis the meanes, he should not onely obtein hys purpose, but also cause the Englischemen to recule backe agayn, for lacke of vitaile and succors. The Duke of Yorke perceiuyng, that the Frenche kyng was nothyng mynded to fight, determined to passe ouer the Riuer of Dyse, and so to fight wyth hym in hys lodgyng, whereupon he remoued his campe, and appoynted the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenaunce, as they would passe the Riuer by force at the gate of Beaumont, and appoynted another cõpany wyth boates, of tymbre & ledder, and bridges made of cordes and ropes, (whereof he had greate plentie, carted with him in Chariottes) to passe ouer the Riuer by neth the Abbay. While the lord Talbot made a crye, as though he would assaile the gate, certain Englischemen passed the water ouer in boates, and drew the bridge ouer, so that a greate nombre wer comen ouer, or the Frenchemen them espied. When they sawe the chaunce, they ran like mad men, to stoppe the passage, but their labor was loste, and all their pain to no purpose: for the moste parte of thenglishe people wer sodainly transported, in so muche that they chased their enemyes, by fine force into the toune agayn, and toke sir Guylliam de Chastell, nephieue to the Lorde Canchy, and diuerse other gentlemen prisoners. The Frenchemen seyng their damage irrecuperable, returned to the Frenche kyng, accomptyng to hym their euil chaũce & vnluckey fortune, which therwith was not a litle displeasaũt: and well perceiuyng, that if he taried the cõmyng of thenglishmen he was like to be either in greate ieoperdy, or sure to sustein muche dishonor and greate damage. Wherefore he remouid hys ordinaunce into the bastile of. S. Martyn, whyche he had newly made, and leauyng behynd hym the lorde of Cotigny, Admirall of Fraunce, wyth thre. M. men to kepe the bastiles, dislooged in the night from Maubuisson, and came to Poissye: for if he had taried still in that place, the lorde Talbot wyth certain of his trustie souldiors, whiche passed the riuer of Dyse in ii. smal lether boates, had either slain or taken hym, in his lodgyng, the same night. The Englischemen the next daye in good ordre of battaill came before the toune of Pounthoise, thinkyng there to haue founde the Frenche kynge, but he was gone, and in hys lodgyng, they founde greate riches, and muche stuffe, whyche he could not haue space, to conuey, for feare of the sodain inuasion. Then the Duke of Yorke with his company, entered into the toune, and sent for newe vitaill, and repaired the toures and bulwerkes about the toune, and diuerse tymes assailed

the

the Bastile of the Frenchemen, of the whiche he passed not greatly, because they were not of power, either to assaut, or stoppe the vitailes or succors from the toune. The Duke lyng thus in the toune of Ponthoise, was aduertised, that the Frenche kyng and the dolphyn, with al the nobilite of Fraunce, wer lodged in Poissye, wherfore he intendynge once again to offre hym battaill, left behynd hym there, for capitain, sir Geruays Clifton, wyth a thousande souldiors, and remoued his army and came before Poysye, and set hymself and his men in good ordre of battaill, redy to fight. There issued out diuerse gentlemen, to skirmishe
r wyth the Englishemen, but they were soue discomfited, and foure valeaunt horssemen wer taken prisoners, and diuerse slain. The Englishemen perceiuyng the faynte hartes, and colde corage of their enemyes, whiche nothyng lesse desired, then to encountre with the Englishnacion in open felde, dislodged from Poysye, and came to Mante, and sone after to Roan.

WHEN the Regent and the lorde Talbot, wer returned again into Normandy, the Frenche kyng (for all this euill lucke) forgat not the toune of Ponthoise, and fristе he considered, what charges he had susteined, bothe durying the tyme of the siege, and also in makynge bastyrr les, trenches, and other deuises: and after remembred, that hys people, and especially the Parisians (to whō this toune was an euil neighbor) would tayle and saie, that he was not able, or lacked corage, to gette so smal a toune, or to discomfite halfe a hādful of amased people Wherefore these thynges set in ordre, he assembled all hys puyssaunce, and returned sodainly again to Ponthoise: where, he firste by assaute gat the churche, and after the whole toune, and toke the capitain prisoner, and diuerse other Englishemen, and slewe to the nombre of foure hundred, whyche derely sold their lifes: for one Frenche writer affirmeth, that the Frenche kyng lost there, thre. M. men and mo, and the whole garrison
rrr of the Englishemen, was onely a. M: so thei gayned the toune, but they gat no greate boty of men. When the fame of this victory was blowen abrode, the hartes of the tounes men, began to appall, in somuche, that Melune, Corbuell, Eureux, and diuerse other tounes, yelded and turned at a proude crake, or a Frenche bragge, wythout stroke striken, or any blowe gyuen.

AFTER these hote rages, the wether began to ware more temperate for kyng Hēry and kyng Charles, wer agreed, to send Ambassadors, to common and treate some good peace & conclusion, betwene them, & their realmes. So the kyng of Englande, sent the Cardinall of Wynchester,
xl wyth diuerse other noble personages of hys counsaill, to Calice, wyth whom was also sent, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, yet prisoner in England, to thentent that he might be both the author of the peace, and procurer of hys deliueraunce. The Frenche kynge, sent the Archebishop of Reyns, and the Erle of Dumoys: and the Duke of Burgoyne, sent the lorde Creuecuer, and diuerse other because that the duke of Orleaunce

was passed the sea with the English Ambassadors, they would mete in none other place to commen, but in Calice. The Frenche Ambassadors perceiuyng their mynde, came to Calice, where the duke of Orleaunce gently receiued therle of Dunoys (his bastard brother) thankyng him hartely for his pain taken, in gouernyng hys cõtrey duryng the tyme of hys captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communicacions wer had, aswel for the deliueraunce of the duke, as for a finall peace: in somuche that after muche consultyng, and litle doyng, another tyme was appoynted for a newe assembly, and euery parte to declare to their souereigne, the request and desire of the other. So these Ambassadors toke their leaue and departed, and thenglishe commissioners conueyed again the duke of Orleaunce into England, whiche had nothyng then to paie his raũsome, & yet he could not be deliuered, wythout paiment. The cause why these cõmissioners did not agre, was, (as the Frenche writers saie) that the Englishemen demaunded, not onely to haue and possesse peaceably the.ii. Duchies of Aquitayn and Normandy, to their kynges & princes discharged of all resort, superioritie, and souereigntie, frãkly and freely, against the realme of Fraũce, the kinges and gouernors of the same for euer: but also required to be restored to al the tounes, citees, and possessions whyche they within.xxx.yeres, next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of Fraunce. The Englishemen, thought that they demaunded but right and reason: and the Frenchemen, thought their request to be most hurtfull to their realme, and aũcient glory. So both parties, rather myndyng to gain or saue, then to lose, departed for that tyme, (as you haue heard). After whych diet prorroged for a tyme, Philip Duke of Burgoyn, partly moued in cõscience, to make some amendes & recompence to Charles duke of Orleaunce (thẽ beyng prisoner in Englande) for the death of duke Lewes hys father (whom duke Jhon, father to thys duke Phillip, shamefully slewe, and cruelly murdered in the citee of Paris, (as in the tyme of kyng Henry the fourth, is plainly rehercioned) And partly entendyng the aduauncement of his niece, lady Marie doughter to Adolphe Duke of Cleue, by the whyche aliaunce, he trusted surely to knit, suche a firme knot and frendly amitie with the Duke of Orleaunce, that all olde rancor shoulde cease, and all discorde should be forgotten: and in their places, concorde should be stablished, and perpetuall loue embraced) sente messengers into Englande, to the sayed duke, declaryng to hym his good will, deuise, and entent. Thinke not but this message was ioyous to a captyue, beyng out of his natiue countrey, and naturall seigniorie, by the space of.xxv.yeres. Suppose you that he, which nothyng more coueted and desired, then libertie and discharge, wold refuse so honorable an offre? Imagin you that a prince of a bloud royal, brought into thraldome, restrayned frõ liberty and liuyng, farre from kyn and father, & farther from frẽdes, would not geue hys diligent eare to that motion, by the whyche he myght be restored, bothe to hys auncient prehemynence, possession and seigniory? Yes, yes,

you

you maie be sure, he neither cõsulted on the matter, nor deferred the aũ-
swere, but thereunto gently agreed. What should I saie more? As some
writers affirme, foure hundred thousande Crounes were paied for hys
deliueraunce, although other saie, but three hundred thousande: and so
he was deliuered out of Englande into Fraunce at that tyme, bothe
speakyng better Englishe then Frenche, and also swearyng, neuer to
beare Armure against the Kynge of Englande. After hys arriuall in
Fraunce, he came to the Duke of Burgoyne, hys especiall frend, grati-
fiyng and thankyng hym of his libertie and deliueraunce: and accor-
dyng to hys promes and cõuencion, maried the faire lady in the toune
of sainct Omers, on whom he begat a sonne, whiche after was Frenche
kyng, and called Lewes the.xii. After hys deliueraunce from captiuitie
he forgat not hys vncle Jhon Erle of Angolesme, which had been as a
pledge in Englande, for the debt of Duke Lewes of Orleaunce, his fa-
ther, sithe the laste yere of kyng Henry the fourth, (as in his story is de-
clared): but made frendes, borowed money, and morgaged land, and so
set him at libertie, and brought hym into hys countrey. This Jhon, en-
gendered Charles, father to Fraunces, the firste of that name, whyche
after the death of Lewes the.xii, obteined the Croune of Fraunce.

xx HERE is to be noted, that olde rauncor newly appeased, will com-
monly spryng out again: for although the vnhappie deuision, betwene
the two noble famylies, of Orleaunce and Burgoyn, wer by thys great
benefite and mariage, for a tyme geuen ouer and put in Obliuion, and
so continued by the space of.xx. yeres and more, yet their children and
cosyns, wythin, not many yeres after, fell so far at squate, that the house
of Burgoyne, was spoyled of the fairest flower of his garland, (as you
shall here afterwarde, at large declared) and in especiall, in the tyme of
kynge Fraunces the firste, the verie heire of the house of Orleaunce,
whyche not onely continually vexed wyth mortall warre, Charles the
xxx fift Emperor of that name, lineall successor to Phillip Duke of Bur-
goyne: but also did asmuche as in hym laye, to deprive the said Charles
of hys honor, and possessions, (as men writyng their lifes, will hereafter
declare). The Frenche writers affirme, that thys Duke of Orleaunce,
was deteined thus long in captiuitie, by reason that the Englishemen,
gayned yerely by hym, greate somes of mony, by reason of hys greate
and liberall expenses, whiche he made dayly in the realme of England.
If thys be true, I repor̃t me to all indifferent and reasonable persones,
for who will spende hys goodes frely, in the land of hys enemie, whiche
maie by pinchyng and bearyng a lowe saile, ware riche and be set at li-
xl bertie? Or who is so proude to wast & consume his substaunce, in liuyng
prodigall, that maie wyth the sparyng of thesame, be deliuered out of
captiuitie and bõdage? But surely it is apparaunt, that the reuenewes
of hys seigniories, wer neither able to raunsome hym, nor to mainteyne
hym in põpeous estate: partly, because thenglishemen possessed diuerse
tounes, belongyng to his Duchy: and partly, by reason that the rentes

wer scare able to defende hys possessions, againste the inuasions of the Englisch nacion, and Burgonions. But the very cause of hys longe detenyng wer two: one, the lacke of money, the second and the principall cause, was thys, that you haue heard before, how that Jhon Duke of Burgoyne father to Phillippe, shamefully and cruelly, caused Lewes Duke of Orleaunce, father to thys Duke Charles, (of whom we nowe speake) to be murthered in the citee of Paries: for the whiche murder, all the alies and frendes to the Duke of Orleaunce, had enuie against the house and familie of Burgoyne, in somuche that thesaied Duke Jhon, beyng measured wyth the same measure, that he met wyth all, was likewyse tyrannously murdered on the bridge of Mounstreau Faultyou, (as you haue also heard declared before). For whyche cause, and for to be reuenged of so heynous an act, duke Phillip sonne to thesaid Jhon, not onely toyned hymselfe, in league and amitie wyth the Englysche nacion, but also dyd homage, and sweare fealtie to Kynge Henry the fifth, as to hys kyng and souereigne Lorde: for whiche cause, the Englishemen entendyng to kepe the duke of Burgoyn, as a trusty treasure, and sure Juell, perceiued, that yf they deliuered the duke of Orleaunce, and set hym at libertie, he woulde not cease to vexe and trouble the duke of Burgoyne, in reuengyng the detestable murder, committed by hys father against hys parent: wherfore, bothe for the surety and sauegard of the duke of Burgoyne, and also to do hym pleasure, they kepte styll the duke of Orleaunce in Englande, demaundyng suche raunsome, as he was neither able, not could finde meanes or wayes to paye. But after that the duke of Burgoyn, (like an vntrue prince and vnhoneste gentleman) had broken hys promes, not kept his faith, and was turned to the Frenche part, the counsaull of the kyng of Englande, studied and deuised, how to deliuer the duke of Orleaunce, to do displeasure to the duke of Burgoyn. Duke Phillip perceiuyng, what mischief was like to rise if he wer redemed, and set at libertie without his knowledge, to preuēte the matter, to hys greate coste and charge, practised hys deliueraunce, paied hys raūsome, and ioyned wyth him, amitie and alliance, by marriage of his niece, (as before is rehersed) and by this meanes, was Duke Charles of Orleaunce, restored to hys libertie, whyche had been prisoner in England, from the daye of sainctes, Crispine & Crispinian, in the yere of our Lorde. M.CCCC.xv. to the inonethe of Nouembre, in the yere a thousand foure hundred and fourtie.

¶ The.xix.yere.

The.xix.yere

IN the beginnyng of thys.xix.yere, Richard duke of Yorke Regent of Fraunce, and gouernor of Normandy, remembryng the greate charge, and weightie office to hym deliuered and committed, determined, (after long consultacion) to inuade the territories of hys enemies, bothe by sondery armies, and in diuerse places, to thentent that the Frenche people beyng

beyng vexed wythin their awne coũtrey,and peculiar dominion,should make no rodes nor enterynges,into the Duchie of Normandy,the returnyng whereof,was some what suspicious.Thys deuise for that season,semed bothe profitable and necessary. wherefore, wythout long delaiyng of tyme,he sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, wyth a greate crue of souldiors,to inuade and destroye the countrey aboute Amias , and Jhon lord Talbot,was appoynted to besiege the toune of Deape,and he hym self,accompanied with Edmond duke of Somerset,set forward into the Duchie of Aniow.The Lorde Willoughby, accordyng to hys commission, entered in the countrey to hym appoynted,and to thentent that his commission should not be espied nor knowen,he straightly forbad and inhibited,all maner fire,& of burnyng of tounes,whiche is the moste opẽ and plain token of war and inuasion. By reason wherof,the pore paysaũtes & rustical people goyng abrode,wythout feare or suspicion of euill,wer ouer ronne or taken wyth the horssemen,or they could attain to any toune,or forcelet: so that innumerable people wer slain, & taken,or they heard any tydynges of their enemies approchynge. The Frenchmen in the garrisõs adioynyng,astonnied at the clamor and cry of the poore people , issued out in good ordre,and manfully set on their enemies. The fight was sore, and the victory long doubtfull: But in conclusiõ the Frenchmen seyng their people in the forefront of the battaill,to be killed wythout mercie, like men desperate turned their backes and fearfully fled,the Englishmen folowed , and slewe many in the chace,and suche as escaped the sweard, wer robbed and spoyled,by Lewes Erle of sainct Paule,whyche was commyng to ayde the Englishe nacion.In this conflicte were slain, aboue sixe.C..men of armes , and a greater nombre taken : So the Lorde Willoughby , like a victorious capitain, wyth riche spoyle and good prisoners , returned again to the citee of Roan.The dukes of Yorke and Somerset,likewyse entered into the Duchie of Aniow, and Countie of Mayne, destroiynge tounes, spoylyng ỹ people,and wyth great prey and profite, repaired again into Normandy . The Duke of Somerset, not filled wyth this gain, entered into the Marches of Britayne,and tooke by a fierce assaute , the toune of Gerche,apperteinyng to the Duke of Alaunson, and spoyled and brent thesame,and after that departed to Ponzay,where he soiourned two monethes,from whence he sent daily men of war,which destroyed & wasted the countreys of Aniow, Traonnoys & Chatragonnoys.

THE French kyng in all haste, sent the Marshall of Loyache , wyth iiij.M.men,to resist the inuasions of the duke of Somerset,whyche capitain determined to set on the duke and hys people,in the dedde tyme of the night.This enterprise was not so secret,but it was reuealed to the duke,whyche marched forward,and mette the Frenchemen halfe waie, and after long fight,them by fine force manfully discomfited, and slew a hundred persones and mo,and tooke captiues.lxii, whereof the chief wer the lorde Dauligny,sir Lewes de Buell,and all the other almoste,

wer

were Knightes and esquires. After this encountre, the Duke tooke the toune of Beaumount Le Vicount, and manned al the fortresses, on the Frontiers of his enemies, and with riche boties and wealthy captiues came again to the Duke of Yorke.

DVRING these fortunate chaunces & victories, the lorde Talbot also, the vnweried chieftain & mãly warrior, enuironed the toune of Deape, with depe trenches and terrible mountaynes, and did set vp vpon the mount de Poulet, a strong and defensible Bastile, at whiche tyme, was capitain of thesame toune, Charles de Maretz, a man of more force in battaill, then pollitique in defence of a siege: for the Englyshemen be-
ying a small nõbre, had to them deliuered with faire wordes, and fainte strokes, the castle of Charlemesnyl, and diuerse other fortresses, adioy-
nyng to the toune. Duryng the siege, many encounters were had, and many great assautes geuen, thenglishemen sometyme saued, and some-
tyme gained, but the moste losse lighted on the Frenchemen for awhile. But of .iii. captaines sent furth at one tyme, (as you before haue heard) all cannot returne with egall honor, and euen botie. For the lorde Tal-
bot perceiuyng the toune of Deape, to be strongly defended, both with men, vitaile, and ordenaunce, and that he lacked all thesaied furniture for the accomplisshyng of his stoute enterprise, deliuered the custody of
the Bastile, with the gouernaunce of the siege, to his Bastarde sonne, a valeaunt young man, and departed to Roan, for ayde, money, and mu-
nicions. The Frenche kyng, was quickely aduertised of the lorde Tal-
bots absence, and of the estate of the Englishemen: wherefore without delaye, he meanyng not to lose so great a prey, sent his eldest sonne Le-
wes dolphyn of Vyen, accompanied with the Bastarde of Orleaunce, called the erle of Dumoys, and diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, to the nombre of .xv. thousande persons, well armed, and no lesse garnished with all thynges necessary for their purpose. Three daies thei assayled the Bastile, and so many tymes thei were put backe, but poulder failed
in the fortresse, and weapon wherwith to defend, was very scant, so that in conclusion, the Englishmen wer vanquesshed, and the Bastile taken and in it, the Bastard Talbot, sir William Peytow, and sir Jhon Re-
peley. whiche were shortely after redemed: The other Englishe souldi-
ors seyng the Bastile gayned, stoode all daye in good ordre of battaill, and in the night, pollitiquely returned to Roan, without losse or da-
mage. At this assaute, the Frenchemen say, that thei slewe two hundred Englyshemen, and deny not, but thei lost fiue hundred persones, and by this meanes, the one nacion loste the Bastile, and the other saued the toune, to the greate displeasure of the lorde Talbot: Whose presence, it woulde asmuche auailed at this attempte, as his absence was losse and detrement to his frendes, and felowes in way and chiualrie. But gain is not alwayes perdurable, nor losse alwayes continuall,

VVHILE these thynges were a doyng, Phillip Duke of Burgoyne, hauyng an enuious hart, at the glory and fortunate successe of the Eng-
glishe

glisshe people, intending to bereue them of one of their assured frendes, called Lewes of Luxenborough erle of sainct Poule, made sharpe war vpon his countreis, and toke diuerse tounes, and fortresses from hym, so that in conclusion more for feare, then for loue, he vtterly refused his faithe and promise, made to the duke of Bedford his brother in law and turned to the Frenche parte, and became a luke warme enemie to the realme of England. The losse of this frend and necessary neighbor, not alitle greued Kyng Henry and his counsaill: Howbeit, they made such purueiaunce and prouision, by discrete counsail, that if he of euil x will, would do theim litle good, yet he of malice should doo to them no greate hurte or damage.

THE Englysshe capitaines beyng in Guyen, hauyng knowledge of the valeaũt doynges of their countreymen in the realme of Fraũce, determined to do some notable and noble enterprise, on the French costes adioynyng to Aquitayn: & so, thei besieged the strong toune of Tartas belongyng to the lorde Delabreth, their old and auncient enemie. The capitaynes and gouernors of the toune, considery ng their weakenesse, and the force of the Englishemen, toke this appoyntment with the Englisshe capitaines, that the toune should remain neuter, and for the assuraunce therof, thei deliuered Cadet the sonne of the lorde Delabreth in pledge, vpon this condicion: that if the lorde Delabreth, woulde not assent to their agrement, then he shoulde signifie his refusall, to the Englisshe capitaynes, within three monethes next ensuyng: and he to haue his pledge, and thei to do their beste. The Frenche kynge, at the request of the lordes of Guyen, which were not able to defende themselfes, toke this matter in hand, and caused the lord Delabreth, to certifie his disa- grement to the erle of Huntyngdon, lieuetenaunt for the kynge of Englande, in the Duchie of Aquitayne. And to please the great Lordes of Guyen, he assembled.lx.M.men, and came to Tholose, and so to Tar- xx tas: to whom the chieftaines of the toune, seyng no succors commyng, rendered the toune, and Cadet Delabrethe, whiche was lefte there as a pledge, was deliuered. The French kyng after the yeldyng of Tartas, remoued to sainct Seuere, a strong toune in Gascoyn, but smally peo- pled with men of warre, which he toke by force, and slewe three hundred persones, and toke sir Thomas Rampstone prisoner. After thys toune gained, he with all his power besieged the citie of Arques, and toke the Bulwarke of thesame, whithe was smally defended, and sone gotten. The inhabitauntes of the toune, began sore to be afraied, and came to the lorde Mountferrant, capitain for the kyng of Englande, requiryng xi hym to haue mercie vpon them, and to rendre the toune to the Frenche kyng, vpon some honest couenaunt or cõposicion. The capitain perceiu- uyng the faint hartes of the Gascoyns, & knowyng that without their ayde, he was not able to resist the puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, toke an agrement and departed with all the Englisshe true to Burdeaux, where he founde the erle of Longuile, Capdaw of Buesse, and sir Tho-

mas Rampstone,whiche was alitle before deliuered.

AFTER this,the fortresses of Ryoll and Vermandie,yelded them to the Frenche kyng. Although these tounes thus submitted theim too hym,yet he had them not long, nor made muche tariyng in the Duchie of Guyen,for the Englishemen not onely prohibited the Gascoynes,to minister to his armie, brandze and sustenaunce, but also gat into their handes and toke suche bitailes,as wer conueyed to hym,from Tholose and Poytiers:So that in maner constrayned with famyn and lacke of prouision,he retired his army again into Fraunce. After whose departure,the Englishe capitaines recouered again the citie of Acques, and the other tounes by the French kyng gained, and toke prisoner his lieuetenaunt, called Reignault Guillam the Burgonyō, and many other gentlemen,and all the meane souldiors,wer either slayne or hanged.

WHILE the French kyng was in Guyen,the lorde Talbot toke the toune of Couchete, and after marched toward Gayllardon, whiche was besieged by the Bastarde of Orleaunce Erle of Dumoys:whiche Erle hearyng of the Englishmennes approchyng,reysed hys siege and saued hymself.Alitle before this enterprise, the Frenchemen had taken the toune of Eureux,by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Aragonoys hearyng of that chaunce,apparreled sixe strong men,like rusticall people with sackes and baskettes,as carriers of corne and bitaile,and sent them to the Castle of Cornyll, inthe whiche diuerse Englishemen were kept as prisoners:and he with an embusshement of Englyshemen, laye in a baley nye to the fortresse. These sixe companions entered into the Castle,vnsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the chambre of the capitaine,& layed hande vpō hym, geuyng knowledge therof to their embushement, whiche sodainly entered the Castle,and slew and toke all the Frenchemen prisoners, and set at libertie all the Englyshemen.whiche thing doen,they set all the castle on fyre, and departed with great spoyle to the citie of Roan. Thus the lady victory, somtyme smiled on the Englyshe part, and somtyme on the Frenche side. Thus one gayned this daye,and loste on the nexte. Thus fortune chaunged, and thus chaunce happened,accordyng to the olde prouerbe,sayingin war is nothing certayne,and victory is euer doubtfull.

¶The.xx.yere.

The.xx.yere.



NOw let vs leaue the marciall feactes,the mortal strokes. and daily skirmishes,practised betwene the English and Frenche nacion in the Region of Fraunce, and speake a litle of a smoke that rose in England, whiche after grewe to a greate fire,and a terrible flame,to the destruccion of many a noble man. You haue hard before, howe the Duke of Gloucester sore grudged at the proude doynges of the Cardinall of Wynchester, and howe the Cardinall lyke wise, sore enuyed and disdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloucester,and how by the meanes of the duke

of

of Bedforde, their malyce was appeased, and eche was reconciled to o-
their, inperfite loue and amytie, to all mens outward iudgementes. Af-
ter whiche concord made, the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Yorke,
did many thynges without the consent of the kyng or the duke, beyng
(duryng the minorite of the prince) gouernor & protector of the realme,
wherwith the duke, (like a true harted prince) was neither contente nor
pleased: And so declared in writyng to the kyng, certain artitles, wher-
in the Cardinall and the Archebishop, had offended bothe the kyng and
hys lawes, the true tenor, here after ensueth.

A complaint made to Kyng Henry the.vi. by the Duke of gloucester, vpon the Cardinall of Wincheste.

THese bee in parte, the poyntes and Articles, whiche I Hum-
frey Duke of Glouchester, for my trouthe and acquitall saied
late, I would geue in writyng (my right doubted Lorde) vn-
to your highnes, aduertisyng your excellēce, of suche thinges
in partie, as haue been doen in your tendre age, in derogacion of your
noble estate, & hurt of both your realmes, & yet be doēn and vsed dayly.

FIRST the Cardinall, then beyng bishop of Wincheste, toke vpon
hym the state of Cardinall, whiche was nayed and denayed hym, by the
kyng of moste noble memory, my lord your father, (whom God assoyle)
saiyng that he had as lefe set his croune beside him, as (to se hym weare a
Cardinall hat, he beyng a Cardinall: for he knewe ful wel, the pride and
ambicion that was in hys person, then beyng but a bishop, should haue
so greatly extolled hym into more intollerable pride, when that he were
a Cardinall: And also he thought it agaynst hys fredome, of the chefe
Churche of thys realme, whiche, that he worshipped, as duely as euer
did prince, that blessed be hys soule. And howbeit, that my saied Lorde
your father, (whom God assoyle,) would haue agreed hym to haue had
certeyn clerkes of thys land Cardinals, & to haue no bishoprikes in En-
glande, yet is intent was neuer to do so great derogacion to the Chur-
che of Canturbury, to make them that wer his suffraganes, to set aboue
their Ordinary and Metropolitan, but the cause was that in generall,
and in all matters whiche might concerne the weale of hym, and of hys
realme, he should haue proctors of hys nacion, as other kynges Chri-
sten had, in the courte of Rome, and not to abyde in thys lande, nor to be
in any parte of his counsailes, as been all the spirituall and temporall,
at parliamentes and other great counsailes, when you list to call theim:
and therfore, though it please you to do hym that worship, to set hym in
your priuie counsaill after your pleasure, yet in your parliament, wher
euery Lorde bothe spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought
to occupie but hys place as a bishoppe.

ITEM thesaied bishoppe, now beyng Cardinal, was assoyled of his
bishoprycke of Wynchester, wherupon he sued vnto our holy father, to
haue a bulle declaratory, notwithstandyng he was assūp to the state of

Cardinall, that the sea was not voyde, where in deede it stode voyde by a certein tyme, or thesaied bulle were graunted, and so he was exempte from his ordinary, by the takyng on hym the state of Cardinall, and the churche bilhoprycke of Winchester, so standyng voyde, he tooke agayn of the Pope (you not learned therof ne knowyng wherby he was fallen into the cace of prouision) so that all his good was lawfully and clearly forfeited, to you my right doubted Lorde, with more as the statute declareth plainly for your aduauntage.

4. ITEM it is not vnknowen to (you doubted lord) how throughe your landes it is noysed, that thesayed Cardinal and tharchebishop of Yorke had and haue the gouernaunce of you, and all your lande, the whiche none of your true liege men, ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vncle, my cosyn of Yorke, my cosin of Huntyngdom, & many other lordes of your kin, to haue any knowledge of any greate matter, that might touche your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of Lordes spirituall, of right, the Archebishoppe of Cantorbury, should be your chief counsailer, the whiche is also stranged and set a side. And so be many other right sad Lordes, and well aduised, aswell spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lorde, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen clerely and euidently, more harme it is.

5. ITEM in the tendre age of you, my right doubted Lorde for the necessitie of an armye, thesayed Cardinall lent you. iiij. M. k. vpon certayn Juels, preised at. xxij. M. marke, with a letter of sale, that and they wer not quited at a certayn daye, you should lese them. Thesaied Cardinall seyng your money redy to haue quyted your Juels, caused your treasorer of Englande at that daye beyng, to paye thesame money, in parte of another armie, in defraudyng you, my right doubted lord, of your sayd Juels, keppyng theim yet, alwaye to his awne vse, to your right greate losse, and his synguler profite and auayle.

6. ITEM thesaid Cardinal, then beyng bishop of Winchester, & Chaūcellor of Englād, deliuered the kyng of Scottes, vpō certeyn appoyntmentes (as maye be shewed,) presumpteously, & of hys awne authoritie contrary to the acte of Parliament. I haue heard notable men of lawe say, that they neuer heard the lyke thing doen emong thē, whiche was to greate a defamacion to your highnes, & also to wed his niece to thesayd kyng, whō that my lord of notable memory, your father whō God assoile would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue payed, for his costes. xl. M. k. thesaied Cardinall, Chauncellor of Englande, caused you to pardon hym therof. x. M. marke, wherof the greater some he hath paied you, right alitle, what, I repoyt me to your highnes.

7. ITEM, where thesaid Cardinall lent you, my redoubted lord, greate & notable somes, he hath had & his assignes, the rule & profite of the porte of Hāpton, wher the Customers been his seruaūtes, wher by likelihoode & as it is to be supposed, he standyng the chief marchaunt of wolles of

your

your lande, that you bee greatly defrauded, and vnder that rule, what Wolles and other marchaundise haue been shipped, and maye be from tyme to tyme, hard is to esteme, to the great hurte, and preiudice of you my right doubted Lorde, and of all your people.

ITEM, howbeit that the said Cardinall, hath diuerse tymes, lent you greate sommes of money, sithe the tyme of your reigne, yet hys loans hath been so differred and delayed, that for the moste part, the conuenable season, of employing of the good lente, was passed. So that litle frute or none came thereof, as by experience, bothe your realmes, haue sufficiently in knowledge.

ITEM, where there was Juelles and plate, preised at a.xi.M.l. in weight, of the saied Cardinall, forfeited to you my right doubted lorde, he gat hym a testorement therof, for a loane of a litle percell of the same, and so defrauded you wholy of them, to your greate hurte, and hys auayle, the whiche good might greately haue eased yout highnes, in sparyng asmuche of the poore commons.

ITEM, the Cardinal, beyng feoft of my said lorde your father, (whō God assoyle) against his entent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, thre.C. markes of liuelod, where that hys wyll was, that and she wer wedded, within a yere, then to haue it, or els not, where in deede it was twoo or iij. yeres after, to your great hurt, & diminishyng of your inheritaunce.

ITEM, notwithstandyng that the said Cardinall, hath no maner of authoritie nor interest into the croune, nor none may haue by any possibilitie, yet he presumeth and taketh vpon hym in partie, your estate royal, in callyng before hym, into greate abusion of all your lande, and derogacion of your highnes, whiche hath not been sene nor vsed, in no dayes heretofore, in greater estate then he is, without your expresse ordinaunce and commandement.

ITEM, the said Cardinal, nothyng conslderyng the necessitie of you my right doubted Lorde, hath sued a pardon of dismes, that he should pate for the Churche of Wynchester, for terme of his lyfe, geuyng therby occasion to all other Lordes spirituall, to drawe their good will for any necessitie, to graunt any disme, and so to laye all the charge vpon the temporaltie, and the pore people.

ITEM, by the gouernaunce and labor of the saied Cardinal, and archebishop of Yorke, there hath been loste and dispended, muche notable and greate good, by diuerse Ambassadors sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feined colourable peace, where as by likelinesse it was thought & supposed, that it should neuer turne to theffectuall auaile, of you my right doubted Lorde, nor to your sayed realmes, but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersary, & the duke of Burgoyn. For els your partie aduerse, & the said duke, might not well haue found meanes nor wayes, to haue cōmoned together, nor to haue concluded with other, their cōfederacios & conspiracios, made & wrought ther then, at that time, against your highnes, whereby you might haue (right

doubted lorde, the greater partie of your obeysaunce, aswell in your realme of Fraunce, as in your Duchie of Normandy, and muche other thyng gone greatly, as through thesaid colourable treatie, and otherwise, sithe the death of my Brother of Bedford, (whom God assoyle.)

14. ITEM, now of late was sent another Ambassador to Calice, by the labor and counsaill of thesaied Cardinall, and Archebishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginnyng, is to me your sole uncle, & other lordes of your kyn and counsaill unknowen, to your greate charge, and agaynst the publique good of your realme, as it openly appeareth. The whiche good if it bee imployed, for the defence of your landes, the marchaundises of thesame, might haue had other course, and your sayd landes not to haue stande in so greate mischief as they do.

15. ITEM after that, to your greate charge, and hurte of bothe your realmes, thesaid Cardinall and Archbishop of Yorke, went to your saied toune of Calice, and diuerse Lordes of your kyn, and of your counsaill in their felowship, and there, as there was naturall warre betwene the duke of Orleaunce, & the duke of Burgoyn, for murder of their fathers, a capitall enemitie like to haue endured for euer, thesayd Cardinall and Archbishop of Yorke, licenced and suffred, thesaid duke of Orleaunce, to entreate and common a part with the counsaiell of your sayd aduersaries, aswell as with the Duchies of Burgoyne, by whiche meane the peace and alliaunce was made betwene the two dukes, to the greatest fortifyng of your said capitall aduersaries, that could be thought, and cõsequently (my deare redoubted lorde,) to your greatest charge, & hurt to both your realmes. Under colour of whiche treatie, your said aduersaries, in meane tyme wan your citee of Meurl, & the coũtrey therabout and many diuerse rodes made into youre Duchie of Normandy, to the great noysaunce and destruccion of your people, as it sheweth openly.

xx. ITEM thesaid Archebishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme, from thesaied Cardinall, after communicacion had with your aduerse partie, at your saied toune of Calice, made at his commyng into your notable presence at Wyndsore, all the swasions and colour, all motions in the moste apparaũt wise that he could, to induce your highnes to your agrement, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence, of his writyng, at whiche tyme, as I understode, it was his singuler opinion, that is to say: that you should leaue your right, your title, & your honor of your croune, & nomination of you kyng of Fraunce, during certain yeres, & that you should utterly abstain you and be content, onely in writyng, with, rex Anglie. &c. to the greate note of infamine, that euer fel to you, or any of your noble progenitors, since the takyng of them first, thesayd title & right, of your realme and croune of Fraũce, to which matter in your presẽce ther, after that it had lyked your sayd highnes, to aske myne aduise therupon, with other of your bloud and coũsaill, I aunswered and sayd, that I would neuer agree me therto, to die therfore, and of thesame disposicion I am yet, and

wyll

be while I liue, in conseruacion of your honor, and of your othe made vnto your saied croune, in tyme of your coronacion there.

ITEM the saied Cardinall & Archebishop of Yorke, haue so labored vnto your highnes, that you should entende to a newe daye of conuencion in Marche or Apryll next commyng, where it is noysed to be more against your worshyp, then with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breaking of thesaid peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduerse partye, because of the great vntrouthes: Now by that meane it is lyke peraduenture, to be layed vnto the verie
x greate slaundre of you my doubted Lorde, lyke to come to none other purpose nor effecte, then other conuencions haue doen afore tyme. And so by subtilities and counsaill of your saied enemies, your lande (they in hope and trust of thesayd treatie, not mightely nor puyssauntly purueyed for,) shalbe like vnder the coloure of thesame treatie, to be brent vp and destroyed, lost and vtterly turned from your obeysaunce.

ITEM it is saied, that the deliueraunce of thesaied Duke of Orleaunce, is vtterly appointed by the mediacion, counsayll, and steryng of thesaied Cardinall and Archebishoppe of Yorke, and for that cause diuerse persons been come from your aduersaries, into this your realme,
xx and thesaied duke also brought to your citee of London, where as my lord your father (whom God assoile) peisyng so greatly the inconueniences, and harme that might fall, onely by his deliueraunce, concluded, ordeyned and determined in his last wil, vtterly in his wisedome, his cõquest in his realme of Fraunce. And yet then it is to be doen, by as great deliberacion, solempnitie and suretie, as maye be deuised or thought, and seyng now the disposicion of your realme of Fraunce, the puissaũce and might of your enemies, & what ayde they haue gotten agaynst you there, aswell vnder the colour of thesaid treatie, as otherwise, what maie or ought to be thought or said, for that laborying thesaid duke (al thyn-
xxx ges considered) by suche perticular persones, the lordes of your bloud not called therunto, I report me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto thesaied wise trewe men of this your realme.

ITEM where that euery true counsailor, specially vnto any king or prince, ought of trouth and of dutie, to counsaill, promote, encrease, prefer, and aduaunce the weale and prosperitie of his lorde: Thesaid Cardinall, beyng of your counsaill (my right doubted lorde) hath late purchased of your highnes, certain great landes and ltuelode: as the castle and lordship of Chirke in Wales, and other lãdes in this your realme, vnto whiche I was called sodainly, and so in eschewyng the breakyng
xl & losse of your armies then agayn, seyng none other remedy, gaue thervnto myne assent, thinking that who that euer laborer, moued or stered the matter firste vnto your Lordeship, counsayled you neyther for your worshyp nor profite.

MORE thesaied Cardinall hath you bounde a parte, to make him a sure estate of all the sayed landes, by Easter nexte commyng, as

coulde bee deuyſed by ãnye learned counſayll, ōr elles that ſuretie not made, theſayed Cardinall, to haue and reioye to him, and hys heyres for euermore, the landes of the Duchie of Lãcaſter, in Norffolke, to the value of. vii. or. viii. C. markes, by the yere, whiche thyng ſemeth right ſtraunge and vnſene, and vnhard wayes of any liege man, to ſeke vpon hys ſouereigne lorde, bothe in his enheritaunce and in hys Juelles, and good. For it is thought, but if right and extreme neceſſitie cauſed it, there ſhould, nor ought no ſuch thynges to be doen: frō which neceſſitie (God for hys mercy) euer preſerue your noble perſon, wherfore my redoubted lord, ſeyng that ye ſhould be ſo coũſailed, or ſtired to leaue your croune and enheritaunce in England, & alſo by fraude and ſubtile meanes, as is afore reherſed, ſo to loſe your Juelles: in my trouthe and in myne acquitall (as me ſeameth) I maye not nor ought not, counſayl ſo greate an hurte to you and to all your lande.

xi ITEM, it is not vnknowen to you my right doubted lorde, how often tymes I haue offred my ſeruice, to and for the defence of your realme of Fraunce, and duchie of Normãdy, where I haue been put therfro, by the labor of theſayd Cardinall, in preferryng other after his ſinguler affeccion, whiche hath cauſed greate parte, of theſayed Duchie of Normandy, aſwell as of your realme of Fraunce to be loſt, as it is well xii knowen, and what good (my right doubted lord) was loſt on that army that was laſt ſent thether, whiche therle of Wortayn, your counſayl of Fraunce, hath well and clerely declared to your highnes here before.

xii. ITEM, my right doubted Lorde, it is not vnkowen, that it had not been poſſible to theſayed Cardinall, to haue comen to the greate riches, but by ſuche meanes, for of his Churche it might not riſe, and enherytaunce he had none. Wherefore my right doubted Lorde, ſithe there is great good behouefull at thys tyme, for the weale and ſafegard of your realmes, the pouertie, neceſſitie, and indigence of your liege people, in highnes vnderſtande, like it vnto your noble grace, to conſidre theſaied xxx lucat of theſaied Cardinall, and the greate deceiptes, that you be deceiued in, by the labor of hym, and of the Archebiſhop, aſwell in thys your realmes, as in your realme of Fraunce, and duchy of Normandy, where neyther office, liuelode, nor capitain maye be had, without to greate a good geuen vnto hym, wherby great part of all the loſſe that is loſt, they haue been the cauſers of, for who that would geue moſte, hys was the price, not conſideryng the merytes, ſeruice, nor ſuffiſeaunce of perſones. Furthermore it is greatly to be conſidered, how, when theſayed Cardinall, had forfeited al his good, because of prouiſion, as the ſtatute, therꝑ vpō more playnly declareth, by hauing the rule of you my right doubꝑ ted Lorde, purchaſed hymſelf in greate defraudacion of your highnes, a charter of pardō, the whiche good and it had be well gouerned, might many yeres haue ſuſteyned your warres, without any tallage of your poore people.

xxi ITEM, my redoubted Lorde, where as I write moche thyng, for the weale

weale of you and of your realmes, peraduenture some will say and vnderstande, that I woulde, or haue written it, by waye of accusement of all your counsaill, whiche god knoweth, I do not, for your highnes may well se, that I name theim, that be causers of thesayed inordinate rule wherfore, considering that thesayd Cardinall & Archebishop of Yorke been they, that pretende the gouernaunce of you, and of your realmes and lordshippes: Please it vnto your highnes, of your rightwisenesse to estraunge them of your consayll, to that entent, that men maye be at their fredome, to say what they thinke of trueth.

x FOR truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not do so. And if the Cardinal & the Archbishop of Yorke, may afterward declare thē selfes, of that is, and shalbe sayed of them, you my right doubted lorde may then restore them agayn to your counsayll, at your noble pleasure. 24.

VVHEN the king had heard these accusaciōs, he cōmitted the hearinge therof, to his counsaill, whetof the moste parte were spiritual persons, so what for feare, and what for fauour the mater was winked at, and dayled out, and nothing sayde to it: and fayre contenaunce was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had ben taken, nor no malice borne, either in hart or in remembraunce agaynst hym. But venyme
xx will once breake oute, and inwarde grudge wyll sone appeare, whiche was this yere to all men apparaunt: for diuers secrete attemptes were aduaunced forward this season, agaynst the noble duke Hūfrey of Gloucester, a farre of, whiche in conclusion came so nere, that they bereft hym both of lyfe and lande, as you shalhereafter more manifestly perceyue. For first thys yere, dame Elyanour Cobhā, wyfe to the sayd duke, was accused of treason, for that she, by sorcery and enchaūteinēt, entended to destroy the kyng, to thentent to aduaunce and promote her husbande to the croune: vpon this she was examined in sainct Stephens chappell,
xxx before the Bishop of Canterbury, and there by examinacion conuict & iudged, to do open penaunce, in.iij. open places, within the citie of London, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prisone in the Isle of Man, vnder the kepyng of sir Jhon Stāley, knight. At thesame season, wer arrested as ayders and counsaylers to the sayde Duchesse, Thomas Southwell, priest and chanon of saincte Stephens in Westmynster, Jhon Hum preest, Roger Bolyngbroke, a conyng nycromancier and Margerie Jourdayne, surnamed the witche of Eye, to whose charge it was layed, that thei, at the requeste of the duchesse, had deuised an image of waxe, presenting the kyng, whiche by their sorcery, a litle and litle cō-
xl sumed, entendyng therby in conclusion to waist, and destroy the kynges person, and so to bryng hym to death, for the which treison, they wer adiudged to dye, & so Margery Jordayne was brent in smithfelde, & Roger Bolyngbroke was drawen & quartered at tiborne, takyng vpō his death, that there was neuer no suche thyng by theim ymagened, Jhon Hun had his pardon, & Southwell dyed in the toure before execution: the duke of Gloucester, toke all these thynges pacientlỹ, and sayed litle.

The.xxi.yere.

The.xxi.yere.

THE counsaill of Englande, forgat not the late enterprise of the Frēche kyng, doen in the duchie of Guyen, wherfore, to fortifie the countrey, least he peraduenture, would attempt again a like iorney, they sent thether sir William Wooduile, with.viij.hundred men, to fortifie the frontiers, till a greater armie might be assembled: And farther made publique proclamacion, that all men whiche would transporte, or cary any corne, chese, or other vitaile into the parties of Acquitayn, should paye no maner of custome or tallage, whiche licence caused that countrey, to be well furnished of all thinges necessarie and conuenient. About this season, the kyng remembring the valyaunt seruice, and noble actes of Jhon Lorde Talbot, created hym Erle of Shrewesburie, and with a company of .three M.men, sente hym again into Normandy, for the better tuicion of the same whiche neither forgat hys dutie, nor forslowed his businesse, but daily labored & hourely studied, how to molest & damage hys enemyes.

IN this yere, dyed in Guyen the Countesse of Comyng, to whom the Frenche kyng, and also the Erle of Armynacke, pretended to be heire, insomuche, that the Erle entered into all the landes of thesaied lady, as very inheritor to her of right, and tooke homage of the people of the countrey. But to haue a Rowland to resist an Oliuer: he sent solempne Ambassadors to the kyng of Englande, offeryng hym hys doughter in mariage, not onely promisyng hym siluer hilles, and golden mountaines with her, but also would be bound, to deliuer into the kyng of Englandes handes, all suche Castles and tounes, as he or hys auncestors deteyned from hym, within the whole duchie of Acquytayn or Guyen, either by conquest of hys progenitors, or by gyfte or deliuery of any Frenche kyng: offryng farther, to aide thesame kyng with money, for the recouery of other citees, within thesaied duchy, from hym and his auncestors, by the Frenche kynges progenitors, the lorde de Albrethe, and other lordes of Gascoyn, iniustly kept and wrongfully withholden. This offre semed bothe profitable, and honorable to kyng Henry and his realme, and so the Ambassadors, wer bothe well heard, and louyngly entertained, and inconclusion, with a gentle aunswere (not without great rewardes) they departed into their countrey: after whom wer sent for the conclusion of thesaied mariage into Guyen, sir Edward Hulle, sir Robert Roos, and doctor Jhon Grafton deane of sainct Seuerins with an honorable company, whiche (as all Englishe Cronographiers affirme) bothe concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the young Lady. The Frenche kyng was not ignorant, of all these conclusions, wherfore disdainyng, that the Erle of Armynacke should bothe vsurpe agaynst hym; the Countie of Comyng, and also ioyne hymself, with hys mortall enemye, the kyng of Englande, to recouer his right, and to punishe his rebell, he sent Lewes his eldest sonne Dolphyn of Vyen, into

reuergne

reuergne with a puissaunt army, whiche sodaynly toke the Erle of Armynacke, at the Isle in Jordayne, and his yongest sonne, and bothe his doughters, and by force obteined the countreis of Armynacke, Lonuergue, Rouergne and Moullesson, beside the citees of Seucrac and Cadenac, and chased the Bastarde of Armynacke out of his countrey, and cõstituted gouernor of all those seigniories, syr Theobald de Walpergne, batlif of Lyon. So by reason of this infortunate chaunce, the maciage concluded was differred, yea, and so long differred, that it neuer toke effect, as you shall heare more playnly declared.

The.xxii. yere.

HUs, while Englande was vnquieted, and Fraunce sore vexed, by spoyle, slaughter, and burnyng, all chzistendom lamented the continuall destruccion of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so muche chzisten bloud, wherfore to appease the mortall warre, so long continuyng betwene these twoo puysaunt kynges, all the pzinces of Chzistendom, so muche labored and trauailed, by their orators and Ambassadors, that the frostie hartes of bothe the parties, wer somewhat mollified, and their indurate stomackes, greatly asswaged. So there was a greate diete appoynted, to be kepte at the citee of Toures in Tourayne, where, for the kyng of Englande appered, William de la Pole erle of Suffolke, doctor Adame Wolyns, keper of the kynges pziuie seale, and Robert lorde Roos, and diuerse other: And for the Frenche kyng were appoynted, Charles Duke of Orleaũce, Lewes de Burbon erle of Uandosme, and greate Master of the Frenche kynges housholde, syr Piers de Bzesell Stewarde of Poytou, and Bartram Beautiau, Lorde of Pzecignye. There were also sente thether, Ambassadors from the Empire, from Spayne, from Denmarke, and frõ Hungary, to be mediators betwene these twoo pzinces. The assemble was greate, but the costes was muche greater, in somuche that euery parte, for the honor of their Pzince, and pzaise of their countrey, set furth themselfes, aswell in fare, as apparell, to the vttermoste poynt and highest pzike. Many metynges wer had, & many thynges moued, to come to a finall peace, and mutuall concord. But in conclusion, for many doubtes and greate ambiguities, whiche rose on bothe parties, a finall concord could not bee agreed, but in hope to come to a peace, a certain truce aswell by sea as by land, was concluded by the commissioners, for.xviij. monethes, whiche afterward, agayne was pzolonged to the yere of our Lorde. M.iii. C.xlix. if in the meane season it had not been violated & broken, as here after shalbe declared.

IN the treatyng of this truce, the Erle of Suffolke extendyng his cõmission to the vttermoste, without assent of his associates, imagened in hys phantasie, that the nexte waie to come to a perfite peace, was to moue some mariage, betwene the Frẽche kynges kynswoman, and king Henry hys souereigne: and because the Frenche kyng had no dough-

ters

ter of ripe age, to be coupled in matrimony with the kyng hys Maister, he desired to haue the Lady Margaret, cosyn to the Frenche kyng, and doughter to Reyner duke of Anjow, callyng hymself kyng of Sicile. Napels, and Hierusalem, hauyng onely the name and stile of the same, without any peny profite, or fote of possession. This mariage was made straunge to therle a good space, in so muche that he repented hym of the fyrst mocio but yet lyke a bold man, entendyng not to take a foule in so greate a matter, desisted not still, daily to sollicitie and aduaunce forward his cause. The wily Frenchemen perceiuyng the ardent affection of the erle, toward the conclusion of mariage, declared to hym that this mariage, was not lyke to come to conclusion, as he desired, because the kyng his Maister, occupied a greate parte of the Duchie of Anjow, and the citee of Mauns, and the whole Countey of Mayne, appertenyng (as they sayed) to kyng Reyner, father to the damosell.

THE erle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either corrupted with bribes; or to muche affeccionate to this vnprofitable mariage, condiscended and agreed to their motion, that the Duchie of Anjow, and the countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered, to the kyng her father, demaundyng for her mariage, neither peny nor farthyng: (as who would saie) that thys newe affinitie, excelled riches, and surmounted gold and precious stone. And to thentent that of this truce, might ensue a fynall concorde, a daye of enteruieue or metyng was appoynted, betwene the two kynges in a place conuenient, betwene Chalters and Roan. When these thinges wer concluded, the Erle of Suffolke with hys company, thinkyng to haue brought ioyfull tidynges, to the whole realme of Englande, departed from Toures, and so by long iorneis, arriued at Douer, and came to the kyng to Westminster, and there openly before the kyng and hys counsaill, declared how he had taken an honorable truce, for the sauegard of Normandy, & the wealth of the realme, out of which truce, he thought, yea, and doubted not, but a perpetuall peace, and a fynall concorde, should shortly proceade and growe out. And muche the soner, for that honorable mariage, that inuincyble alliaunce, that Godly affinitie, whiche he had concluded: omitting nothyng, whiche myght extoll & setfurth, the personage of the Ladie, nor forgetting any thyng, of the nobilitie of her kynne, nor of her fathers high stile: as who would saie, that she was of suche an excellent beautie, and of so high a parentage, that almoste no kyng or Emperor, was worthy to be her make. Although this mariage pleased well the kyng, and diuerse of hys counsaill, and especially suche as wer adherentes, and fautors to the erle of Suffolke: yet Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realme, repugned and resisted as muche as in hym laye, this new alliaunce and contriued matrimonie: alledgyng that it was neither consonaunt to the lawe of GOD nor man, nor honorable to a prince, to infrynge and breake a promise or contracte, by hym made and concluded, for the vtilitie and profite of his realme and people, declaryng, that the kyng, by

his

his Ambassadors, sufficiently instructed and auctholised, had cõcluded and cõtracted, a mariage betwene his highnes, & the doughter of therle of Armynacke, vpon conditions, bothe to hym and his realme, asmuche profitable as honorable. Whiche offers and cõditions, thesaid erle lith his commyng out of his captyuitie and thraldome, is redi to yelde and performe, saiyng: that it was more conuenient for a Prince, to marie a wife with riches and frendes, then to take a make with nothyng, and disherite hymself and hys realme of olde rightes and auncient seigniories. The duke was not heard, but the Erles doynges, were condiscended vnto, and allowed. Whiche facte engendered suche a flame, that it neuer wente out, till bothe the parties with many other were consumed and slain, to the great vnquietnes of the kyng and his realme. And for the performaunce of these conclusions, the Frenche kyng sent the Erle of Vandosme, greate Master of hys house, & the Archebishop of Reyns, first pere of Fraunce, and diuerse other into England, whiche wer ioyously receiued, and frendly entertayned. Which ambassadors, after instrumentes on bothe parties, sealed and deliuered, (not vnrewarded) returned into their countrey. When these thinges were thus doen, the kyng, bothe for the honor of hys realme, and to assure to hymself, more speciall frendes, he created Lorde Jhon Holand Erle of Huntyngdon, Duke of Excester, as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford, was made duke of Buckyngham, and Henry Erle of Warwicke, was erected to the title of Duke of Warwicke, and the Erle of Suffolke, made Marques of Suffolke, whiche Marques with hys wyfe, & many honorable personages of men and women, richely adorned, bothe with apparell and Juels, hauyng with them many costly chariottes, & gorgious horselicters, sailed into Fraunce, for the conuenyaunce of the nominated Quene, into the realme of England. For kyng Reyner her father, for al his long stile, had to short a purse, to sende hys doughter honorably to the kyng her spouse.

The.xxiii.yere.

HIS noble company, came to the citee of Toures in Touraine, where they were honorably receiued, bothe of the Frẽch kyng, and of the kyng of Sicile. Wher the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to kyng Henry, espoused thesaid Ladie in the churche of sainct Martyns. At whiche mariage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the Frenche kyng hymself, whiche was vncle to the husbande, and the Frenche quene also, whiche was awnte to the wife. There wer also, the dukes of Orleaunce, of Calaber, of Alaunson, and of Britayn. vii. Erles. xii. Barons. xx. Bishoppes, beside kinghtes and gentlemen. There wer triumphaunt Justes, costly feastes, and delicate banquettes, but all pleasure hath an ende, and euery ioye is not continuall. So that after these high solempnities

The.xxiii. yere.

finished

fynished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Ladie Margaret to hym deliuered, whiche in greate estate, he conueyed through Normandy to Deape, and so transported her into Englande, where she landed at Portesmouthe, in the monethe of Aprill. This woman excelled all other, aswell in beautie and fauor, as in wit and politie, and was of stomack and corage, more like to a man, then a woman. Sone after her arriuall, she was conueyed to the toune of Southwike in Hamshire, where she, with all nupciall Ceremonies, was coupled in matrimony, to kyng Henry the.vi. of that name. After whiche mariage, she was with greate triumphe, conueyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpon the.xxx. date of May, she with all solempnitie therunto apperteinyng, was Crouned Quene of thys noble realme of Englande. Who so would knowe, the costly receipt, the plealaunt companie, the gorgeous apparell, the diuersitie of Instrumentes, the straunge pagiauntes, the behauior of the Lordes, the beautie of the Ladies, the sumptuous feast, the delicate viander, the marciall tustes, the fierce turnais, the lustie daunces, & the minió longes, which wer shewed, setfurth and practised at her coronacion, let hym loke in the Chronicles of London, & of Robert Fabian, and there he shal finde thē set furth at the full.

THIS mariage semed to many, bothe infortunate, and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many causes. First the kyng with her had not one peny, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke, demaunded a whole fiftene, in open parliament: also for her mariage, the Duchie of Anjow, the citee of Mauns, and the whole cōtie of Mayne were deliuered and released to kyng Reyner her father, whiche countreis wer the very stayes, and backestandes to the Duchy of Normandy. Furthermore for this mariage, the Erle of Arminacke, toke suche great displeasure, that he became vtter enemy to the realme of Englande, and was the chief cause, that the Englishmen, were expulsed out of the whole duchie of Acquitayne, and lost bothe the countreis of Gascoyn and Guyen. But moste of all it should seme, that God with thys matrimony was not content. For after this spousage, the kynges frendes fell from hym, bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his realme, fell in diuision emongest themselfes, the commons rebelled against their souereigne Lorde, and naturall Prince, feldes were foughten, many thousandes slayn, and finally, the kyng deposed, and hys sonne slayn, and thys Quene sent home agayn with asmuche misery and sorowe, as she was receiued with pompe and triumphe, suche is worldly vnstablenes, and so wauering is false flattering fortune.

DVRYNG the tyme of this truce, Richard duke of Yorke, and diuerse other capitaynes, repaired into England, bothe to visite their wifes children and frendes, and also to consulte, what should be doen, yf the truce ended.

For

FOR the whiche cause, the kyng called his high court of Parliament, in the whiche aboue al thinges, it was concluded, diligently to forsee, that Normandy be wel furnished and strongly defenced, before the terme of the truice should be expired: for it was openly knowen, that the Frenche kyng, was ready in al thinges, to make open warre, if no peace or abstinence of warre, were agreed or concluded. For whiche consideracion, money was graunted, men were apointed, and a great army gathered together. & the duke of Somerset, was appointed Regent of Normandy, and the duke of Yorke thereof xdischarged. In whiche Parliament, to please the people with all, it was enacted, that when whete was solde for. vi. s. viii. d. the quarter and Rye for. iiii. s.. and Barly for. iii. s. it should be lawfull to euery man to cary thesaid kyndes of corne, into the parties beiond the sea, without licence, so it were not to the kynges enemies or rebelles: whiche acte, kyng Edward the. iiii. for the vtilitie of his people, approued and confirmed.

THE Marques of Suffolke, beyng in hygh fauor with the kyng, and in no lesse grace with quene Margaret, for concluding the mariage betwene theim twoo, somewhat infected with the sede of vainglory, and thynkyng that his proceedinges and doynges in Fraunce. (duryng the xi tyme of his legacion) had aswell pleased all men, as they pleased hym self, the second day of June, in the first session of this parliament, before all the lordes spirituall & temporal, in the higher house assembled, openly, eloquently and boldely, declared his paine, trauaile and diligence, which he had taken and susteined of late tyme, in the realme of Fraunce, aswell for the takyng and concluding a truce or abstinence of warre, betwene the Realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, as in the makyng of the mariage betwene the kyng his souereigne lorde and theirs, and the noble Prynces lady Margaret, daughter to the kyng of Sicile and Hierusalem: Openyng also to them, that thesaid truce should expire the xxi first daie of Aprill next comming, except a finall peace or farther truce were concluded in the meane season: aduisyng them to prouide and forse all thynges necessary, for the warre (as though no concorde should succede, nor agrement could take place) least the Frenchemen perceiuyng theim vnprouiden, would take their aduauntage, and agree neyther to reason nor amytie: saiyng vnto theim, that sithe he had admonished the kyng, and them, accordyng to his duetie and allegeaunce, if any thyng quailed, or if daunger ensued, he was thereof innocent and gilteles, and had acquited hymselfe like a louing subiecte, and a faithfull counsailor, praiyng the lordes to haue it in their remembraunce. Lykewyse the morowe after, he with certain lordes, discended into the cõmon house, where xi he declared again all thesaied matters, to the knightes, Citezens and Burgesses, omittyng nothyng, that might sounde to his glory, nor openyng any thing, whiche might redound to his displayse: praiyng the cõmons for his discharge, that aswell all his doynges and procedynges in the kynges affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement & counsaill,

sayl, opened to the lordes and commons now together assembled, might be, by the kyng and theim, enacted and enrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament: wherupon the morowe after, William Burley, speaker for the commons and all the company of the nether house, repayred to the kynges presence, sitting in his trone, emongest his lordes in the Parliament chamber, where thesayed William Burley, by the counsayll of the commõs, (whether they did it more for feare then for loue, or were thereunto entised by the Marques frendes, as some men doubted) most humblie commended to the kynges highnes, the forsaied Marques of Suffolke, and all his actes and notable woorkes, whiche he had done, to the pleasure of almightie God, the honor of the kyng, and the vtilitie of the Realme: As in takyng the truce, concluding the mariage, and the good admonicion, geuen by hym in open Parliament, for prouision of warre to be made, duryng the tyme of truce, leaste to muche trustyng of peace, might encorage the Frenchemen, the soner to begyn warre and inuasiõ: beseechyng the kynges highnes, in the name of the commons, to imprynt in his hart and remẽbraunce, thesaid Marques, and all his labors and actes, to his honor and renoune, which should be an example to all other, whiche the kyng should call to like seruice, to employ themselfes in lyke endeuor, faythfully and honorably to serue their kynge and souereigne lorde: praiyng also the lordes spirituall and temporall, that they for the considerations before rehersed, would vouchesaue to make like petition to the kynges maiestie, and that all the actes and demeanor of thesaied Marques, might by authoritie of parliamẽt, be to his honor, & perpetuall fame, in the rolles of thesame Parliament, recorded and substantially registered. At whiche humble intercession, the lordes, aswell spirituall as temporal, rose from their seates, and on their knees, made to the kyng like request and petition, as they of the commons before were desired: wherupon, the kyng by the mouthe of the Archebyshop of Canterbury his Chauncellor, made answer, that their requestes were so reasonable and so honourable, that he in no wise could, but louingly accept and gently alowe thesame, sayng also: that their desires, were to him a singuler pleasure, and an especiall comforte, and that he woulde from thencefurthe accepte and take thesaied Marques to his benigne grace, and especiall fauoure, as a persone, whiche had doone bothe true, faythfull, and notable seruice to hym and to his Realme, to the intent, that all men put in like trust, should enforce theim selfes, to doo lyke or better seruice to their souereigne Lorde or Master: agreyng also (accordyng to their requestes and peticions) that the labours, demeanours, diligences, and declaracions of thesaied Marques of Suffolke, and thesaied commendacions and desires, not only of the lordes, but also of the commons, aswell for the honor of hym and his posteritie, as for his acquital and discharge, should be enacted, and enrolled in the Recordes of thesame parliament, whiche was so done. This Marques thus gotten vp, into fortunes trone, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Quene,

was

was shortely erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, and ruled the kyng at his pleasure, in so muche, he obteined the wardshyppes, bothe of body and landes of the Coũtesse of Warwicke, and of the lady Margarete, sole heire to Jhon Duke of Somerset (whiche lady was after, mother to kyng Henry the seuenth) and besyde that, caused the kyng to create Jhon de Foys, sonne to Gaston de Foys, Erle of Longuile, and Capdaw of Buchez, Erle of Kendale: which Jhon had maried his niece, and by his procurement, the kyng elected into the order of the Garter, thesaied Gaston, and Jhon his sonne, geuyng to the sonne, towardes the
x maintenaunce of his degree and estate, landes and Castles, in the Duchie of Guyen, amountyng to the some of one thousand poundes by the yere, whiche landes, name, and stile, the issue and lyne of thesaied Erle of Kendall at this daye haue, and enioye.

HERE a man may beholde, what securitie is in worldly glory, and what constancie is in fortune smilyng: For this Duke of Suffolke, in open Parliament of the Lordes prayed, of the commons thanked, and into the kynges fauor, entierly receyued, within foure yeres after, was in thesame place, by the commons of the Realme, accused of many treasons, misprisions and offences, done and committed agaynst the kyng,
xx and the common wealthe of his Realme, and in conclusion, beyng exiled the realme, he was taken vpon the sea, and made shorter by the hedde, whiche chaunce had not happened to him, if he had remẽbred the counsayll of the poppyngay, saiyng: when thou thinkest thy self in courte most surest, then is it high tyme to get the home to rest.

THESE thynges beyng in doyng, the Frenche kyng seyng, that the toune of Mauns, and diuerse fortresses in Mayne, were not to hym deliuered, accordyng to the appoyntment made, gathered together a great numbre of people, for to recouer thesame: wherof the kyng of Englande beyng aduertysed, (least the breache of truce should begynne by hym)
xxx caused the toune to be deliuered, without any force.

THIS yere, an Armerers seruaunt of London, appeled his master of treason, whiche offered to bee tried by battaill. At the daie assigned, the frendes of the master, brought hym Walmesey and *Aqua vite*, to comfort hym with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomforte: For he poured in so muche, that when he came into the place in Smithfielde, where he should fyght, bothe his wytte and strength fayled hym: and so he beyng a tall and a hardye personage, ouerladed with hote drynkes, was vanquished of his seruaunte, beyng but a cowarde and a wretche, whose body was drawen to Tyborne, & there hanged and behedded. Jn
xl whiche yere was a greate insurrection in Norwiche, agaynst the Prior of the place, in so muche that the cytezens kepte the gates, agaynst the Duke of Norfolke, whiche came thither to appease the matter: But in conclusion, they opened the gates, and submitted theimselfes. The chiefe offenders, were (according to their desertes) straightly punished, and executed, and the Waire was discharged of his office, and syr Jhon Clif-

ton was made gouernoure there, tyll the kyng had restored the citezens to their auncient liberties, and franchyses. This commocion, was for certain newe exaccions, whiche the Prior claimed and tooke of the citezens, contrary to their auncient fredomes and vsages: but this was not the dewe meane to come to their right and purpose, and therefore because they erred and wente out of the pathe, they were by punishemente brought againe to a very strayght trade and the ryght way.

¶ The. xxv. yere.

The. xxv. yere.



Uryng the tyme of this truce or abstinence of warre, whyle there was nothyng to vexe or trouble the mynades of men, within the realme, a sodain mischiefe, and a long discorde, sprang out sodaynly, by the meanes of a woman: for kyng Henry, whiche reigned at this tyme was a man of a meke spiritie, and of a symple wytte, preferryng peace before warre, reste before busynesse, honestie before profite, and quietnesse before labour. And to the intent that all men might perceiue, that there could be none, more chaste, more meke, more holy, nor a better creature: In hym reigned shamefastnesse, modestie, integritie, and pacience to bee marueiled at, takyng and suffryng all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and suche worldely tormentes, in good parte, and with a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his awne fault, or neglygent ouersight: yet he was gouerned of them whome he shoulde haue ruled, and prydeled of suche, whome he sharpely should haue spurred: He gaped not for honor, nor thirsted for ryches, but studied onely for the health of his soule: the sauyng wherof, he esteemed to bee the greatest wisedome, and the losse thereof, the extremest folye that coulde bee. But on the other parte, the Quene his wyfe, was a woman of a great witte, and yet of no greater wytte, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature, belongyng to a man, full and flowyng: of witte and wilinesse she lacked nothyng, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexperte: but yet she had one poynt of a very woman: for often tyme, when she was vehement & fully bente in a matter, she was sodainly lyke a wethercocke, mutable, and turnyng. This woman perceiuyng that her husbande dyd not frankely rule as he would, but did all thyng by thaduise and counsaill of Hũfrey duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not muche on the aucthoritie and gouernaunce of the realme, determined with her selfe, to take vpon her the rule and regiment bothe of the kyng and his kyngdome, & to depriue & euict out of al rule and aucthoritie, the said duke, then called the lord protector of the realme: least men should saie & repoꝛt, ỹ she had neither wit nor stomacke, whiche would permit & suffre her husband, beyng of perfect age & mãs estate, like a yong scholer or innocent pupille, to be

gouerned

gouerned by the disposicion of another man. This manly woman, this corragious Quene, ceased not to prosecute furthwith, her inuented imaginacion and prepensed purpose, but practised daily the furtheraunce of thesame. And allthough this inuencio̅ came first of her awn high mind, and ambicious corage, yet it was furthered and set forward by such, as of long tyme had borne malice to the duke, for declaryng their vntruthe as you before haue heard. Whiche venemous serpentes, and malicious Tygers, perswaded, incensed and exhorted the Quene, to loke wel vpon the expenses and reuenues of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt: & affirmyng playnly that she should euidently perceiue that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so muche aduaunced & preferred the commo̅ wealth and publique vtilitie, as his awne priuate thinges & peculiar estate. Beside this, Reyner kyng of Sicile, wrote to his daughter, that she & her husbande, should take vpon them, the rule & gouernaunce of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, like yong wardes and desolate orphanes. The Quene perswaded and encoraged by these meanes, toke vpon her & her husband, the high power and aucthoritie ouer the people and subiectes. And although she ioyned her husbande with her in name, for a countenaunce, yet she dyd all, she saied all, and she bare the whole swynge, as && the strong oxe doth, whe̅ he is yoked in the plough with a pore silly asse: And first of all she excluded the duke of Gloucester, from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibityng suche as she knewe to be his mortall enemies, to inuent and imagyne, causes and griefes, agaynst hym and hys: so that by her permissio̅, and fauor, diuerse noble men conspired against hym, of the whiche, diuerse writers affirme, the Marques of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckyngham to bee the chiefe, not vnprocured by the Cardynall of Wynchester, and the Archebyshop of Yorke. Diuerse artikles, bothe heynous and odious, were layed to hys charge in open counsaill, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be &&& put to other execucion, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned: for surely the duke being very well learned in the lawe ciuill, detestyng malefactors, and punishing their offences, gat great malice and hatred of suche, as feared to haue condigne reward for their vngracious actes and mischeuous doynges. Although the duke (not without great laude and prayse) sufficiently aunswered to all thinges to him obiected, yet because his death was determined, his wisedome litle helped, nor his truth small auailed: But of this vnquietnes of mynde, he delyuered hymself, because he thought neither of death, nor of condempnacion to dye: suche affiaunce had he in his strong truthe, and suche confidence had he in in- &l different iustice. But his capital enemies and mortall foes, fearyng that some tumulte or commocion myght aryse, if a Prince so well beloued of the people, should bee openly executed, and put to death, determined to trappe and vndoo hym, or he therof shoulde haue knowlege or warnyng. So for the furtheraũce of their purpose, a parliament was somoned to be kept at Bery, whether resorted all the peres of the realme, and

emongest them, the duke of Glouceſter, whiche on the ſecond date of the ſeſſion, was by the lorde Beamond, then hygh Conſtable of Englande, accompanied with the duke of Buckyngham, and other, arreſted, apre-hended. and put in warde, and all his ſeruauntes ſequeſtered from hym, and. xxxii. of the chiefe of his retinue, were ſent to diuerſe pryſons, to the greate admiracion of the common people. The duke the night after his empryſonment, was found dedde in his bed, and his body ſhewed to the lordes and commons, as though he had died of a palſey or empoiſone: but all indifferent perſons well knewe, that he died of no natural death, but of ſome violēt force: ſome iudged hym to be ſtrangled: ſome affirme, that a hote ſpitte was put in at his foundement: other write, that he was ſtiffeled or ſmoldered betwene twoo fetherbeddes. After whoſe deathe, none of his ſeruauntes (although they were arraigned & attainted) were put to death: for the Marques of Suffolk, when they ſhould haue bene executed, ſhewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeaſed not the grudge of the people, whiche ſaied that the pardone of the ſeruauntes, was no amendes for morderyng of their maſter. The dedde corſe of the Duke, was caried to ſainct Albons, and there honorably buried. Thus was this noble pryncc, ſonne, brother, and vncle to kynges, whiche had valeauntly and poletiquely by the ſpace of. xxv. yeres gouerned this Realme, and for his demerites, called the good duke of Glouceſter, by a bone caſt by his enemies, choked and brought to his fatall fyne, and laſt ende. So all men may openly ſe, that to men in aucthoritie, no place no not the courte the chiefe refuge of all, nor the dwellyng houſe, nor yet a mannes priuate Caſtle, or his bed ordeyned for his quietnes, is out of daunger of deathes dart. It ſemeth to many men, that the name and title of Glouceſter, hath bene vnfortunate and vnluckie to diuerſe, whiche for their honor, haue bene erected by creacion of princes, to that ſtile and dignitie, as Hugh Spencer, Thomas of Woodſtocke, ſonne to kynge Edwarde the third, and this duke Humfrey, whiche thre perſons, by miſerable death finiſhed their daies, and after them kyng Richard the. iii. alſo, duke of Glouceſter, in ciuil warre was ſlain and cōfounded: ſo that this name of Glouceſter, is takē for an vnhappie and vnfortunate ſtile, as the prouerbe ſpeaketh of Seianes horſe, whoſe ryder was euer vnhorſed, and whoſe poſſeſſor was euer brought to miſerie. When the rumor of the dukes death, was blowen through the realme, many men were ſodainly appalled and amaſed for feare: many abhorred & deteſted the fact, but all men reputed it an abhominable crueltie, and a ſhameful tiranny. But the publique wealth of the realme of Englande, by the vnworthy death of this pollitique prince, ſuſteined greate loſſe, & ran into ruine, for ſurely the whole waight and burden of the realme, reſted & depended vpon him, as the experience afterward did declare. For after his death, good & ſage men fearing thē ſelfes, fled out of ỹ flatteryng court. into whoſe place entered ſuche as deſyryng their awne promocion, ſet open the gates to new factions, whiche could neuer be extinct, till all the

seignozies beyõd the sea (except Caleice & the marches) were lost, & kyng Henry in cõclusion spoyled of his Realme & lyfe. There is an olde sayed saw, that a man entending to auoide the smoke, falleth into the fyze: So here, the Quene minding to pzeserue her husband in honoz, & her selfe in aucthozitie, pzocured & consentid to the death of this noble man whole onely death bzought to passe that thynge, which she woulde moste fayne haue eschewed, and toke from her that iewell, whiche she moost desyzed: foz if this Duke had lyued, the Duke of Yozke durst not haue made title to the crowne: If this Duke had liued, the nobles had not conspired
x against the king, noz yet the cõmons had not rebelled: If this duke had lyued, the house of Lancaster had not bene defaced and destroied, which thinges hapened al contrary by the destruccion of this good man. This is the wozldly iudgement, but God knoweth, what he had pzedestinate, and what he had ozdeined befoze, against whose ozdinaunce pzeuaileth no counsaill, and against whose will auaileth no striuing.

¶ The xxvi. yere.

xx IN this. xxvi. yere of the reigne of this kyng, but in the first yere of the rule of the Quene, I synde nothyng done wozthye to be rehersed, wythin the Realme of Englande, but that the Marques of Suffolke by great fauour of the kynge, and moze desyzed of the Quene, was erected to the title, and name of the duke of Suffolke, whiche dignitie he shozte tyme enioyed & which degre, he but a bziefe leasõ possessed. Foz after the deposicion oz rather the destruccion of the good duke of Gloucester, and the exaltacion and aduauncement of this glozious man: Rychard duke of Yozke, beyng greatly alied by his wyfe, to the chefe peres and potentates of the Realme, ouer and besyde hys awne pzogenie and greate consanguynitie, perceiuyng the kyng to be a ruler not ruling, and the whole burden of the realme, to depend in the ozdinaunces of the Quene and the
xxx duke of Suffolke, began secretly to allure to his frendes of the nobilitie, and pziuatly declared to them, his title and right to the Crowne, and lykewyse dyd he to certayne wyse and sayge Gouernours and Rulers of diuerse cyties and tounes: which pziue attempt was so politiquely handeled and so secretly kept, that his pzouision was ready, befoze his purpose was openly publyshed, and hys frendes opened theim selfes oz the contrary parte coulde them espye: But in conclusion tyme reueled truth and olde hyd hatred openly spzage out, as you shall hereafter bothe lament and heare.

The. xxvi. yere.

DVRING these doynges, Henry Beaufford, byshop of Wynche-
xl ster, and called the ryche Cardynall, departed out of this wozlde, and was buried at Wynchester. This man was sonne to Jhon of Gaunte duke of Lancaster, disceded on an honozable lignage, but bozne in Baste, moze noble of bloud, then notable in learnyng, haut in stomacke, and hygh in countenaunce, ryche aboue measure of all men, & to fewe liberal,

 disdaynfull

disdaynfull to his kynne and dreadfull to his louers, preferrynge mo-
ney before frendshippe, many thinges begynning, and nothing perfour-
myng. His couetous insaciable, and hope of long lyfe, made hym bothe
to forget God, his Prynce and hymselfe, in his latter daies: For doctor
Jhon Baker his priuie counsailer, and hys chapellayn, wrote, that he
lyeng on his death bed said these wordes. Why should I dye, hauing so
muche ryches, if the whole Realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either
by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye, will not death be hyered,
nor will money do nothyng? when my nephew of Bedford died, I thou-
ght my selfe halfe vp the whele, but when I sawe myne other nephew of
Gloucester diseased, then I thought my self able to be equale with kin-
ges, and so thought to encrease my treasure in hoope to haue worne a
tripple Croune. But I se nowe the worlde fayleth me, and so I am de-
ceyued: praiyng you all to pray for me. Of the gettyng of thys mannes
goodes, both by power, legantye or spirituall briberie I wil not speake:
but the keppynge of them for his ambicious purpose, aspyrynge to ascend
to the papisticall sea, was bothe great losse to his naturall Prynce, and
natyue countrey: for his hidden riches might haue wel holpen the kyng,
and his secrete treasure might haue releued the cõmonaltie, whē money
was scante and importunate charges, were dayly imminent. After the
death of this prelate, whiche was a great stay to the kyng & the Realme,
the affayres in Fraunce, were neither well loked to, nor the gouernours
of the countrey were well aduised. For an Englishe capitayn, called syr
Franceys Surryen the Arragonoys, a man for hys wyt and actiuitie
admitted to the ordre of the Gartier, toke by scalynge sodaynly in the
night, a Towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belongyng to the duke
of Britayn, called Fongiers, spoyling the same, and kyllynge the inha-
bitauntes to the great distruccion of the people, and more displeasure to
the duke of Brytayn, their souereigne lorde. The Duke beynge thereof
aduertysed, sent worde to the Frenche kynge, declarynge to hym that in
the tyme of truce (in the which, he as his allye and vassal was cõprehen-
dyd) he was spoyled and bereuyd of his towne of Fongiers: Besechyng
the Frenche kynge, in that cause to se a recompensse and amendemente:
whereupon he sent Jhon Hauart his caruar, & Jhon Colynet one of the
masters of his requestes to the kyng of Englande: & to the duke of So-
merset, he dispatched Peter de Fountaynes Esquyer, & one of the chife
of his stable, to whome by bothe the Princes, it was aunswered, that the
facte and enterpryse was both done contrary to there mynde, wyll and
knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onely restitucion, but
also amendes to be made to the Duke of Britayne, a daye of dyet and
assemble was appointed to be kept at the town of Louiers. At the time
appointed both the parties assembled: The Frenche parte demaunded
amendes, with no lytle recompense: The Englyshe orators aunswered,
that without offence, nothing by iustice, ought to be satisfied: affir-ming
the doynge of syr Fraunceys Surrien, to be his onely acte, withoute the
consent

consent or counsaill, either of the kyng of England, or the duke of Somerset his lieuctenaũt and regent. During this daily communication & longe delaye, certayne Frenchemen, frendes to the duke of Britayne, desyring to be reuenged of the iniurie done to hym at Fongiers, and also imagening, how to do some new displeasure to the Englishemẽ, were aduertised by a wagoner of Louiers, ỹ the town of Poũtclarche, was but meanly manned and slenderly furnyshed, and the watche was but negligently loked to: With whiche saiynges the Frenchemen beynge somwhat encouraged, deuysed a waye, howe by pollicie to take the towne.

x So the wagoner laded his wagon, and passed forward, hauing in his company .ii. lytõg varlettes clad like carpenters, with great axes in their neckes. And for the furtheraũce of their purpose, the lord of Bressy, with a chosen company of men of armes, lodged him selfe in a busshement nere to the gate of sainct Andrewe. And capitayn Floquet, accompanied with sir James of Claremoũt, and an other great company, priuily lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When al thinges were appoynted, early in the morning in the beginning of the moneth of October, the wagonet came to the gate, and called the porter by name, prayng him to open the gate, that he might passe to Roen, and returne agayne the same

xx night. The porter (whiche well knew the voice of his customer) toke little hede to the other .ii. companions & so opened the one gate, and sent another felowe of his, to open the formost gate. When the Charriotte was on the draw bridge, betwene both the gates, the Chariotmaster gaue the porter money, and for the nones, let one pece falle to the ground, & while the porter stoped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger stroke him in at his throte, so that he cried for no healpe, and the .ii. great lubbers slew the other porters, and with their axes cutte the axeltree of the wagone, so that the drawe bridge could not be shortelye drawen vp. Which thinges done, they made a sygne to capitaine Floquet, which, without delay or tract of time, entered the town, and slew and toke the Englishmẽ, which neither heard nor thought of any such enterprice: emõgest whom, the lorde Faucombridge, capitayne of the said towne, was apprehended as a prysoner. By this pretye cautele & slyght imposture, was the toune of Pountelarche taken and surprised, which town was the kay and passage ouer the riuer of Somme, from Fraunce to Normandy, beyng distant from Roen, only .iiii. leagues. Thus wrong was added to wrong, & iniurie heped to iniurie, wherby the terme of truce was violated, & mortall warre was reuiued. But because ỹ taking of this fortresse, had a certain colour of breking of truce. The duke of Somerset by ambassadors

xl & not by force of armes, deuised to recouer again this pretye toun, & sent for ỹ restituciõ of the same, diuerse ambassadors to the Frẽche kyng & his coũsail, which made aũswer again, that if the Englishmen restored to the duke of Brytayn, the toun of Fõgiers with cõdigne amẽdes, for the damages done & cõmitted within the same, the town of Poũtlarche should agayne be rendered and deliuered: for the Frenche kynge and his coun-

sayll

sayll began now to perceyue and smell, that the affayres of Englande, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, were sore minished and decayed, and that good counsayll began to waxe faynte and decay, and sedicion freshely began to sprynge and ryse: By reason whereof, they thoughte that Normandye might sone be conqueted and recouered, and that the Englishe nacion out of that region might easely be expulsed and dryuen out: wherfore they determined to take the good occasion to them openly offered, & to lose no tyme in so good a bargaine. Wherupon kyng Charles diuided his armye into thre partes, not doubtyng of victory, by reason that the fame of the cõquest of Pountclarche, was blowen & spread abrode ouer al the countrey. So after diuers assautes (not without losse of diuers of his men) he had rendered to him by cõposicion, the tounes of Louiers and Gerborie, whereof William Harper was capitayn. Thus prosperous victorie dayly succedinge to the Frenche kynges armye, he augmenting his hooste, determined to get the towne of Vernoyle in perche, & gyrd it round about with a strong seage. The inhabitaũtes wherof, although with the sodaine chaunce they were somwhat abashed, yet hauing some succours, and hopinge of more releke, tooke to them good courage, and mankully defended the towne. But when their ayde taryed lenger, then they either thought or desyred, they were compelled to compounde and pact with their enemies, vpon this condicion: That if the seage were not reysed within twenty daies, that then they should depart with bagge and baggage, whiche condition was accepted: And because no rescous came, the toune, Castel and the great Tour, were deliuered. The Frenche historians affirme, the towne to be taken by assaute, and the Castell by composicion, but all writers agree, that the Frenchemen obteyned it. Thus was warre renued before the full terme of the truce expyred, whiche was the moost detestable and vnprofitable chaunce, that either coulde, or might haue happened or come, to the realme of England. For by this sodayn damage & losse, without thought arisyng, the Englishe capitaynes were so busyed & vnquieted, what with appeasyng dayly rumors within townes, and what with study how to recouer Castels lost and taken, that they scace wyste, what waye to take: For while they studied, how to kepe and defende one citie. iiii. or. v. other, folowing fortunes chaunce, turned to the Frenche parte, and became their enemies. The cheke cause of which reuolting and turning was this: It was blowen throughout all Fraunce, that the realme of Englande, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, by the seuerall factions of princes, was diuided in twoo partes, and that William de la Pole, late created duke of Suffolke, and diuers other, were the occasion of the death of the saied duke of Gloucester, whiche was the very father of the countrye, and the shield and defence of the poore cõmonaltie, and that the forenamed duke of Suffolke, onely for lucre of money, vexed, oppressed and molested the poore people, so that mens myndes were not intentiue, nor geuen to outward affayres and foren conquestes, but all theire studie was, howe

to dryue

to dryue backe and defende domesticall iniuries, and daily wrõges done at home: By reason whereof men of warre were vnpayed, and no armye for resistence was either gathered or assẽbled together: which mischiefes (while the kyng, as thynges of the worlde, and of no great moment, dyd neglect and omit, as he which preferred & extolled godly thinges, aboue all worldly affaires and mortall cures, and thought thẽ most to be phãtasied and labored: And while quene Margarete his wife, in whome the whole rule of the realme consisted, being a woman of to muche credence geuing, to euill & flattering cõsailors, them litle regarded) daily so much encreased, that by no meanes after they coulde be either ouercome or resisted: so that by this meanes, the Frenche nacion knewe in what case the state of the realme of Englande stode in, whiche elated and encouraged their hartes, and daunted and appalled the courages of the Normans & Gascoyns, so muche that for lacke of ayde and relefe, they turned to the Frenche parte, and forsoke their very souereigne lorde the kyng of Englande in shorte space, as you shall here after heare.

¶ The. xxvii. yere.

IT was not enough, the realme of Englãd this season thus to be vexed and vnquieted with the busines of Normãdy, but also a newe rebellion began in Irelande, to the greate displeasure of the kyng and his counsayll: For repressing whereof Richard Duke of Yorke, with a conuenient number of men was sent thyther, as lieuetenaunt to the kynge, whiche not onely appeased the fury of the wylde, and sauage people there, but also gat hym suche loue and fauour of the countrey and the inhabytauntes, that their syncere loue and frendly affection coulde neuer be seperated from hym and his linage, as in the sequele of this story, you shall more playnely perceyue. The Frenchemen hauyng perfyte vnderstandynge of the infirmitie and vnreadinesse of the Realme of Englande, displayed their banners, and set furthe their armyes, and in shorte space gat by yeldyng, Constance, Gysors, Castel, Gaillard Ponteau du mere, sainct Lo, Fescampe, Newchastell, Alanson, Toucque, Wanleon, Argenton, Lisiaux Argenton, and diuerse other townes in Normandy: Likewyse in Guyen was the towne of Maulissone rendered to the Erle of Foys. These townes were not yelded voluntarily by the Englysshe souldiors, but they were thereunto compelled by the cytizens and the inhabitauntes of the townes, whiche apparauntly perceiuyng, that the great flãme of the Englisshe force was extinct and consumed, rose against the Captaines, and either opened the gates to their enemies, or constrained them to render vpon a composicion. By whiche enforcement was the riche citie of Roan delyuered: for surely the duke of Somerset & the lorde Talbot Erle of Shrowesbury, had well kept and defended the citie, if they had bene no more vexed with the cytezens, then they were with their enemyes. For after the Frenche kyng had once by his Herault somoned the

The. xxvii. yere.

cytie,

eytie, the inhabitauntes not only sought ways & inuented fraudes, how to betray the same, but also put on harnes and rebelled against their capitaynes, manacyng to the death & destruccion al the Englysshe people. The capitaines perceiuing their vntrought, and trayterous demeanour retrayted them selfes into the Castell or Palaice, where they a certayne space with arrowes and handgonnes, sore molested and vexed the vnfrew citezens. But when they cõsidered the great puyssaũce of the Frẽch kyng, and that they were indispayre of all ayde or relefe, and that their victayle and artyllarye began sore to minisshe, they thoughte it better to compounde and agree with their enemies, rather then wylfully to be destroyed or dye for famyn: and so vpon condicion that they all should safely departe to Caen with all their goodes and armure, and that certain townes should be deliuered by a daye, they were permitted to departe: leauing behinde them for hostages, tyll the sayd townes (whiche were agreed to be rendered) should be deliuered, the Erle of Shzeuelbury and the lorde Butler, sonne to the Erle of Ormonde, whiche were sent to the Castell of Eureux, because they sore feared the malice of the Citezens of Roen. The Frenchemen folowyng stil the steppes of victorie, and elated with the bruite and fame of getting of Roen, determined either by force or offer, to get the Towne of Harfflew, and shortely assauted thesame, whet of was capitayn syr Thomas Conelon a man of great wytt and of no lesse force: whiche hauing knowlege of the heauy tidynges, brought from Roen, was therewith nothyng abashed, but couragiously set vpon his enemies, and them to their great hurt, manfully repulsed and draue from the walles. The Frenche men learning wit by this great perill, left their scalynge and deuysed dayly, howe to batter and breake the walles and fortificacions. This seage long continued to the great losse of both parties. When syr thomas sawe small lykelyhod of ayde or gayne, but muche apparaunce of losse and ieopardy, he toke a conuencion with his enemies, and so departed with all his goodes.

¶ The. xxviii. yere.

The. xxviii. yere.

After whiche towne rendered, the fortresse of Hunflew, vpon the same compositiõ was yelded. Thus you may perceiue, ỹ fortune is euer without measure, for either she to much fauoreth or to much hateth: for beside these tounes surrendered in Normãdy, the duke of Britaine recouered againe Fongiers, sent Jhon de Buerne and diuers other townes. In the meane season, the kyng of Englãd sent into Normandy w a crew of .M.v.c.cccc. men, a valiaũt capitain, called sir Thomas Kiriel: a man of great stomack, if he had had a great army, but his power was to small, either to recouer that whiche was lost, either to saue that, whiche yet remayned vngotten: But surely in hym lacked neither good wyll nor courage, for with his small number, he recouered agayn the townes of Lyseaux and Valongnes. After whiche

After which feate, he ioyned hymself with sir Henry Nozbery, sir Robert Ueere, Matthew Gough, and other capitaynes, so that they were aboue fiue thousande men, of valiaunt hartes and haute courages, After long consultacion, they determined to fight with the Frenchmen, whiche wer goyng to the siege of Caen, but in their iourney they were encountered at a place called Fozmigny, betwene Carentyne and Bayeux, by the erle of Cleremont, lieuttenaunt foz the Frenche kyng, the Stewarde of Poytou, and the lozde of Rays admirall of Fraunce, with sixe hundzed men of armes, and sixe thousand other, whiche skirmished with the Englishmen a greate season. Duryng whiche skirmishe, there arriued Arthur erle of Richemond, high Constable of Fraunce, James of Luxenbozough. erle of Lauall, with a greate numbze of hozsemen and freshe fotemen. After his commyng, he and all the Frenchmen set on thenglish men, beyng faint and wery with the long skirmishe. This battaill was soze fought, but in conclusion, the Englishmē wer discomfited, and put to flight, and of theim slayn aboue. iiij. M: and. viij. C. taken pzysoners, where of, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Henry Nozbery, & sir Thomas Dzeue wer the chief, sir Robert Uere and Matthewe Gough saued themselfes. This was the first foughten feld, that the Frenchmen gatte on the Englishmen in many peres, wherfoze, I blame theim not, though they of a litle, make muche, and set furthe all, and hide nothing, that maye sounde to their glozy. They declare what nūbze thei slew, but thei wzite not how many of them wer slayn noz destroyed.

AFTER this victozy obteined, the Frenche kyng hearyng that the Duke of Somerset was in the toune of Caen, thought that he had nothyng doen, yf he permitted the duke still to tary in Nozmandy, whiche by newe aide and freshe succozs, might tozne the whele of Foztune, into a contrary parte, and peraduenture recouer all that had been loste, oz put the realme of Fraunce in ieoperdy: wherfoze lyke a wyse pzince entendyng to pzeuent thynges cummen & at hande, assembled an armye roiall, & in his awne persone, hauyng in hys campe Reyner, called kyng of Scicile, father to the Quene of Englande, the duke of Calaber and Alaunson, the erles of Cleremont, Richemōd, Mayne, Dumoys, Sent Polle, and Dampemartyne, beside many noble Barons and valiaunte knyghtes, when all thinges were ready, as oppoztunitye of tyme serued: He caused the Toune to bee enuironed on euery side, assignyng to his capitaines seuerall places of the toune to bee assauted, and there to pzoue their manhod: The erle of Dumoys, with moze losse then gain entred into a bulwarke and was beaten backe. Thenglishemen within the toune kept silence as though they knewe not of their enemyes approchyng, but euery man kept his loupe, and euery capitayn well ouerloked his ward. The Frenchemen with quarelles, mozispikes, slynges, and other engynes, began to assaut the walles: but of the Englishemen within, some shot fiercely with long bowes, other cast dartes, and rolled doune greate stones and barres of Iron: other cast doune Iauelyns,

 firebzandes

firebrandes,hote leade, and balles with pitche and brymstone, like burnyng fire flampng:some cast doune and ouerthrewe the scalyng ladders and slewe suche as clymed vp the walles: neither courage lacked in the assault,nor manhode, nor pollicie in the defence:for on the embatelmētes of the walles wer set greate tolles of tymbre,so mouing and vnstedfaste,that neither scalyng ladder could catche any holde, nor no persone that should clyme vp,could set any sure fotyng. The French kyng,perceiuyng that this assaute litle or nought preuayled hym,sent for all hys greate ordinaunce to Paris,determinyng neuer to departe, till he had conquered the toune,either with sworde or famyn. When the ordinaūce was brought,he daily shot at the walles, and did some hurte:but to the Castle, whiche stode on a rocke, and in it a dongeon vnhable to be beaten doune, he did no harme at all. In this toune was the duke of Somerset,his wyfe and chyldren, but he was not capitain,for the Duke of Yorke owner of the toune, by the kynges gifte had appoynted there his capitayn generall,sir Dauy Halle,and of the castle,sir Robert Ueer,and of the dongeon,sir Henry Radford.Daily the shot was greate,but more terrible then hurtfull.Sauyng one daye,a stone shot into the toune, fell betwene the duches of Somerset,and her chyldren,whiche,beyng amased with this chaunce, prayed on her knees her husbande,to haue mercy and compassion of his small enfantes,and that they might be deliuered out of the toune in sauegard. The duke more piteous thē hardy,moued with the dolour of his wyfe,and loue of his chyldrē,assembled the capitaines and magistrates of the toune, declaryng to theim, the power and puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng,and their debilitie and weakenes, perswadyng theim rather to yelde and rendre vpon honest conditions, then obstinatly to resist,and foolishly to perysshe. Sir Dauy Halle, capitain of the toune, aunswered to hym, saiyng: my lorde, although you bee the kynges lieuetenaunt generall, within this countrey and dominion, and made by force of your authoritie,deliuer, sell or geue,any of the kynges townes,to suche persones,either frendes or enemies,as shall please you: yet I am sure that you cut your lether to large,to intreate or speake of the renderyng of thys toune,apperteining to my lord & master,Richard duke of Yorke, whiche thereof hath geuenme bothe the charge and custody,with other of my trusty frendes and felowes,and whiche with the helpe of almightie God,I shall well defende, bothe against the Frenche kyng and all his puissaunce,till the duke my master come to succor me: for of men,money and municious,I trust I haue sufficient. Why sayed the duke,am not I here the kynges deputie,representyng his persone, I made commaunde all thynges accordyng to my discrecion? Yea,saide the capitain,so that you geue away no mānes right,but his. whose authoritie you haue for thesame: as for thys toune, I assure you,without my lordes assent,you shall neither render nor yelde,by my consent or agrement.The duke was sore moued with this saiyng,and so departed, and after sent for the rulers of the toune, and the poorest people of thesame,

declaryng

declaryng to them, that their lyfes and goodes, wer in the Frenche kynges handes, and yf they looked not shortely to their sauegard, of death they were sure, and of mercie farre vncertein: exhortyng theim to folowe his louyng monicion, rather then the hardened harte, of their to hardie capitain. The people of the toune thus perswaded (whose hartes wer rather Frenche then Englishe) began to rise against sir Dauy, boldely affirming, that yf he tooke no composicion, within three dayes thei would open the gates, and let in the Frenche kyng: and of this opinion, wer all the common souldiours. What sholud the poore Hare saie, when she is
x enuironed with a hundred houndes, or the silly Larke crye, when she is in the midell of a hundred Hawkes, but take pacience, and seke awaye to escape: so this capitayn perceiuyng, that neither his woordes serued, nor his truthe toward his master preuailed, bad the duke of Somerset do what he list, for he would in no wise be named in that cõpositiõ. Thẽ the duke partely to please the tounes men, but more desirous to please the duches his wyfe, made an agrement with the Frenche kyng, that he would rendre the toune, so that he and all his, might depart in sauegard with all their goodes and substaunce: whiche offre, the Frenche kyng gladly accepted and allowed, knowyng that by force, he might lenger
xx haue longed for the strong toune, then to haue possessed thesame so sone. After this conclusion taken, sir Dauye Halle with diuerse other of hys trustie frendes, departed to Chierburge, and from thence sailed into Irelande, to the duke of Yorke, makyng relacion to hym of all these doynges: whiche thyng kyndeled so greate a rancore in his harte & stomacke that he neuer lefte persecutyng of the Duke of Somersette, till he had brought hym to hys fatall poynt, and extreme confusion.

AFTER the obteinyng of this strong toune of Caen, therle of Clermont besieged the citie of Lyseux, whereof was capitain Matthewe Gough, with thre hundred Englishmen. The capitain perceiuyng that
xxx when Caen was not rescewed, that poore Liseux, was in dispaire of all succor, agreed to abandon and deliuer the citee, so that he and his people might departe to Chierburge, hauyng no yron weapon nor armure, but onely their goodes, and white staues in their handes. After the deliueraunce of this toune, the Frenchmen still like good begeles, folowyng their preye, besieged the toune of Fallayse, apperteinyng to the lord Talbot, erle of Shrewesbury: whereof wer capitaines for thesayed erle, Andrewe Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquires, whiche beyng desperate of succors, and consideryng the puissaunce of their enemies, agreed to deliuer the toune vpon twoo condicions. The one was, that the Erle
xl their master, whiche remained in pledge for certayn condicions, agreed to bee performed at the deliueraunce of Roen, (as you haue heard before) should be dismissed & set at libertie. The other, that yf they wer not rescused within twelfe daies, that then they and theirs, to depart with armure, and all their godes moueable, whether it pleased them. After this agrement at the daie prefixed, no rescues came, and so the toune was ren-

dered,and incontinent after,the fortresse of Dampfoyde was deliuered vpon lyke agrement. For the Frenchmen bragged, that they regarded neither golde nor syluer,but desyred rule,glory,and fame: With whiche lightnesse,the other tounes of Normandy beyng perswaded, voluntarily rendered themselfes, vassalles and subiectes to the Frenche nacion.

NOVV rested English,only the toune of Chierburge, wherof was capitayn,Thomas Gonuile,which surely,valiaũtly defended the toune as long as vytayl and munition serued:but when those two handes wer spent and consumed,he destitute of all comforte and aide, vpon a reasonable composicion,yelded the toune and went to Caleis,where the duke of Somerset, and many Englishemen then soiorned: lamentyng their losse,and desperate of all recouery. Thus was the ryche duchye of Normandy lost,the which had continued in thenglishmennes possession.xxx. yeres,by the conquest of Kyng Henry the fifth. In the which duchie wer a hundred strong tounes and fortresses,hable to be kept and holden,beside theim whiche wer destroyed by the warres,and in thesame was one Archebishoprike,and sixe bishoprickes. Some saye, that the Englishemen wer not of puyssaunce,either to man the tounes as they should beer to inhabite the countrey, whiche was the cause, that they could not, kepe it:accordyng to the Frencheinennes Adage,whiche sayeth: A man cannot long hold that,whiche he cannot gryppe. Other say,that the duke of Somerset,for his awne peculyer profite,kept not halfe his nombre of souldiors,and put their wages in his purse. These be mennes imaginacions and coniectures, but surely the losse of it, was the domesticall diuision within the realme,euery greate man desiryng, rather to be reuenged on his foo at home, then on hys outward enemye, as you now shall manifestely se and perceyue.

The.xxviii.yere.

The.xxviii. yere.

FOR while these conquestes wer obteined in the partes beyond the sea,with sworde,speare,and target, by the aduersaries of the Englishmen, thre mischeuous capitaines,set the people of the Realme (aswell of the nobilitie,as of the meane sorte) in a ciuill warr and intestine diuision: For emong the high Priestes and peeres,reigned inward grudge: emong the Cleargie, adulacion, & emong the commonaltie,disdain of lasciuious souereignties whiche the Quene with her minions,and vnprofitable counsailers daily toke and vsurped vpõ them. Wherfore they (not mynding to be more charged,then their backes would beare, and perceiuyng that by the negligent prouision, and improuident pollicie of the wit wantyng gouernors within the realme,the affaires and busines in the partes beyonde the sea,daily decaied and more wer like to do, if other pollitique rulers were put in aucthoritie, and the negligent officers, sequestered and deposed,) began to make exclamacion against the Duke of Suffolke, affirmyng

firming hym, to be the onely cause of the deltuety of Angew & Wayne, the chief procurer of the death, of the good duke of Glouceſter, the veris occaſion of the loſſe of Normandy, the moſte ſwalower vp and conſumer of the kynges treaſure (by reaſon whereof, the warres in Fraunce wer not maintened,) the expeller frō the kyng, of all good and vertcous counſaylors, and the bringer in and auauncer of vicious perſones, common enemyes and apparaunt aduerſaries to the publique wealthe: So that the duke was called in euery mannes mouth, a traytor, a murderer, a robber of the kynges treaſure, and worthy to bee put to moſte cruell puniſchement. By reaſon of this exclamaciō, the Quene somewhat fearyng the deſtruccion of the Duke, but more the confeſſion of her ſelf, cauſed the Parliament, before begon at the blacke Freers in London, to be adiorned to Leyceſter, thinking there, by force & rigor of the law, to ſubdue and repreſſe all the malice and euyll will, conceyued againſte the Duke and her: at whiche place fewe of the nobilitie would appere, wherefore it was agayn adiorned to Weſtminſter, where was a whole company and a full apparaunce. In the whiche ſeſſion, the commons of the neither houſe, put vp to the kyng, and the Lordes, many articles of treaſon, miſpriſion and miſdemeanoure, againſt the duke of Suffolke: theffect wherof with his aunſwers, hereafter enſueth.

FIRST they alleged, that he had traiterouſly excited, prouoked, and counſailed, Jhon erle of Dunoys Baſtard of Orleaūce, Bertrame Lorde Pzeligny, William Coſynet, enemyes to the kyng, and frendes and Ambaſſadors to Charles, callyng himſelf Frenche kyng, to entre in to this Realme, and to leuy warre againſt the kyng and his realme, to the intent to deſtroye the kyng and his frendes, and to make Jhon hys ſonne, kyng of this Realme, matyng hym to Wagaret, ſole heire to Jhō duke of Somerſet, pretendyng and declaryng her, to be next heyre inheritable to the Croune, for lacke of iſſue of the kynges body, lawefully begotten.

ITEM that theſaid duke, beyng of the kynges priuie and nere coūſayll, allured by greate rewardes, and faire promyſes, made by the forenamed Erle of Dunoys, cauſed the kyng to deliuer and ſette at libertie, Charles duke of Orleaunce, enemy to the kyng, and the kynges noble father, whiche deliuerance, was prohibited by expreſſe wordes, in the laſt will of the kynges moſte victorious father.

ITEM, that before the departure of theſaid duke of Orleaunce, the forenamed Duke of Suffolke, traytorouſly faſte cleauyng to Charles called the French kyng, counſailed, prouoked, and entiſed theſated duke of Orleaunce, to moue theſame kyng, to make warre againſt England, bothe in Fraunce and Normandy: accordyng to whiche procurement and counſayll, theſayed Frenche kyng, had recouered the whole realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandy, and taken priſoners, the Erle of Shrewesbury, the Lorde Faucombridge, and many other valeaunt capitaines.

These thre articles, he denied either for a fact or thought.

FARTHER it was alledged, that he beyng Ambassador for the Kyng of Englande, to Charles callyng himself the Frenche kyng, promised to Reyner kyng of Scicile, and to Charles Dangiers his brother, enemies to the kyng, the relese of Angeow, with the deliueraunce of the Countie of Mayne, and the citie of Mayaunt or Mauns, without the knowledge of the other Ambassadors, whiche him accompanied: whiche promise, after his returne, he caused to bee performed, to the kynges disenheritance, and losse irrecuperable, and to the strenght of his enemies and feblishement of the Duchy of Normandye.

To this article he answered, that this commission was to conclude, and doo al thinges accordyng to his discrecion, for the obteinyng of a peace, and because without deliuery of those coũtreys, he perceiued that truce could not be obteyned, he agreed, to the relese and deliueraunce of theim.

ALSO they surmised, that thesayed duke, beyng in Fraunce in the kynges seruyce, and one of the priuiest of his counsayll there, traiterously, declared and opened to the capitaynes and conduytets of warre, appertenyng to the kynges enemyes, the kynges counsayll, purueiaunce of his armyes, furniture of his tounes, and all other ordinaunces, wherby the kynges enemyes, (enformed by hys traiterous informaciõ) haue gotten tounes and fortresses, and that kyng by that meane, depryued of his inheritaunce.

ITEM, thesayd duke declared to the Erle of Dumoys, to the Lorde Presigny, and William Colynet, Ambassadors for the frẽche kyng, lyng in London, the priuities of the kynges counsayll, bothe for the prouision of farther warre, and also for defence of the Duchy of Normandy: by the disclosyng wherof, the Frenchmen knowyng the kynges secretes, preuented the tyme, and obteyned their purpose.

ITEM that thesayde Duke, at suche tyme as the kyng sent Ambassadours to the Frenche kyng, for the entreating of peace, traiterously before there comming to the Frenche, courte certified kyng Charles of their commission, authoritie, and Instruccions, by reason wherof, neyther peace nor amytie succeded, and the kynges enheritaũce lost, and by hys enemyes possessed.

ITEM thesame Duke sayde openly in the starre chambre, before the lordes of the Counsaill, that he had as highe a place in the coũsail house of the Frenche kynge, as he had there, and was aswell trusted there as here and coulde remoue from the Frenche kynge, the pryuiest man of hys counsayll, yf he would.

ITEM when armyes haue been prepared, & souldyers redy waged, to passe ouer the sea, to resist the kynges enemyes: Thesayed Duke corrupted by rewardes of the Frenche kynge, hath restreyned and stayed thesayde armyes to passe any farther.

ITEM thesayde Duke beynge Ambassadour for the kyng, compas-

sed

fed not in the leage, as the kynges Alies, neither the kyng of Aragon, neither the duke of Bzytayne, But suffered hym to be compzised on the contrary partye, by reason wherof, the olde amitie of the kyng of Aragon, is estraunged from this realme, and the duke of Bzitayne become enemy to thesame: and Giles his bzother the kynges suer frende, cast in strong pzyson, and their lyke to ende and finyshe his dayes.

ALL these obiections he vtterly denyed, oz faintely auoyded, but not fully excused. Diuers other crymes were layde to his charge, as, enrychyng hymselfe with the kynges goodes and landes, gatheryng together, and making a money polde of offices, fees, wardes, and fermes, by reason wherof the kynges estate was greatly mynished and decayed, and he and his kyn highly exalted, and enriched with many other pointes, whiche, because they be not notable, noz of no great foyce oz stregth I omitte and ouerpasse. The Quene, whiche entierly loued the Duke, fearyng that some cõmocion and trouble might ryse, yf he were let goo vnpunished, caused hym to be committted to the Towze, where he was kepte with as muche pleasure, as he that was at large, and oute of all captiuitie. But after that a moneth was expired, she ymagenynge the people to be pacified with this open impzisonement, caused hym bothe to be deliuered, and also to be restozed to the Kinges fauour and grace, as muche as euer he was befoze that tyme. But this doynge incensed the furye of the mutable commons, muche moze then befoze: openly demouneyng, and saiyng, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to se such a persone, infected with so many misdedes, either to rule about a pzince oz be had in honoz. Of these wozdes spzang dedes, and of this talkyng, cose displeasure, whiche had growen to greate mischiefe, yf pollitique pzouysion had not, with all celeritie resisted the fyzst fury: foz the commons in sundzy places of the realme assembled together, gathered great companynes, and elected a Capitayn, whome they called, blew berd: but oz they had attempted any enterpzyse, their headdes were apprehended and so the membzes sodainly were dispersed, without any hurte cõmitted oz perpetrated.

AFTER this litle rage was asswaged, the Parliament was adiozned to Leycester, whither came the kyng and the Quene in great estate and with them the Duke of Suffolke, as chefe counsaylor. The cõmõs of the lower house, not forgettyng their olde grudge: besechyd the king, that such persons, as assented to the telese of Angeow, and deliuerance of Mayne, might be extremely punished, and tozmented: and to be pziuye to this facte, they accused as pzincipall, the duke of Suffolke, with Jhon bishop of Salisbury, and syz James Fynes, lozd Say, & diuers other. When kyng Henry perceiued, that the cõmons wer thus stomacked and bent, against the Quenes dearlynge William Duke of Suffolke, he plainly sawe, that neither glosyng would serue, noz dissimulacion coulde appease, the continuall clamoz of the importunate cõmons: Wherefoze to begyn a shozte pacificacion in to long a bzoyle. Firste he

sequestred the lord Say, beynge threasorer of Englande, and other the Dukes adherentes, from there offices, and aucthoritie, and after banyshed and put in exile the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode, and cõmon noysaunce of the Realme of Englande, for the terme of.v. yeres: meaning by this exile, to appease the furious rage of the outragious people, & that pacified, to reuocate hym into his olde estate, as the Quenes chefe frende & counsailer. But fortune wold not, that this flagitious person, shoulde so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, entendynge to be transported into Fraũce, he was encontered with a shippe of warre

William de la poole duke of Suffolke beheded.

appertenynge to the duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London, called the Nicholas of the Towre. The capitayne of thesame barke with small fight, entered into the dukes shyppe, and perceyuyng his person present, brought hym to Douer Rode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote, caused his head to be stryken of, and left his body with the heade vpon the sandes of Douer, which corse was there founde by a chapelayne of his, and conueyed to Wyngfelde college in Suffolke, and there buried. This ende had William de la pole, first duke of Suffolke, as men iudge, by Gods punyshmẽt: for aboue all thinges he was noted to be the very organ, engine, and diuisor of the destruccion of hũfrey the good duke of Gloucester, and so the bloudde of the Innocente mã was with his dolorous death, recompensed and punished. But the death of this froward person, and vngracious patron, brought not the Realme quyete, nor deliuered it from all inward grudge, and intestine diuision, which to all Realmes is more pestiferous and noysome, then outward warre, dayly fampyne, or extreme pestilence. For although Richard duke of Yorke, was in pryson, (as the kynges deputie) in the realme of Ire'ãde, continually resyaunt there, yet his breath puffed and his wynde blew dayly in many partes of the Realme. For many of the nobilitie, and more of the meane estate, wysely pondetynge the estate and condicion of the Realme, percepuynge more losse then encrease, more tuyne then auancement daily to ensue: Remembryng also that Fraunce was conquered, and Normandy was gayned, by the Frenche people in shorte space, thought with them selfes and ymagined, that the faulte of all these miserable chaunces, happened, either because the kynge was not the true enheritor to the croune, or that he or hys counsayll were not able of wit, pollicye, and circumspeccion, to rule and gouerne so noble a Realme, or so famous a region. Upon this coniecture, the frendes, kinsmen and alyes of the duke of Yorke whith were of no small nũbre, began to practise the gouernaũce of his title: Infusyng and puttyng into mens heades secretely his right to the crown, his politique gouernaunce, his gentle behauior, to all the Irysshe naciõ, affirming, that he which had brought that rude and sauage nacion, to ciuile fashion, and Englisshe vrbanitie, wolde, (yf he once ruled in the Realme of England) depose euill counsailers, correct euill iudges, & reforme all matters amisse, and vnamended. And to set opẽ the fludde gates of these deuises, it was

thought

thought necessary, to cause some great commocion and rysing of people to be made against the kyng: so that yf they preuayled, then had the duke of Yorke and hys complices, there appetite and desyre. And because the Kentishmen be impacient in wronges, disdaynyng of to much oppression, and euer desirous of new chaung, and new fangelnes. The ouerture of this matter was put furthe firste in Kent, and to thentent that it should not be knowen, that the duke of Yorke or his frēdes were the cause of the sodayne rising: A certayn yongmā of a goodely stature, and pregnaunt wit, was entised to take vpon hym the name of Jhon
x Mortymer, all though his name were Jhon Cade, and not for a small policie, thinkyng that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the assistente house of the erle of Marche, which were no small number, should be to hym both adherent, and fauorable. This capitayn not onely suborned by techers, but also enforced by pryuye scholemasters, assembled together a great company of talle personages: assuring theim, that their attēpt was both honorable to God and the kyng, and also profitable to the common wealth, promisyng theim, that if either by force or pollicie, they might once take the kyng, the Quene, & other their counsaillers in to their handes and gouernaunce, that they woulde honorably entreate
xx the kyng, and so sharply handle hys counsayllers, that neither fiftenes should hereafter be demaunded, nor once any impositions, or tax, should be spoken of. These perswasions, with many other fayre promyses of libertie, (whiche the common people more affect & desyre, rather then reasonable obedience, and due conformitie) so animated the Kentishe people, that they with their capitayne aboue named, in good order of battell (not in great number) came to the playne of Blackehethe, betwene Eldham and Grenewyche. And to the entent that the cause of this glorious capitaynes comyng thither, myght be shadowed from the kyng and his counsayll, he sent to him an humble supplicacion, with louyng
xxx wordes, but with malicious entent: affirmyng his commyng, not to be agaynst hym, but agaynst diuers of his counsayll, louers of them selfes, and oppressers of the poore commonaltie, flatterers to the kyng and enemyes to his honor, suckers of his purse, and robbers of hys subiectes, perciall to their frendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifference, nothyng doyng. This proude byll, was both of the kyng, and his counsayll disdayntully taken, and thereupon great consultacion had, and after long debatyng, it was concluded, that suche proude rebelles, should rather be suppressed and tamed, with violence and force, then with fayre wordes or amycable aunswer:
xl Wherupon the kyng assembled a great army, and marched toward the, whiche had lyen on Blackeheath, by the space of.vij.dayes. The subtill capitayn named Jack Cade, entendyng to bryng the kyng farther, within the compasse of his net, brake vp hys Campe, and retyred backwarde to the toune of Seuenocke in Kent, and there expectynge hys pray encamped hym selfe, and made his abode. The Quene, which bare

the

the rule,beyng of hys retrayte well aduertised,sent syr Humfrey Staf-
fozd knyght,and William his brother with many other gentelmen, to
folow the chace of the Kentishmen, thinkynge that they had fledde, but
verely, they were deceaued:for at the fyrst skyrmish, both the Staffor-
des were slayne,and all their companye shamfully discomfited. The
kynges armye, beyng at this tyme come to Blackheath, hearynge of
this discomfiture,began to grudge and murmure emongest them selfes
some wishing the duke of Yorke at home,to ayde the capitayne his co-
syne:some desiryng the ouerthrow of the kyng and hys counsayll: other
openly cryeng out on the Quene,and her complices. This rumor opēly
spoken,& cōmonly published,caused the kyng,& certayn of his counsayll,
not ledde by fauor,nor corupted by rewardes (to the entent to appeace
the furious rage of the inconstant multitude) to commit the lord Say,
Threasorer of England,to the Towre of London:and yf other,agaynst
whome,lyke displeasure was borne had been presente,they had likewyse
ben serued. But it was necessary that one should suffer, rather then all
the nobiltie then should perish. When the Kentish capitain, or the co-
uetous Cade,had thus obteyned victory,and slayne the two baleaunt
Staffordes, he apparreled hym selfe in their ryche armure, and so with
pompe and glory returned agayn toward London: in whiche retrayte
diuers ydle and vacabonde persons, resorted to hym from Sussex and
Surrey,and from other partes to a great nūber. Thus this glorious
Capitayn,compassed about,and enuironed with a multitude of euel rude
and rusticall persones,came agayn to the playn of Balckeheath, and
there strōgly encamped hym selfe: to whome were sent by the kynge, the
Archebishop of Canturbury, and Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, to
cōmon with hym of his greues and requestes. These lordes found him
sober in communication, wyse in disputyng, arrogant in hart, and styf
in his opinion,and by no ways possyble,to be perswaded to dissolue his
armye,except the kynge in person woulde come to hym,and assent to all
thinges,which he should requyre.These lordes,perceyuyng the wilfull
pertinacy,and manyfest contumacye of thys rebellious Jauelyn, depar-
ted to the kyng, declaryng to hym his temerarious and rashe wordes,
and presumptuous requestes. The kyng somwhat hearyng, and more
markyng the saiynges of thys outragious losel,and hauyng dayly re-
porte of the concurse and accesse of people,which cōtinually resorted to
hym,doubtyng asmuch his familiar seruauntes,as his vnknowen sub-
iectes (which spared nor to speake,that the capitaynes cause,was profi-
table for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the castell of Ky-
lingworthe in Warwyckeshyre,leauing only behind him the lord Scales,
les,to kepe the Towre of London. The capitayn beynge aduertised of
the kynges absence,came fyrst into Southwarke, and there lodged at
the white hart, prohibityng to all men, Murder, Rape, or Robbery:by
whiche colour he allured to hym the hartes of the common people. But
after that he entred into Londō, and cut the ropes of the drawe bridge,

strykyng his swoꝛde on london stone, saiyng: now is Moꝛtymer loꝛde of this citie, and rode in euery stiete lyke a loꝛdly Capitayn. And after a flatteryng declaracion made to the Mayꝛe of the citie of his thether commyng, he departed agayn into Southwarke. And vpon the thirde daye of Julij, he caused sir James Fynes loꝛd Say, and Theasoꝛer of Englande to be bꝛought to the Gylde halle of London, and there to be arrayned: whiche beyng befoꝛe the kynges iustices put to aunswere, desyꝛed to be tryed by his peeres, foꝛ the lenger delay of his lyfe. The Capitayne perceiuyng hys dilatorie ple, by foꝛce toke hym from the officers, and bꝛought hym to the standard in Cheape, and there befoꝛe hys confession ended, caused his head to be cut of, and pitched it on a highe poole, which was opẽly boꝛne befoꝛe hym thꝛough the stretes. And thys cruell tyꝛaunt not content with the murder of the loꝛde Say, wente to Myle ende, and there appꝛehended syꝛ James Cromer, then shꝛefe of Kent, and sonne in law to the sayd loꝛd Say, & hym without confession oꝛ excuse heard, caused there likewyse to be hedded, and hys head to be fixed on a poole, and with these two heddes, thys blody butcher entered into the citie agayn, and in despyte caused them in euery stiete, kysse to gether, to the great detestacion of all the beholders.

¶ The loꝛde Say, threaso-rer of Engla-nde, hched ded at the sta-ard in Cheape.

xx AFTER this shameful murder, succeded open rappyn and manyfest robbery in diuers houses, within the citie, and in especiall in the house of Philip Malpas, Alderman of London, and diuers other: ouer and besyde raunsonyng, & tynyng of diuers notable marchauntes, foꝛ the tuycion and securitie of their lyfes and goodes, as Robert Hoꝛne alderman, which payed. v. C. markes, and yet neither he, noꝛ no other person was either of lyfe oꝛ substaunce in a suertie oꝛ sauegard. He also put to execucion in Southwarke diuers persons, some foꝛ infryngyng his rules and pꝛeceptes, bycause he woulde be sene indifferent, other he toꝛmẽted of his olde acquayntance, lest they shoulde blase & declare hys base xxi byꝛthe, and lowsy lynage, disparagyng him from hys vsurped surname of Moꝛtymer, foꝛ the which, he thought and doubted not, both to haue frendes and fautoꝛs, both in Londõ, Kent, and Esser. The wise Mayꝛe, and sage magistrates of the citie of London, perceyuyng thẽselfes, neyther to be sure of goodes noꝛ of lyfe well warranted, determined with feare to tepel and expulse this mischeuous head, and hys vngracious cõpany. And because the loꝛd Scales was oꝛdeyned keper of ẏ Towꝛe of London: with Mathew Gough, the often named capitayne in Noꝛmandy, (as you haue harde befoꝛe) they purposed to make them pꝛyuye both of their entent and enterpꝛyse. The loꝛd Scales pꝛomised thẽ hys xxii ayde, with shoting of oꝛdinaunce, and Mathew Goughe was by hym appoynted, to assist the Mayꝛe and the Londoners: because he was both of manhode, and experience greatly renoumed & noysed. So the Capitaynes of the citie appoynted, toke vpon them in the night to kepe the bꝛidge of London, pꝛohibityng the Kentishmẽ, either to passe oꝛ apꝛoche. The rebelles, which neuer loundly slepte, foꝛ feare of lodayns

chaunces,

chaunces, hearing the bryoge to be kept and manned, ran with greate haste to open that passage, where betwene bothe pattes was a fierce and cruell encounter. Mathew Gough, more experte in marciall feates, then the other cheuetaynes of the citie, perceiuyng the Kentishmen, better to stande to their talkyng, then his ymagination expected, aduised his cõpany no further to proceede toward Southwarke, till the day appered: to the entent, that the citizens hearing where the place of the ieopardye rested, might occurre their enemies, and releue their frendes and companions. But this counsail came to smal effect: for the multitude of the rebelles drawe the citezens from the stoulpes at the brigge foote, to the drawe bridge, and began to set fyre in diuers houses. Alas what sorow it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyringe to eschew the fyre, lept on hys enemies weapon, and so died: fearfull women with chyldren in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the riuer: other doubtinge how to saue them self betwene fyre, water, and swourd, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the capitayns nothyng regardyng these chaunces, fought on the draw bridge all the nyghte valeauntly, but in conclusion, the rebelles gate the draw bridge, and drowned many, and slew Jhon Sutton alderman, and Robert Heysande a hardy citizen, with many other, beside Mathew Gough, a man of great wit, much experience in feates of chiualrie, the which in continuall warres, had valeauntly serued the kyng, and his father, in the partes beyõd the sea (as before ye haue hearde). But it is often sene, that he, whiche many tymes hath vanquyshed his enemies in straũg countreys, and returned agayn as a conqueror, hath of his awne nacion afterward been shamfully murdered, and brought to confusion. This hard and sore cõflict endured on the bridge, till .ix. of the clocke in the morynge, in doutfull chaunce, and fortunes balaunce: for some tyme the Lõdoners were bet back to the stulpes at sainct Magnes corner, and sodaynly agayne the rebelles were repulsed and dryuen backe, to the stulpes in Southwarke, so that both partes, beyng faynte, wery and fatygate, agreed to desist from fight, and to leue battayll till the next day, vpon condition: that neyther Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor the Kentishmen into London.

AFTER this abstinence of warre agreed, the lusty Kentishe Capitayne, hopyng on more frendes, brake vp the gayles of the Kinges benche and Marshalsea, and set at libertie, a swarme of gallãtes, both mete for his seruice and apte for his enterprice. The Archebishop of Canterbury, beyng then Chauncelor of England, and for his suerty: lyenge in the Towre of London, called to him the Bishop of Winchester, whiche also for feare, lurked at Haly well. These two prelates seyng the fury of the Kentish people, by reason of their betyng backe, to be mitigate and minished, passed the ryuer of Thamyse from the Towre, into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kynges great seale, a generall pardon vnto all the offendors: which thei caused to be openly proclayned & published

publiſhed. Lorde how glad the poore people were of thys Pardon (ye more then of the great Jubile of Rome) and how they accepted the ſame, in ſo muche that the whole multitude, without biddyng farewel to their capitain, retired the ſame night, euery man to hys awne home, as men amaſed, and ſtrikē with feare. But Jhon Cade deſperate of ſuccors, whiche by the frendes of the duke of Yorke wer to him promiſed, and ſeing his cōpany thus without hys knowledge ſodainly depart, miſtruſtyng the ſequele of ỹ matter, departed ſecretly in habite diſguyſed, into Suſſex: but all hys metamorphoſis or tranſfiguracion, litle preuailed. For after a Proclamacion made, that whoſoeuer could apprehende the ſaied Jac Cade, ſhould haue for his pain, a.M. markes, many ſought for hym, but few eſpied hym, til one Alexander Jden, eſquire of Kent, found hym in a garden, and there in hys defence, manfully ſlewe the caitife Cade, & brought his ded body to London, whoſe hed was ſet on Londō bridge. This is the ſucceſſe of all rebelles, and thys fortune chaunceth euer to traytors. For where men ſtriue againſt the ſtreame, there bote neuer cōmeth to his pretenſed porte.

The miſerable ende of Jacke Cade.

AFTER this commocion, the kynge hymſelf came into Kent, & there ſat in iudgement vpō the offendors, and if he had not mitigated his iuſtice, with mercie and compaſſion, more then true. C. by the rigor of hys lawe, had been iuſtely put to execucion: but he cōſidered, both their fragilitie and innocencie, and how they with peruerſe people, were ſeduced and deceiued: and ſo puniſhed the ſtubburne heddes, and deliuered the ignorāt & miſerable people, to the greate reioyſyng of all his ſubiectes.

DVRYNG this commocion aboute London, Raufe biſhop of Saliſbury, was by his awne tenantes, & ſeruaūtes, murdered at Edyngton and ſo from thenſeforth daily ſucceded, murder, ſlaughter, & deſcencion.

¶ The.xxix.yere.

The xxix.yere

THeſe variable chaunces in Englande, were not vnknowen to the French kyng, wherfore, he making foundacyon vpon the Engliſh diſcord, determined to get into his poſſeſſion, the duchie of Acquitayne, while the princes of Englande, wer in controuerſie, for their titles and ſuperiorite: and therfore like a ſpedy purſuior, which ſlacketh not tyme, he ſent therles of Ponthieure, and Pertigot, with many valiant capitaines, to ley ſiege to the toune of Bergerac ſet vpō the riuer of Dordone, of whiche toune was capitain, Jhō Geddyng, whyche hearyng of the yeldyng of Roen, and conqueſt of Normandy, conſideryng the puyſſaunce of the French army, vpon reaſonable condicios rendered the toune: yet all this notwithſtandyng, the lord Cameyſe, ſir George Seymour, ſir Jhon Arundell, and other valiaunt capitaines, whiche had the gouernance of the countrey, manned tounes gathered people, and animated the cold ſtomackes of thefearefull Galcons: requiryng them to beconſtant in their fidelitie, true to their natural prince and vndoubted ſouereigne lorde, ſendyng daily letters to the

kyng of England and his counsaill, declaryng to him the weakenes of his subiectes, and the strength of his enemies, assertenyng him for a suertie, that without spedy aide, and redy succors, the whole countrey wer like to be gotten frō hys possessiō. Many letters wet sent, and many faire aunswers wer brought, but relief neither appered, nor one mā of warre was thether shipped. By reason wherof, the Gascoyns perceiuyng their enemies at hand, intendyng aswell to destroy ỹ countrey as to subdue the people, began euery man for hymself, to regard nothyng, but the sauyng of their tounes, goodes & corne: neglectyng defence, and fearfull of assaultes, least by small resistence, thei might receiue more detriment, x then after thei could recouer again, either with great force, or muche labor. But thenglishmen, (whose natures are not to be faint harted, euen at the very ieoperdy of death) with al their wittes studied, bothe how to repulse & conuince their enemies, & to turne awaie the euil chances whiche thei sawe likely, (if pollicie did not helpe) sodainly to fal, and shortly to insue. But al their pollices litle preuailed in cōclusiō, because succors failed, and force wanted: For after the Frenchmen, had the toune of Bergerac to them rendered, the fortresses of Jonsac, of Bonefoy, and diuerse other places, willyngly & frely, yelded themselfes to the French subiection. Duryng whiche tyme, the lorde Dorual, third sonne to the xx lorde Delabreth, with a great numbre of men, aswel on horssebacke as on foote, departed from Basas, to conquere and destroy the isle of Madoce: wherof hearyng the Maire of Burdeaux, with a conuenīēt crewe of men, issued out of the citie, and encontered with his enemies, betwene whom was a hard fight and a dedly battaill: but the Frenchmen, more with multitude, then with force, banquished thenglishemen, and killed and toke prisoners, aboue. vi. C. Englishemen & Gascoynes, but of the Frenchemen, which wer in double numbre, aboue their aduerlaries (as writers affirme) there wer slain. viii. C. persones. For whyche cause, the capitaines folowed no farther the chace, lest the English people would xxx again returne. This slaughter of the Englishe parte, the Frenche writers set furthe with the most, but of their awne losse, thei speake not one worde. Suche indifferency, is in their Chronographiers. This discomfiture so amased the wittes, & appalled the hartes of the meane Gascōs that thei offered many toūes to the French part, before thesame wer of them demaunded.

AFTRE this, the Bastard of Orleaunce, erle of Dumoys, and Lōguile, lieuetenant generall for the Frenche king, accompanied with his brother, Jhon erle of Angulesme, whiche had been long prisoner in England, and many valiant capitaines, and expert men of warre, besieged xl the Castle of Montguyō, whiche to them was rendered. After this, the saied army besieged the fortresse of Blay, standyng on the riuer of Gyronde, whiche toune is the very keye of the porte of Burdeaux, and thys toune was besieged bothe by water and by lande, and fiersly assaulted and manfully defended, and in conclusion by very force, for lacke of resistence

sistence, conquered and gayned. The bastard of Kendall capitain of the Castle, seyng the toune lost, vpon certain condicions, deliuered his fortresse, into the possession of the lord lieuetenant. After this toune gained the fortresses of Bourge and Liburne yelded, not wythout fiue Wekes besiegyng. The wittie capitaines perceiuyng fortunes fauor towardes them, thought it necessary to take the tyme, while their good planet reigned. Wherfore, to preuent the aide of the Englishmen, whom thei daily expected to come to the succor of their people: they appoynted foure armies, to make war in foure seuerall partes. The lorde Charles Delx lebreth accompainied with Jhon lorde of Tartas and Aymon, lorde of Dorual his sõnes, and therle of Foys, and the Viscount Lawtrec his brother, and many noblemen of Guyne, lated siege to the toune of Acques, in the whych be diuerse hote bathes. Therle of Arminack extreme enemy to the realme of Englande, for breakyng the mariage concluded betwene king Henry and his daughter (as before you haue heard) besiged with a greate puyssaunce, the strong toune of Ryon. Therle of Põthyeure, with many noble barons, besieged the toune of Chastillon in Perigot, and the erle of Dumoys, enuironed with a great puyssance the toune of Fronsacke. The englishemen within this toune, perceiuyng the xx greate ordinaunce on the frenche part, and the small prouision on their side, couenanted with the said erle, that if the toune wer not succored, and the Frenchemen foughten with all, before the feast of ỹ natiuitie, of. S Jhõ Baptist next ensuyng, that then the toune of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, whyche was the strõgest fortresse of all the countrey, and the very key of Guyen, and chief chamber of Burdeaux: and for performans hereof, pledges wer deliuered, and writynges aurentique sealed. This agreement once blowen through the countrey, the citie of Burdeaux, and al other tounes, (except Bayon) made like agrement, and deliuered pledges. So did all the noble men and gẽtlemen, which wer subxxx iectes and vassalas to the croune of England. Alacke alacke, euery daie was lokyng for relief, and euery houre was gapyng for cõfort, but wissyng serued not, nor hopyng nothyng helped: for the pestiferous diuision, whyche reigned in Englande, so inueglid the brames of the noble men there, that the honor of the realme was clerely forgotten, & nothing yearthly, but their priuate phantasies looked on and remembred. Now to conclude, the daie appoynted came, but succor loked for, came not: so that all the tounes in Acquitayne (except Bayon) deliuered their keyes, and became vassals to the French nacion, yet the citiezens of Burdeaux hopyng of rescous, offered themselfes to fight with the Frenchmen, and xl desired a daie of battaill to be appoynted, whyche requeste was to them graunted. But at the daie assigned, they beyng in dispaire of all refuge and succor, rendered themselfes and the toune, to their aduersaries, their lifes and goodes reserued, with licence and safeconduyte to all persons whyche would depart and saile into Englãde. When the cities and tounes of Gascoyne wer set in good ordre, the Erle of Dumoys and Foys

with greate preparacion of vitaill, munition and men, came before the cite of Bayon, where with mynes and battery, thei so dismaied the fearsful inhabitãtes, that neither the capitain nor the souldiors, could kepe them from yeldyng: so by force they deliuered the toune, and their capitain as a prisoner, offred a great some of money for the safegard of their lifes and goodes. Beside theie agrementes taken with tounes, diuerse noble men made seueral compositions, as Gaston de Foys, Capdaw of Buesz, whom kyng Henry the fifth, made erle of Longuile and knight of the garter, whose auncestors wer euer true to Englãd, whiche agreed that he, and Jhon de Foys his sõne, whom kyng Henry the first, created erle of Kendale, and made also knight of ỹ garter, should enioy al their landes in Acquitayne, geuen to them by the kynges of England, or by the Duke of Acquitayn. And because their intent was still to serue the kyng of Englande, their souereigne Lorde, they agreed, to deliuer into the custody of therle of Foys, their cosyn, the sonne and heire of thesaied erle of Kendale, being of the age of three yeres, to the intent, that if he at his full age, denied to become subiect and vassaull to the Frenche kyng, or before that tyme diseased, that then after the death of his father and graundfather, all thesaid landes should wholy remain, to the next heire of their bloud, either male or female, beyng vnder the obeysance of the Frenche kyng, or his heires. Many noble men, whose hartes were good Englishe, made like compositions, and some came into Englande, and other went to Calcis, and wer great officers there: as the Lord Duras whiche was Marshall there, and Monsire Vanclere, whiche was there deputie, vnder therle of Warwick, (as after shalbe shewed.) Now haue I declared to you, the losse of Fraunce, Normandy, & Acquitayn: wherfore, hauyng no more cause yet to speake of theim, I will returne to the greate trouble, discencion, and diuision whiche long was cloked, & now openly set abrode, and burst out in the realme of Englande.

¶ The.xxx.yere.

The.xxx.yere

YOu haue heard before, how the duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionel Duke of Clarence, pretended priuily, a title to the Croune, and how his frendes commoned secretly, with diuerse persones of that matter, and excited theim to set forward, and auaunce that parte to the vttermoste: and how thesaied duke was sent into Ireland, where he was daily aduertised bi his assured frendes, of all thynges doen in Englande, and by thé knew in what estate he stode, bothe with the nobilitie, and cõmonaltie. Wherfore, he mindyng no lẽger to dreame in his waightie matter, nor to kepe secrete his right and title, returned out of Ireland, and came to Londõ in the parliamẽt tyme, wher he deliberately consulted, with his especial frendes: as Jhon Duke of Norffolke, Richard Erle of Salisbury, and Lorde Richard his sonne, whyche after was Erle of Warwick, Thomas Courtney, erle of Deuonshire, and Edward Broke, lord Cobham a man of a greate witte and muche experience, requiryng them, both of

aduise

aduise & counsaill, how he might without spot of treason, or colour of vsurpacion, set forth his title, and obtein his right.

AFTER long consultacion, it was thought expedient, first to seke some occasion and picke some quetell, to the duke of Somerset, whyche ruled the kyng, ordered the zealme, and moste might do with the quene: Whom, the commons, for the losse of Normandy, worse then a Tode or Scorpion, hated, disdained and execrated, in so muche that diuerse euil ruled persons, brake his house, & spoyled his goodes, within the blacke Friers of the citie of Londō: which malefactors, accordyng to their de-
x sertes, wer iustly executed & punished. For wel knew the duke of Yorke and his adherentes, that if the Duke of Somerset sawe or smelled, any poynt of their purposed enterprise, that he would with speare and sheld, with might and main, withstād and repell thesame, to thextreme point of death, and to their vtter confusion. Wherfore to abbridge his power, and to minische his authoritie, they determined to bryng hym into the hatred of the people, and into the disdain of the nobilitie. And to be the stronger in the settyng forth of their feate, they, what with rewardes & faire promises, & what with declaracion of great enormities, committed by the kinges counsailors, against the cōmon wealth, allected & allured
xx to thē, lusty bachelars, & actiue persons, of a great number, protestyng and declaring, that thei neither meant euil, nor thought harme, either to the kinges person, or to his dignitie: but that their intēt was for the reuenging of great iniuries doen to the publique wealth, and to persecute and reforme diuerse rulers about the king, which daily cōtrary to right and equitie, vexed & pilled thenglish people, without reason or measure so ỹ no man was in suretie, either of his awne goodes, or suer of his proper lādes or possessiōs. These great enormities, they caused to be published to thintent ỹ their chief purpose should not be espied, or perceiued.

VVHEN the duke of Yorke had thus framed thentery into his long
xxx intended iorney, he with helpe of his frendes, assembled a great army in the Marches of Wales, publishyng openly, that the cause of his mociō was for the publique welth of the realme, and great profite of the commons: which faire tolde tale, allured to him muche people, aswell of the chiualry as of the meane sort. The kyng muche astonnied with this sodain commocion, by the aduise of his counsail, raised a great hoste, and marched forward toward the duke: but he being of his approche, credibly aduertised, bi his espials, diuerted from the kynges waies, and toke his iorney toward London: and hauyng knowledge, that he might not be suffered with his army, to passe through London, he crossed ouer the
xl Thamese at Kyngston bridge, and so set forth toward Kent, where he knewe that he had bothe frendes and good willers, and there, on brēte Heath, a mile from Dertford, and .x. miles from Londō he embattailled himself, & encamped his army very strongly, bothe with trenches and artilery. The king being therof aduertised, with great diligēce, brought his army to blacke Heath, & there pight his tētes. While both tharmies

lay thus embattailed, the kyng by thaduise of his counsaill, sent the bi-
shoppes of Winchester and Elie to the duke, both to knowe, what was
the cause of so greate a tumult and commocion, and also to make a con-
cord, if the requestes of the duke and his company, semed to them conso
nāt to reason, or profitable to the people. The duke hearyng ꝑ message
of the two bishops, either doubting the variable chaunce of mortal bat
taill, or lokyng for a better occasiō, or a more luckey date, aūswered the
prelates, that hys cōmyng was neither to dampnifie the kyng, neither
in honor, nor in person, nor yet any good man, but his intent was to re-
moue frō hym certain euil disposed persons of his counsaill, which wer ꝛ
the bludsuckers of the nobilitie, the pollers of the cleargie, and oppres-
sors of the pore people: emongest whō he chiefly named, Edmond duke
of Somerset, whom if the kyng would commit to ward, to aunswere to
suche articles, as against hym should in open parliament, be both pro-
poned and proued, he promised not onely to dissolue hys army and dis-
patche his people, but also offered hymself, like an obedient subiecte, to
come to the kinges presence, and to do hym true and faithful seruice, ac-
cordyng to his truth & boūden duetie. When the messengers wer retur-
ned with this reasonable aunswere: The king perceiuyng, that without xx
great bludshed, he could not bridle the duke of Yorke, nor without war
he could not appeace, the furious rage of the cōmon people, beyng once
set on fire, except he folowed their mindes, and graūted their requestes,
caused the duke of Somerset, to be committed to ward, as some saie: or
to kepe himself priuye in his awne house, as other write, till the fury of
the people were some what asswaged and pacified. Which thyng doen,
the duke of Yorke the firste day of Marche, dissolued his army, & brake
vp his campe, and came to the kynges tent, wher beside hys expectaciō,
and cōtrary to the promise made by the kyng, he found ꝯ duke of So-
merset, set at large and at libertie, whom the duke of Yorke boldly accu-
sed, of treason, of bribery, oppression, and many other crimes. The duke xxx
of Somerset not onely made aunswer to the dukes obiectons, but al-
so accused hym of high treasō, toward the kyng his souereigne lord: af-
firming, that he with his fautors & complices, had consulted together
how to obtein the croune and scepter of the realme. By meane of whiche
wordes, the king remoued straight to Lōdon, and the duke of Yorke as
a prisoner, rode before hym, & so was kept a while. The kyng assembled
together a great counsail at Westminster, to here the accusaciōs of the
ij. dukes, the one obiectyng to the other, facinorous actes, & detestable
crimes. But the duke of Somerset, whiche now conceiued in his mynd
the thyng that shortely folowed, incessantly exhorted the counsail, that xl
the Duke of Yorke, by compulsion, or otherwise, might be compelled to
confesse his offence, and so beyng attainted of treason, to be put to execu-
cion, and his children to be taken enemies and aduersaries to their na-
tiue countrey: to the intent that by the losse of this onely Prince and his
sequele, all ciuill warre, and inward diuision might cease and be repres-
sed:

sed:beseechyng almightie God,that so greate an enemy to the kyng and his bloud, might neuer escape punishment, nor continewe long in lyfe. The duke of Somerset set furth this matter the more vehemently, because he knew perfitely,that the duke of Yorke dayly studyed,howe to get the crowne, and obteyn the gouernaunce , and to depose and destroy bothe the kynge and him.But the necessitie of destiney, can not by any mans deuise,be either letted or interrupted: formany thynges (to common iudgementes) declared the duke of Yorke trought and innocēcye in this case.First his free and voluntary comyng to the kynge,when he
x with his power was able to encoūter with the kynges puyssance,which was an open token and manifest argument, that he neither meāte treason,nor yet fraude. Secondarily,his humble submission,hys reasonable requestes,and profitable petitions,for the pore commons,were iudged no pointes of a man, that desired souereignetie,or rule aboue other which thinges he dyd onely for a cautele, (as afterward openly appeared). While the coūsail treated of sauing or losing of this dolorous duke of Yorke,Arumour sprange throughout London, that Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the sayd duke,a yong prince of great wit and muche stomacke,accompanied with a stronge army of
xx Marchemen,was comyng toward London, which tidinges sore appalled the Quene and the whole counsaill.Beside thys,thesame very daye came Ambassadours from the heades and Magistrates of the citie of Burdeaux,whereof the chefe were,the erle of Kendal,and the lorde Lesparre,whiche signified to the counsaill , that if they wolde send an armye into Gascoyne, the Gascoyns wolde reuerte & turne agayne to the English part:aduertising them, that there was in those partes no puissaunce or garrison of Frenche men, to withstand them,& therfore there was no doubte of ỹ regaynyng or recōquest: requyring thē with al diligēt celeritie, to take so fayre a prey so openly to them offered,& to mynd
xxx nothyng before the regayning of so fruictful a countrey. These.ij.thinges sore troubled the heades of the kynges counsaill, whiche,leste thys discencion betwene two persones,might be the let of outward conquest set the duke of Yorke at libertie,and permitted him to returne to his faire Castel of Wigmore,in the Marches of Wales, wher he studied, both how to displease his enemies,& to obtein his purpose:And so bi meanes of the absence of the duke of Yorke, whiche was in maner banished the court & ỹ kinges presēce, ỹ duke of Somerset rose vp in high fauor w̄ the kyng & quene,& his worde only ruled,& his voyce was only heard.

¶ The.xxxi.yere. The xxxi.yere

xl HE counsaill of Englande,not forgettyng the offer of the Gascons,and that thei might now haue the citie of Burdeaux with the coūtrey round about, by offer and request, whiche with great charge & longe warre they coulde scant agayn recouer or repossesse, appoynted the veterane souldiour,and valiaunt Capitayn,Jhon lord Talbot,and erle of Shrewsburye,

burye,to be chefetayn of the army, whyche ſhould in all haſte be tranſ-
poꝛted and conueyed into Acquitayn,The loꝛdes of Gaſcoyn,both well
pleaſed and glad of their aunſwere, returned into their countrey , in as
ſecret maner, as they from thenſe departed , declaringe to their nacion,
the Capitaines,& the powre , that was to thē comyng: exhoꝛting euery
man to be firme and ſtable to the kyng of England and his heyꝛs, vn-
der whoſe libertie and fredom,thei had pꝛoſpered & reioyſed, aboue.iij.
C.yeres,rather then now to fal into the French captiuitie: whoſe taxes
were vnreaſonable and whoſe daily exaccions were to them impoꝛta-
ble.When the valiant Talbot , the hardy erle of Shꝛewſbury was ap- x
pointed to aſſemble an army of men,and them to cōuey into the duchie
of Acquitayn,Loꝛd, how buſy he was in muſtering,howe diligēt in ſet-
ting foꝛward, and how ientelly he gentertayned hys men of warre ,as
though he went firſt to warre,and neuer had takē payne,either to ſerue
his pꝛice oꝛ to gain honoꝛ. What ſhould I ſpeake,how that he thought
euery houre,as thꝛe', till hys army were ready,oꝛ wꝛite what payne he
toke to ſe them ſhipped and vitayled. But verely men iudge,that as
thys laboꝛ was the ende and extreme point of all hys woꝛldly buſynes
ſo he ſhould ſhew hym ſelf:fearce , coꝛagious, and fearefull to hys ene-
mies in the extreme point of his death and naturall departyng. Thys xx
Engliſche Hectoꝛ & marcial flower,elected to him,the moſt hardy & coꝛa-
gious perſons,which he could eſpye,pꝛeparing alſo,hoꝛſes,municions
vitayles, and all thinges neceſſari to ſuche an army,and to ſo great an
enterpꝛiſe.Whē all thinges were ſhipped,and wynd and wether ſerued
he toke his chaunce, and ſayled into Gaſcoyn, where without reſiſtēce,
he peaceably arriued in ỹ Iſle of Madꝛe,where he repoſed his army,be-
yng ſcant.iij.M.men,and deſtroyed all the countrey , betwene Burde-
aux and Blay, and toke the ſtrōg towne and caſtel of Fronſac, and di-
uers other townes and foꝛtreſſes. The inhabitaūtes of Burdeaux,hea-
ring of the erles Arriual,ſent to him meſſengers in the darke night,thā- xxx
king and congratulating him foꝛ his thither comming, and alſo requi-
ryng him to accelerate, and ſpede his ioꝛney towarde their citie, enfoꝛ-
myng him, that now the tyme was pꝛopice foꝛ his purpoſe : and tyme
not taken,was laboꝛ miſpent.This aunciēt Fox, and pollitique Capi-
tayne loſt not one houre, noꝛ ſpared one mynet , till he came befoꝛe the
citie of Burdeaux. The citezens glad of his commynge made not the
French capitayns,which had the gouernaunce of the towne,either par-
ties oꝛ pꝛiuies of their entent:yet ſome of them wolde, that the French-
men,in ſecuritie both of lifes and goodes,ſhould departe out of ỹ town
but their will was no wil:foꝛ the multitude, abhoꝛryng the French ſer- xl
uitude and embꝛacing the Engliſh libertie,which they and their aunce-
ſtoꝛs of many yeres had taſted, opened one gate , & let in a great parte
of the Engliſche army . The Frenche Capitaynes entending to eſcape
ſecretely,by a poſterne,were ſlayne and taken by the loꝛde Leſpar, and
other of the Engliſh army. After the regaynyng of Burdeaux,arriued

at

at Blay, the baſtard of Somerſet, ſir Jhon Talbot, lorde Lyſle, by his wyfe ſonne to the ſayd erle of Shrewesbury, the lorde Wolyns, the lordes Harpington and Cameus, ſir Jhon Hayward, ſir Jhon Wontgomerye, ſir Jhon Vernon with.xxii.C.mē with vatailes and munictions. Whē the erle of Shrewesbury was thus accordyng to hys entent of al thinges furniſhed and adorned: firſte he fortified Burdeaux wyth Engliſhmen & victayle: after that he rode into the countrey abrode, where he obteined cities, and gat townes without ſtroke or dēt of ſwoord: for the poore and nedy people beyng fatigate, and wery with the oppreſſiō of their new landlordes tendered their townes before they wer of them requyred, and beſide this the townes & cities farre diſtauncte frō Burdeaux ſent meſſengers to the erle, promiſyng to him both ſeruice & obeyſaunce. And emonge other the towne and caſtell of Chaſtillon in Perigotte, was to him deliuered by the Frenchemen vpon cōpoſicion, that they might with their lifes ſauely departe: which town, the erle ſtrōgly fortified both with men and ordinaunce. The Frenche kynge lyeng at Towers in Towrayne, being of the erles actes in Gaſcoyn credible enformed, was not a litle exaſperate & quickned: wherefore he mynding to reſiſt the firſt ſtorme, and repulſe the firſt furge, aſſembled a great army to the number of.xxii.M.men, and enterynge into Acquitayne came to Lulligneum, and from thence accompanyed with the erle of Ponthyure, the lordes of ſainct Seuere and Boucat, marched toward Caleys in Gaſcoyn, and wyth fayre promiſes obteyned the towne. And after that towne gayned, the Frenche kynge diuided hys army into two parties, whereof the one was gouerned by the erle of Cleremont, ſonne in law to kyng Charles, and heyre to the duke of Burbon, in the whych were.xv.M.men, in whome conſiſted the wayght and peyſe of the whole enterpriſe. This army he appointed to take the next way toward Burdeaux: the other army wherof he was Capitayn and leadar him ſelf, accompaned with the peres and noble men of his realme, he kept and retayned ſtill beſide Caleys, and ſent the two Marſhals of Fraunce with.xviii.C. men of armes, beſide archers, to beſege the towne of Chaſtylon in Perigot, and in goyng thither, they gat a fortreſſe, whyche they manned, and ſo departed to Chaſtilone, which they enuyroned with a ſtrong ſeage, & caſt highe trenches, and made depe dytches on euery ſide: and in a place where theyr enemyes muſte come, they layde ordinaunce bothe greate and ſmall, wherof ſo great a number was neuer before ſene in France. The erle of Shrewesbury hearyng of theſe newes, and perceiuing that he muſt of neceſſitie encoūter, and fight wᵗ two armies, determined with him ſelfe, firſt to aſſay the leaſt power and weeker puyſſaunce: wherfore without longer procraſtinacion, he aſſembled togither.viii.C.horſemē, wherof the lorde Liſle his ſonne, the lord Wolyns, the lord Cameus, ſir Edward Hull, ſyr Jhon Hayward, & ſir Jhon Vernon were cheſe, and ſo marched forward toward Chaſtilon, appoyntyng.v.M.fote men vnder the conduyte of the erle of Kendalle, and the lorde Leſpar to folowe

hym

hym with all spede. In hys way he assauted ỹ Towze.which the Frēch-men had taken,and by foꝛce entered,and slew all that he founde within and by the way he mett.v.C.Frenchmen goyng a foꝛragyng,of whome he slew the greatest parte,& chaced the other to the campe.The Frenchmen knowyng by these good rūners away of ỹ erles appꝛochyng,with al diligēce left the seage,and retired in good oꝛder,into the place whych they had trēched,dytched,and foꝛtefied with oꝛdenaunce. They within the towne seyng the seage remoued,sent out wooꝛde to the Englishmen that the Frenchemen fledde.The coꝛagious erle hearyng these newes & feryng, leste thꝛough long taryeng the byꝛdes might be flowen awaye, not tarteng till his fotemē wer come,set foꝛward , toward hys enemies, which were in mynd surely to haue fledde,as they confessed afterwarde, if the feare of the French kynges rebuke, whyche was not farre of, had not caused them to taꝛye, and yet in this army were pꝛesent the Marshall and great Master of France,the erle of Pōthyeure,the Seneschal of Poythiew,the loꝛde Bessire,and many valeant Barons and Knightes.When the Englishmen were come to the place where the Frenchmē were encamped,in the which(as Eneas Siluius testifieth) were.iii.C. peces of bꝛasse, beside diuers other small peces,and subtill Engynes to the Englishmen vnknowen, and nothing suspected, they lyghted al on fote,the erle of Shꝛewesbury only except,whiche because of his age,rode on a litle hakeney,and fought fiercely with the Frenchmē,& gat thentre of their campe,and by fyne foꝛce entered into thesame. This cōflict continued in doutfull iudgement of victoꝛy.ii.longe houres : duꝛynge which fight , the loꝛdes of Montaubā and Humadayze with a great companye of Frenchmen entered the battayle,and began a newe felde,& sodaynly the Gonners perceiuynge the Englishemen to appꝛoche nere, discharged their oꝛdinaunce , and slew .iii.C.persones , nere to the erle, who perceiuynge the imminent ieopardy, and subtile labirynth,in the which he and hys people were enclosed and illaqueate , despicynge hys owne sauegarde, and desirynge the life of hys entierly and welbeloued sonne the loꝛd Lisle,willed,asuertised, and counsailled hym to departe out of the felde,and to saue hymselfe. But whē the sonne had aūswered that it was neither honest noꝛ natural foꝛ hym, to leue his father in the extreme ieopardye of his life,and that he woulde taste of that dꝛaught, which his father and Parent should assay and begyn: The noble erle & comfoꝛtable capitayn sayd to him: Oh sonne sonne, I thy father, which onely hath bene the terꝛoꝛ and scouꝛge of the Frēch people so many peꝛes,which hath subuerted so many townes, and pꝛofligate and discomfited so many of them in open battayle,and marcial conflict,neither can I here dye,foꝛ the honoꝛ of my countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame,noꝛ flye oꝛ departe without perpetuall shame and cōtinuall infamy.But because this is thy fiꝛst iourney and enteꝛpꝛise,neither thi flyeng shall ꝛedounde to thy shame, noꝛ thy death to thy glooꝛy:foꝛ as hardy a man wisely flieth, as a temeratious person folishely abidethe.

therefoꝛe

therfore ȳ sleyng of me shalbe ȳ dishonor, not only of me & my progēie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shal saue thy lyfe, and make the able another tyme, if I be slayn to reuenge my death and to do honor to thy Prince, and profyt to his Realme. But nature so wrought in the sonne, that neither desire of lyfe, nor thought of securitie, could withdraw or pluck him frō his natural father: Who cōsideryng the constancy of his chyld, and the great daunger that they stode in, comforted his souldiours, cheared his Capitayns, and valeaūtly set on his enemies, and slew of them more in number then he had in his cōpany. But his enemies hauing a greater company of men, & more abūdaunce of ordinaunce then before had bene sene in a battayle, fyrst shot him through the thighe with a hādgōne, and slew his horse, & cowardly killed him, lyenge on the grounde, whome they neuer durste loke in the face, whyle he stode on his fete, and wyth hym, there dyed manfully hys sonne the lord Lisle, his bastard sonne Henry Talbot, and syr Edward Hull: elect to the noble order of the Gartier, and .xxx. valiant personages of the Englyshe nacion, & the lorde Molyns was there taken pryssoner with .lx. other. The residew of the Englishe people fled to Burdeaux and other places, wherof in the flight, were slayne aboue a .M. perxx sons. At this battayl of Chastillon, fought the .xiii. day of July, in thys yere, ended his lyfe Jhon lorde Talbot, and of his progenie ȳ fyrst erle of Shrewesbury, after that he with muche fame, more glory, and most victorie had for his prince and coūtrey, by the space of .xxiiij. yeres and more, valiantly made warre, and serued the kyng in the partes beyond the sea, whose corps was left on the ground, & after was found by hys frendes, & cōueyed to Whitchurch in Shropshyre, where it is intumulate. This man was to the French people, a very scorge and a daily terror, in so muche that as his person was fearfull, and terrible to his aduersaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare xxi their yong children, would crye, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth. After this discomfiture, diuers lordes fled to Burdeaux, but the erle of Kendall, the lordes of Montfetrant of Rosayne, and of Dadglanas, entered into the Castel of Chastilion, which they by the space of .x. dayes manfully defended, but in conclusion beyng desperate of all succors, rēdered the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux. After this town was yelded the townes of sainct Million, Bybourne & all other, whych therle of Shrewsbury had conquered, rendered thē selfes to the Frenche obeysaunce, Burdeaux onely except. The which citie beyng the last xxii refuge, and onely consolacion of the Englishe people in Gascoyne, the French kyng in person with all his puissaunce, strōgly beseged & dayly assauted, in the which he more lost then gayned: beside this, the Englishmen issued out, and coragiously fought with their enemies: likewise did the citizens, which loking for no fauor at the Frenche kinges hand, because of their late coniuracion againste him, manfully defended them

selfes

selfes, and sore noyed and hurt their enemies. But in conclusion bothe garrisons and the inhabitãtes, oppressed with much penurye & extreme tampne were coacted to zender the citie vpon reasonable condicions, to them by the Frenche kyng sent and oblated: the effect whereof was that no offence, before tyme committed or done by any of the citezẽs shoulde hereafter be imputed, or leyd to the charge of any of them. Also that all Englishemen and Gascons myght safely departe into Englande or to Caleys with all their substance, and that the lordes Lespar, Duras and xxx. other, would neuer vpon payn of death be founde within any of the French kynges dominions, which lord Lespatre after beyng taken disguysed in Gascoyn was made shorter by the hedde. When this composicion was agreed and sealed, the Englishmen had their shippes and al thinges necessarie for their iorney, to them deliuered, which, when wynd and wether were to them propice and conuenient, were shortly transported into England, in the moneth of October this present yere. Thus was the duchye of Acquytayn, which had cõtynued in the English possession, from the yere of our Lorde. M. lv. which is. iii. C. & od yeres, by ỹ martage of Alienor, doughter and heyr to William duke of Acquitayn wyfe to kynge Henry the second, finally reduced, and brought agayne to the French obedience and seruitude. The kepyng of which duchye was neither costly nor troblesome to the realme of England but, bothe pleasant and profitable: for by the souerayngtie of that countrey, ponge gentelmen learned the experiẽce of warre, and expert mẽ wer promoted to many riche offices, & great liuinges within thesame. For within that onely Duchye, by. iiii. Archebishoppes. xxiiii. Bishoppes, xb. etledons ii. C. and. ii, Baronies, and aboue a. M. Capitaynshippes and baylywyckes. All though thys great losse chaunced, this yere to the Englishe nacion, yet a greater detryment hapned in thesame season to the whole flocke of Christen people. For Machumet, called the great Turk besieged the citie of Constãtynople in Grece, wyth an innumerable nũber of Turkes, and fiftye dayes togither gaue to it a continuall assaut, and on the. iiii day of June, toke it perforce, sleyng man, woman and chyldren, except the Enperour Palialogus, and diuers other of the blode Royal, whome he toke prisoners, and after caused them to be behedded. If I should write the detestable murder of men, the abhominable and cruel slaughter of childzen, the shameful rauishmẽt of women and virgyns, which were perpetrate and done by the vnmercifull pagans and cruel Turkes, I assure you that your eares woulde abhorre ỹ hearyng and our eyes woulde not abyde the readynge, and therfore I passe thẽ ouer. In this trobleous season on ỹ. xiii. daye of October, was ỹ quene deliuered at Westmynster of a fayre sonne, which was Christened & named Edward, and after grew to a goodely & perfight man, as after you shall heare: whose mother susteyned not a litle slaunder and obloquye of the commõ people, saiyng that the king was not able to get a chyld, and that this was not his sonne, with many slaunderous woordes, to

Declaration of the dignities in the Duchye of Acquitayne.

The winnig of Constantinople by the great Turke.

The byrth of prince Edwarde, sõne to kynge Henry the. vi.

the

the quenes dishonor, which here nede not to be reherſed, after the birthe of this chyld, the Kyng hyghly auaunced his twoo brethren, on his mothers syde. For Edmond he created erle of Richemõd, whiche was father to kyng Henry the. vii. and Jasper he created erle of Penbroke, whiche died without issue. The kynges twoo brethren created erles.

¶ The. xxxii. pere.

When forein warre and outward battayles, were brought to an ende and finall conclusion: domesticall discorde and ciuil discencion began again to renew and arise, within the realme of Englande: for when the care of outward hostilitie (whiche kept the myndes of the Prynces in the realme occupied, and in exercise) was taken awaye and banyshed, desire of souereignte, and ambicion of preeminence, sodainly sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was deuided into twoo seuerall factions, and priuate partes. For kyng Henry, discended of the house of Lancastre, claymyng the croune from kyng Henry the. iiii. his graund father, first author of this diuision: and Rychard duke of Yorke, as heyre to Lionell, the third sonne to Kyng Edward the third: wrestled for the game, and stroue for the waget. By reason whereof, the nobles aswell as the common people, were into partes deuided, to the destruccion of many a man, and to the great ruyne and decay of this region. For while the one part studied to banquisshe and suppresse the other, all commõ wealth was set a side, and iustice and equitie was clerely exiled. For the duke of Yorke, which sore gaped and more thirsted for the superiorite and preeminence, studied, deuised, and practised al waies & meanes, by the whiche he might attain to his pretẽsed purpose, and long hoped desire. And emongest all imaginacions, one semed moste necessary for his purpose, whiche yet again was to stirre and prouoke the malice of all the people, agaynst the Duke of Somerset, who onely ruled the kynge, and ordered all thynges at hys pleasure and will: Imagening, that he beyng made out of the waye, his purpose should shortly come to a good conclusion. Wherfore, to the nobles of the realme he complayned, lamented, and detested, the miserable state and dayly ruyne, of his noble countrey: notyng and affirming, the Duke of Somerset, to be the very roote and cause of thesame, whom he named and called, an vniust man, a mischeuous persone, a tyrannicall gouernor, and a couetous counsailor: layng also great offences to kyng Henry, saying, that he was a man, neither of wit nor stomacke, neither mete to be a kyng, nor apte to gouerne a common wealth, and therfore it was the duetie of the noble men, and great Prynces, not onely to thinke on this weightie matter, but spedely to prouide a remedy, and to set the Realme in another staye. By whiche complayntes and perswasions, the duke of yorke, so altered the myndes of many persones of high estate that they liked not the worlde, as it then wauered, nor approued thactes of the kyng or his coũsail. And because, that ambicion and auarice, was newly entered into their hartes, they studied, sodainly to change al thin-

ges, and to turne the worlde vpsetdoune. When the duke sawe menns appetites, and felt well their myndes, he chyefly entertained two Richardes, and bothe Neuelles, the one of Salisbury, the other of Warwycke beyng erle, the first the father, the second the sonne. Thys erle of Salisbury, was second sonne to Raufe Neuell, erle of Westmerlande, whose daughter the duke of Yorke had maried, & the said Richard was espoused to Lady Alice, the only chyld and sole heire of Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, slain at the siege of Orleaunce, (as before I haue declared) of whiche woman he engendered, Richard, Jhon, and George. Richarde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the syster and heyre of the entire bloud, to lorde Henry Beauchamp Erle, and after duke of Warwicke, in whose right and title, he was created and named Erle of Warwicke, and not by hys awne progeny or parentage. This Rychard was not onely a man of maruelous qualities, and facundious facions, but also from his youth, by a certayn practise or naturall inclinacion, so set them forward, with wittie and gentle demeanour, to all persones of high and of lowe degre, that emong all sortes of people, he obteyned greate loue, muche fauour, and more credence: whiche thinges daily more increased, by his abundant liberalitie, and plentyfull house keppynge, then by hys ryches, aucthoritie, or hygh parentage: By reason of whiche doynges, he was in suche fauour and estimacion, emongest the common people, that they iudged hym able to do all thinges, and that without hym, nothing to be well done. For whiche causes his aucthoritie, shortly so fast increased, that whiche waie he bowed, that waye ranne the streame, and what part he auaunced, that syde gat the superioritie.

The. xxxiii. yere.

The. xxxiii. yere.

WHē the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine, betwene these twoo strong and robustious pillers, he with his frendes, so seriously wrouth, and so pollitiquely handled his busines, that the Duke of Somerset, was arrested in the Quenes great chamber, and sent to the Towre of London, where he without great solempnitie, kept a dolefull Christmas: agaynst whom in open parliamēt, were laied diuerse and heinous articles of high treason, as well for the losse of Normandy, as for the late mischance, whiche happened in Guyen. The kyng at this time was sicke at Clarendon, and so conueyed to London, by reason whereof, no finall determinacion proceded, in this greate and waightie cause, but it was put in suspence, til the next assemble of the hygh court of parliament. During whiche tyme, the kyng either of his awne mynde, or by the Quenes procurement, caused the duke of Somerset, to be set at libertie: by whiche doyng, grew great enuie and displeasure, betwene the kyng and diuerse of his lordes, and in especiall betwene the duke of Yorke, and the kynges linage. And to aggrauate more the malice newe begon, the Quene, whiche then ruled the rost and bare the whole rule, caused the duke of Somerset, to bee preferred

ferred to the captainshyp of Calice, where with, not oncly the commons but also many of the nobilitie, wer greatly greued and offended, saiyng: that he had lost Normãdy, & so would he do Calice. The duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neither exhortacion serued, nor accusemẽt preuailed against the duke of Somerset, determined to reuẽge their querell, and obteine their purpose, by open warre and marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so a waightie a busines. So he beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his especiall frendes, the erles of Salisbury and Warwicke, the lorde Cobhã, and other, assembled an
x army, and gathered a greate power, and like warlike persones, marched toward Londõ. The Londoners hearing of so great a multitude, commyng toward their citie, were greatly astonnied and muche abashed: for euery persone considered his awne parte, that either with holdyng with the one syde, or beyng contrariant to the other, or medeling with no part he should incurre indignacion or displeasure. The kyng being credibly informed, of the great army commyng toward hym, assembled an hoste, intendyng to mete with the duke in the Northe parte, because he had to many frendes about the citie of London, and for that cause, with greate spede and small lucke, he being accompanied with the Dukes of So-
xx merset, and Buckyngham, therles of Stafford, Northumberlande, and Wilshire, with the lorde Clifford, and diuerse other barõs, departed out of Westmister, the. xx. daie of May, toward the toune of S. Albons: of whose doynges the duke of Yorke being aduertised, by his espials, with all his power costed the countreys, and came to thesame toune, the third daie next ensuyng. The kyng hearyng of their approchyng, sent to hym messengers, straightly chargyng and commaunding hym, as an obedient subiect to kepe the peace, and not as an enemy to his naturall countrey, to murdre and slay his awne countrimen and propre naciõ. While kyng Henry, more desirous of peace then of warre, was sendyng furthe
xxx his orators, at the one ende of the toune: the erle of Warwicke with the Marchemen, entered at the other ende of the toune, and fiersly set on the kynges forewarde, and theim shortly discomfited. Then came the duke of Somerset, & all the other lordes with the kynges power, whiche fought a sore and a cruell battaill, in the whiche, many a tall man lost his lyfe: but the duke of Yorke sent euer freshemen, to succor the wery, & put new men in the places of the hurt persons, by whiche onely pollicie, the kynges armie was profligate and dispersed, & all the chieftaines of the field almoste slain and brought to confusion. For there died vnder the lygne of the Castle, Edmond duke of Somerset, who long before was warned
xl to eschew all Castles, and beside hym, lay Henry the second erle of Northumberland, Humfrey erle of Stafford, sonne to the Duke of Buckingham, Jhon lorde Clifford, and. viii. M. men and more. Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, beyng wounded, & James Butler erle of Wilshire & Ormond, seyng fortunes loweryng chaunce, left the kyng poste a lone & with a great numbre fled away. This was thend of the first battaill at S.

The first battaill at saincte Albons.

 Albons,

Albons, whiche was fought on the Thursdaie, before the feast of Pentecoste, beyng the. xxiii. date of Maie. In this xxxiii. yere of the kynges reigne, the bodies of the noble men, were buried in the Monastery, and the meane people in other places. This Edmond duke of Somerset, left behynde hym thre sonnes, Henry, Edmond, and Jhon, whiche to the extremitie of death, toke part with the line of kyng Henry.

AFTERE this victory obteined, by the Duke of Yorke and his compaignons, he remembred, that often tymes he had declared and diuulged abrode, the onely cause of his warre to be, for thauauncement of the publique wealth, and to se the realme in a more commodious estate, and not a better condicion. Wherfore, he vsing al lenitie, mercy, and bountefulnes, would not once touche or apprehend the body of kyng Henry, whō he might bothe haue slain, & vtterly destroyed, consyderyng, that he had hym in his ward and gouernaunce. But with great honour and due reuerence, conueyed hym to London, & so to Westminster, to whiche place was somoned and appoynted, a great assemble of the thre estates, commonly called a parliament, whiche began the. ix. day of July, in the whiche session, the Duke of Glouc̄ester, was openly declared a true Prince, bothe to the kyng & the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no persone, should either iudge or reporte, any poynt of vntruth, of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisbury and Warwycke, for comynyng in warlike maner, against the kyng at S. Albons, consyderyng, that their attempt and enterprise, was onely to se the kynges persone, in safegard and suer kepyng, and to put and aliene from hym, the publique oppressors of the common wealth: by whose misgouernaunce, his life might be in hasard, and his aucthoritie hang in a very small thred. In whiche Parliament also, the duke of Yorke was made protector of the Realme, and therle of Salisbury, was appoynted to be Chauncellor, and had the greate seale to hym deliuered: and the erle of Warwicke, was elected to the office of the capitayn of Calice, and the territories of thesame. As this deuise was politiquely inuented, so was the sequele thereof to the firste aucthors, bothe honorable and profitable, if fortunes ship had sailed all one way. For by this practise, the whole rule and regiment of the whole Realme, consisted onely in the hedde and orders, of the duke and the Chauncellor, and all the Warlike affayres and busynesse, rested principally in the erle of Warwicke, and so emongest them, it was agreed, that king Henry should styll reygne, in name and dignitie, but neyther in deede, nor in aucthoritie: not myndyng eyther to depose or destroy thesaid kyng, least they might sodaynly prouoke and stirre the fury and ire of the common people against theim: whiche for his holynes of lyfe, and abundant clemencie, was of the symple sort, muche fauored, and highly estemed. After whiche aucthoritie geuen, these three persones ruled the realme, and dyd all thynges after their awne discretions, (whiche without battaill or manslaughter, might haue easely depriued thesaied kyng, bothe of lyfe and lande). And first they amoued from the priuie counsaill, all suche

persones

persones as the kyng loued, or the quene fauored, puttyng in their places, men of their secte and confederacie, & changyng officers throughout the realme, at their will and disposicion: so that tholde spoken prouerbe, here toke place: New Lordes, new lawes: suche lippes, suche lettice. And yet in all their rule, I finde no mencion made, of differryng Justice, or of their pollyng, or their bribery, as was openly proued by such as gouerned before their tyme: Sauyng that they tooke out of the sanctuary of Westminster, Jhon Holland, duke of Excester, beyng repugnant to the ordre taken and concluded, in the last parliament, and conueyed hym to Pountfred castle. Whiche takyng out, was accompted an execrable and a dampnable offence, of diuerse of the spiritualtie, and especially of the Abbot of Westminster and his Monkes, and this is the most spot that was (as I could rede) euer moste to be caste in the Dukes fame, durying his Protectorship, or of his counsaill.

¶ The. xxxiiij. yere.

The. xxxiiij. yere.

BUT that venemous worme, that dreadfull dragon called disdain of superiorite, whiche hath consumed the bloud of so many noble Princes, and destroyed the Image of so many gouernors in all Realmes and kyngdomes, aswell pagan as Christian, could not abstem frō incensyng the hartes of lorde Henry Beaufort, newly come to the Duchy of Somerset, by the death of duke Edmond his father, whiche at the battaill of sainct Albons, (as you haue heard before rehersed) lost his lyfe, and of Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, (whose sonne and heyre named Humfrey, erle of Staffort, tasted thesame cuppe, at the forenamed conflict) and of other lordes and men of aucthoritie, fauoring and folowing the part of kyng Henry, whiche not onely bewailed and had compassion of the vnsure condicion, and wauerying estate of his rule and lordshyp, perceiuing openly, wherunto the cloked gentlenes, and suborned fashiō of the duke of Yorke tended and crept vp: but also thought it necessarie and cōuenient, to puruey for a remedy, or the mischief happened. Wherfore with open mouthes and fierce courages, thei came to Quene Margaret, informing her, that it was not honorable, but a reproche and infamy to the kyng. to haue one to bee a Protector and gouernor of hym and his Realme, as who would say: that he was either a childe, whiche had nede of norice, to fede hym with pappe, or an innocent creature, whiche muste be ruled by a tutor, asserteining her farther, that the Duke of Yorkes only intent was, vnder the colour of this protectorshyp, sodaynly to destroy & depose the kyng, when he least thought of it. and therfore willed her in so quicke a mischief, to prouide a hasty remedy if she loued the safegard of her husbande, or the tuicion of her selfe. The Quene hauyng a wit, more then the common sort of women haue, and considerying the estate of her husbande, the condicion of her selfe, and the perill of her onely sonne, thought it necessary to plucke the sworde of auctr, or the out

of their handes, whiche vnder colour of rulyng vnder others, desired to be gouernors, and superiors themselfes. Wherfore, a greate counsaill was called at Grenewhich, where the duke of Yorke, was discharged of his Protectorship, and the erle of Salisbury also, was dismissed of hys office: whiche malicious mutacion emongest the nobilitie, caused sodain alteracions and seditious commocions, to ryzyng and aryse in the commonaltie, and in especiall within the citie of London.

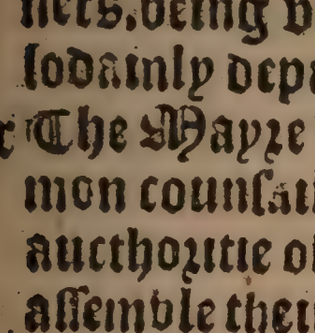
FOR a young Marchaunt, whiche before tyme had bene in diuerse cities within the countrey of Italy, and there prohibited by the Magistrates and rulers, to vse or weare any weapon, either inuasiue or defensiue, chalenged an Italian in Chepe syde, for wearyng of a dagger, confutyng hym with the lawes of his awne countrey, whiche, lyke a Colericke knaue and presumptcous persone, so disdaynfully and with suche tauntes and checkes, answered the marchant, that he not willing to suffre so open a reproche, in so publique a strete, and that of so proude a villain, toke by force from him his dagget, and with thesame, a litle cut his croune and cracked his pate. This Italian in greate haste, complayned to the Mayer, of this offence, whiche at the nexte Courte, holden at the Guyldhaule, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for the offendor, and declaryng to hym his crime, commaunded him to ward, wherof diuerse other light marchantes within the citie, sore abhorryng the Italian nacion, for lickyng the fat from their beardes, and takyng from them their accustomed lyuing, by reason that thesaid estraungers inporte & transported into and out of this Realme, all suche marchandyses, commodities, and necessaries, as the englishmen onely were accustomed to do, assembled together in greate plumpes, and by force compelled the Maire to deliuer the prisoner out of Newgate: and yet this multitude, with this doyng nothyng satiate nor appeased, like madde persons and frantique fooles, ranne to the seuerall houses, of diuerse Venecians, Lucases, and Florentynes, and them spoyled, robbed and ryfled, without reason or measure. The Mayre perceiuing this great enormitie, assembled a great numbre of substanciall and graue citezens, whiche, not without greate bloudshed, and maymyng of sundery persones, fynally appeased their rage, and caused the people to departe to their houses. The beginner of this temeratious commocion, and sodain vprore, either perswaded by his frendes, or fearyng his chaunce, whiche for his firste facte might sodainly insue, departed to Westminster, and there Registred hymselfe as a sanctuary man. The Quene whiche ruled all thynges, hearing of this greate riote and vnlawfull misdemianours, sent the Duke of Excester and Buckyngham, accompanied with many other noble men, to London, with a commission of oyer and determiner, for the punishement of this outragious offence & seditious crime. When the Maire of the citie the two dukes, and the two chief iustices, were set in the Guyldhaule for the performance of their commission, & began to call the empanelles, for thenquiry, as the vse and order is, diuerse light witted, and lesse brayned

persons

persons of the citie, prtuely armed them, and by the ringing of bow bell thought to assemble together a great multitude of their minde and opinion, and so by force and might to take from the kepers, all suche prisoners, as were before apprehended, for the late committed robbery & riot, as they were goyng to their triall or arreignment. But this great tumult and sodain fury, was by discrete & sage citizens, a litle & litle appeased & finally quenched, but in the meane season, the dukes & other commissioners, being vntrwly aduertised, that they were in ieoperdy of their lyues, sodainly departed from Guyldhaule, and left their inquirie for that day.

x The Mayre on the next day perceiuing how the grudge rose, called a cõmon counsaill, wherof the number was. i. C. iiii. score & od persons, & by aucthoritie of the same ordeined that all Wardens of misteries, should assemble their felowship in their particular hawles, where they should exhorte them to the obseruaciõ of the kynges peace, and keping of good order within the citie: and if they espied any man, either prone or redy to rayse a rumour or desirouts of the deliueraunce of suche as were accused & in captiue custodie, that their names should be secretly writen, and couertly deliuered to the lorde Mayre: whiche pollitique doyng, finally ended the entragious doing of the insolent people; after whiche appeasyng the commissioners returned to the Guyldhaule, where many of the xx robbers were attainted, and after condignely put to execuciõ, beside diuers great fynes and raunsomes payd, which were set vpon many merchaunres, for winking at these doinges or assentyng to the same.

¶ The xxxv. yere.



THE Frenche nacion, hearyng of this domesticall diuision and ciuile dissencion, within the realme of England, muche desiryng to be reuenged of olde displeasures and great damages, which they had so many yeares born and susteined by the English people, appoynted two Nauyes to inuade xxx and depopulate the tounes & portes, adioynyng to the ryuage of the sea. The capitayn of the one army, was Willia lord Pomiers, and of the other, syr Piers Bressy, a great ruler in Normandy. These two capitains, when opportunitie of wether serued, sette vp their sayles at the mouthe of Sayne, and there seuered them selfes, the one Westward, and the other Eastward, whiche was syr Peter de Bressy. This lusty Capitain saylyng al the cost of Sussex and Kent, durst not once take lande, til he arriued in the downes, and there hauing by a certayn espiall, perfit notice, that the towne of Sandwyche was neyther peopled nor fortefyed, because that a lytle before, the chefe rulers of the toune were from thence xl departed, for to auoyde the pestylenciall plage, which sore there infected and slew the people, entered the hauen, spoyled the towne, and after such pore stuffe as he there founde, ryfflyde and taken, he fearynge an assemblie of the contrey, shortly returned. The lord Pomier likewise toke his course Westward, and by night brent certain houses in Tounay, & with a litle pillage retired into Britayn. These two aduentures and fortunate

chaunces, whiche to them in cõparison of their great expẽses, in their tor-
neys were scant worthe one poore mite, or syngle farthyng: The French
writers dylate, set furth and paynt with pẽne, as though they had gottẽ
Cresus ryches, and Alexanders kyngdomes: forgettyng how many hũ-
dred thousande poundes, they had lost in few yeres before prcedynge,
as to all menne, beyng indifferent readers of this Historie, playnly ap-
pereth. But verely some bread is better to the hungry persone, then no
bread, and a small gaine of him, which desired recouerie, is a great plea-
sure, and therfore the Frenche authors make of a litle muche, & yet their
much (all thynges consydered) is in effect nothyng at all. The Scottes
also not degenerating frõ their olde mutabilitie, nor alteryng their aun-
cient condicions, from their accustomed perfidie and vsuall vntrought
entered into Northũberland, kyng James the second, then being there
in person, and burned small houses, and litle cotages: But in the very
myddes of their greate enterpryse, they hearyng of the duke of Yorke,
marchyng toward thẽ, with a great army, with muche payne, & no gayn,
in all haste reuerted to their countrey. Let vs passe ouer for a tyme all
outward inuasions, and returne to our awn domesticall debate, & dayly
discorde. First not forgetting, that while foren enemies inuaded the out-
warde partes, and extreme confynes of this troubelous Realme, a great xx
conflict was attempted betwene the lorde Egremond, and the sonnes of
the erles of Salisbury: in the which fray, many persons were slayn, and
a greater number hurt. The lord Egremõd, in this great tumult could
not escape, but by force was taken and brought before the kinges coũ-
saill, and there the kyng and the quene to shew them selfs to all persons
indifferẽt, adiudged him to pay to the erle of Salisbury a great summe
of money, and for his heynous offence, done against the kynges lawes,
he was committed to the gayle of Newgate, within the citie of London
out of the which prison, by helpe of his fautors, he secretly escaped, & so-
daynly departed, to the great vexacion of the shrieues of London, at that xxi
tyme being. *In whiche season, the craft of Prynting was first inuented
in the cytie of Mens in Germanie, to the great furtheraunce of all per-
sons, desyryng knowledge or thyrstyng for litterature. Quene Marga-
rete, whose breath ruled, and whose worde was obeied aboue the kyng
and his counsaill, within this Realme of Englande, entendyng the de-
struccion of the duke of Yorke and his frendes, whiche deuise she thou-
ght not mete to be practysed nere to the citie of London, because she well
perceiued the duke of Yorke to be had in more estimacion emong the ci-
tezens & communaltie, then the kyng her husbãd or her awn person: cau-
sed the kyng to make a progresse into Warwyckeshyre, for his health & pl
recreacion, and so with Hawkyng and Huntynge came to the cytie of
Couentrey, where were diuers wais studied priuely, to bryng the quene
to her hartes ease, and long expectate desire: whiche was the death & de-
struccion of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisbury and Warwycke.
And for the furniture of this matter, all these, iii. noble men were sent for
to

Where the moste excellent science of Prynting was first inuented.

* Blair in his Chronology says it was discovered in 1440.

to Couëtre, by the Kynges letters vnder his pꝛiuie seale, to which place the foresaied lozdes, suspecting no treason, noꝛ putting diffidence in any creature obediently resoꝛted: But the serpent lurked vnder the grasse, & vnder sugered speache, was hide pestiferous poyson, so that if these noble men admonished by their frendes, had not sodaynly departed, their lyfes thꝛede had bene bꝛoken, and their moꝛtall fate had them ensued, but by secrete admonicion of their good willers (to whome no earthly treasure is comparable) they auoyded this net, and narowly escaped the snare, wherupon foꝛ the securitie and tuycion of their lyfes, the Duke of
x Yoꝛke departed to Wygnoꝛe, in the Marches of Wales, the erle of Salisbury resoꝛted to his fayꝛe Castell of Middelham in the Noꝛthcountrey, and the erle of Warwicke sayled to the towne of Caleys. Although the bodies of these noble personages, were by this sedicious and fraudulẽt meanes a sonder separated as ye haue heard: yet their hartes were knitte and coupled in one, neuer foꝛgetting, but dayly studyeng, bothe how to be reuenged of the olde dispites and malicious attẽptes, against them cõmitted and imagened, and also how to compasse their purposes, and to get the superioritie and ouerhand aboue their cuill willers, and
xx apparant enemies, foꝛ which causes, their letters neuer ceased, their messengers neuer slept, noꝛ their pursses were at no tyme shut, what foꝛ entertaining of olde frendes, and obteinyng of new confederates, tyl kyng Henry and hys alyes were pꝛofiygate, and expelled clerely out of the Realme, as after shall appere.

The. xxxvi. yere.

Because you haue bene long troubled with readyng of diuers diuisions, sedicions, operacions, and greate disturbance within the Realme, emong the tempoꝛalitie, I wyll now a litle digresse from my contynued purpose, to declare to you an ouerthwarte iudgement giuen emong the fathers
xxx of the spiritualtie, agaynst Reynold Pecocke, then Byshop of Chichester. This man, somwhat learned, but better stomacked, began to moue questions, not pꝛiuatly, but openly in the Uniuersities, concernyng the annates, peterpens, and othet iurisdicions and aucthoꝛities, appertaynyng to the sea of Rome, and not onely put foꝛth the questions, but declared his minde and opinion in thesame: wherfoꝛe he was foꝛ this cause abiured at Paules crosse, and all his bookes bꝛent, and he hym selfe kept in his awne house duryng his naturall lyfe. Some saye that hys opinion was, that spirituall persons, by Godes lawe, ought to haue no
xl tempoꝛall possessiõs. Other wꝛite that he saied, that personal tithes were not dew by Godslawe: but whatsoeuer the cause was, in such soꝛt as befoꝛe I haue declared he was vsed. Kyng Henry and his adherentes, perceyuing that the duke of Yoꝛke lay styll, and made no open appatance, of assemble oꝛ commocion, returned to London, and there called a great counsaill, openly declaring how the French kyng perceiuing the realme

The. xxxvi. yere.

Reynold Pecocke, byshop of Chichester abiured at Paules crosse

of

of Englande implicate and troubled with ciuile dissencion, and mutual discord was not afeard to send his admirals on the costes of Kent, and Deuonshyre, and there to spoyle townes, burne houses, and murder the Englishe people: whiche cause also anymated the Scottes to make Rodes and Incursions, into the confines and marches of the Realme, to the great losse and detriment of the kynges leege people: whiche twoo nacions were set cõtinually to greue and vexe this his realme of England, tyll they perceiued a perfite concorde, and an vnfayned amitie to be concluded and knitte together, betweene hym and his cõsanguinitie, and the other sorte of the contrary part, and confederacie. And to the entent that he woulde be the chiefe author of peace, and pryncypall styrter of thys vertuous concorde, he promysed so gently to entertayne the duke of Yorke, and his fautors, that all olde grudges beyng not only inwardly forgottẽ, but also outwardly forgeuen, should be the cause of perpetuall loue, betweene them and their frendes: of whiche concorde should ensue, familiaritie emonge the lordes, and concord emong the commons, which to all vtter enemies should be an inward grudge, and to this Realme a great glorie and profite. This deuise was of all men present well taken and adiudged, both honorable to the kyng, & profytable to his realme. Wherupon diuers graue & sad persons were sent to the duke of Yorke and all other the great estates of the realme, whiche sins the battayle of sainct Albons neuer met, came, nor commoned together, commaundyng them for reasonable causes, and greate considerations, to resorte to the kynges palayce, without procrastinacion or delay. At this commaundement came to London, Rychard Duke of Yorke, and Rychard, Erle of Salisbury, accõpanied with a great number of meigniall seruauntes & frendes, lest peraduenture they for lacke of ayde, myghte haue bene betrapped or they had knowlege, or were warned. After them came frõ Caleis to London, the erle of Warwycke, whose seruitours were apparreled in rede cotes, embroudered with white ragged stakes. These. iii. lordes were lodged within the citie: the duke at Baynardes castell, the erle of Salisbury, at the Herber, and the erle of Warwycke at his place, beside the Graye friers. About thesame season, with no lesse cõpany of men came to the citie, the yong duke of Somerset, the Erle of Northumberland, & the lord Clyfford, whose fathers were slayn at sainct Albons: and after them resorted the dukes of Excester, and Buckyngham, the lorde Egremond, and al most all the nobilitie of this Realme. The Duke of Yorke and his mates, were lodged within the citie, and the duke of Somerset, and all his frendes, sojourned without Temple barre, Holborne and other places of the suburbes: As who sayd, that as the Iewes disdayned the company of the Samaritans, so the Lancastrians abhorred the familiaritie of Yorkish lynage. After the commynge of these lordes to the citie, the kyng, the Quene with all their familie, shortely folowed, and were lodged in the Bysshoppes palayce of London. These Lordes had suche great companies, attendyng on them (for one had. v. C. other

The deuise for the cõcord and vnitie of the Realme.

The mortal hatered betwene ỹ .ii. lignages of Lancaster & Yorke.

v.C. and diuers. iiii.C. persones in a band) that continuall watche was kept by the Mayze and senate of London, aswell by day as by nyghte, foz the pzeseruacion of the peace & continuaūce of good ozder. The lozdes, whiche lodged within the cytie, kept a daily counsaill at the Blacke friers, within the citie. The other parte sojozning without the walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house of Westminster. Thus euery part both studied his awn pzofite and aduauncement, and also how to reuēge thynges done to them, by their foes and aduersaries. But the Archebyshop of Canterbury, and other vertuous pzelates, so exhoxted, applied, & perswaded both the parties (although a great whyle they were neither heard, noz regarded) that in cōclusion, they brought them to a communicacion, where after long alteracion, aswell of olde Iniuries, and of new displeasures, by the one faccion, against the other committed, the feare of outwarde hostilitie, and forein inuasion, so mollified their indurate hartes, that they outwardly pzomysing, to forget all olde rancoys, & auncient displeasures, sealed and sygned writinges, the one euer after to be frend to the other, and all together to be obedient to the kyng, and fauoxers to his frēdes & enemies to his enemies. This cōcoxd was so ioyfull to the superiozs, and so embzaced of the common people (who euer beare the burden, when pzinces be at controuersie) that foz the open appearaunce, and demonstracion of this godly concoxde, publique pzocessions were appointed, to be solempnely celebzate, within the Cathedzall church of sainct Paule in the citie of London, on the day of the Conception of our Lady, in the mouth of Marche. At which solempne feast, the Kyng in habite royall, and his dyademe on his hedde, kept his estate in pzocession, befoze whom, went hand in hand, the duke of Somerset, the erle of Salisbury, the duke of Exceter, and the erle of Warwike, and lo on of the one faccion, and an other of the other sect, and behynd the kyng the duke of Yoxke ledde the Quene with greate familiaritie to all mens sightes: but wo woxth dissimulacion, and false flatteryng countenaunce: fye on doble entendiment, and cloked adulacion, whiche hath bene the common seruytours in all palaces, bothe Imperiall and Regal, and by their only pestiferous venime, and secrete malyce, hath ben the destruccion of many a noble man, and the confusion of a great number of trew meanyng and faithfull persons: But the wyseman, whiche saieth: wo be thou that hast a doble hart, meant, that dissimulacīō once espied, should be the arrowe wherwith the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked pageant, and dissimulyng pzocession, hereafter shall playnely be declared. Foz their bodies were ioyned by hand in hand, whose hartes were farre a sonder: their mouthes louyngly smiled, whose corages were inflāmed with malice: their tounges spake lyke suger, and their thoughtes were all inuenimed: but all these dissimulinge persons, tasted the vessell of woo, as the Wyseman sayde: and few oz none of this company were vnblotted, oz vndestroied by this doloxous pzynke of dissimulacīō. But this cankard woxme, and pestiferous coccatrice, not onely at thys

A generall pzocessiō at Paules by ye kyng, and the peres of the realme.

tyme

tyme reigned in Englande, but also dyd muche harme in the courte of Fraũce: for Jhon duke of Alãson, which before had bene prysoner, & well entertayned in the realme of Englande, and after Capitain generall of the warres in Fraunce against the Englishmen, highly fauoured, and of great estimacion in the Frenche kynges house, was by suche as he most trusted & vsed most familiaritie withall, and whom he had greatly promoted, and hyghly exalted, accused of hyghe treason, as enemie to his kyng, & traytor to his countrey, alledging that he long before that tyme had conspired with the Englysshmẽ, to cause them once again to recouer the duchie of Normandy: wherupon by the order of the law, he there suffered death very vniustly, as diuers authors affirme, wherof one saieth: that kynges lekyng treason, shall fynde lande, & the denial of a princes desyre, was the inuented destruccion of the innocent Naboth. Well let vs now leue the cloked collusion, that remained in Fraunce, and returne to the open dissimulacion, whiche now appeared in England.

Jhon duke of Alanson, executed i Fraũce.

¶ The. xxxvij. yere.

The. xxxvij. yere.



Sier being enclosed in a straite place, wil by force bter his flãme, & as the course of water astricted & letted will flowe and burst out in cõtinuaunce of time: so this cãcard crocodyle, & subtile serpent, could not lõg lurke in malicious hartes, nor venemous stomakes, but incõclusion she must (accordyng to her nature) apere & shew her self. For after this apparaunt concord, & intrinsical discord, according to the very nature of dissimulacio, diuers noble mẽ of byrth, but not stable of worde, putting from them honor, trougth & honestie forgat their othe, & brake their promisse, & aduaunced forth ỹ banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may se, that suche persones, regard neither their awne peculiar profite, nor the publique wealth of their native countrey, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise breking, to whom discord is pleasant, & discension is delectable. For not long after this dissimuled amitie, a certain fray, either by chaũce, or of a thing prepensed, was made vpon a yoman of the erles of Warwike, by a seruiteur of the kynges, in the which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but the erles mã fled. The kynges meigniall seruaũtes, seing their felow hurt, & the offendor escaped, assembled in a great number, & watched the erle returnyng from the counsayll toward his barge, and sodaynly set on hym the yomen with swordes, and the Blacke garde, with spittes and fyre forkes. After long fyght, and many of thee Erles men maymed and wounded, by helpe of his frendes, he toke a wherry, & so escaped to London: whome the Quene incontinent commaued to be apprehended, and as a captiue and prisoner, to be sent to the Towre of London, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes, and made hys ende. By this vnhappy fraye, and sodain chaunce of malice, there arose suche dayly and terryble warre, that euery man was in trouble, and no

person

person was in quiet. For after this displeasure doen to the erle, and the quenes good mynd toward hym, by his secret frendes priuilye reueled, he with all diligence, toke his iorney to Warwicke, and after into Yorke-shire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the erle of Salisbury, declating to them, the assaute of the kynges seruauntes, and the pretensed purpose of the fraudulent Quene. After which complaynt made, he fearing lest by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his capitain ship of Calice, with greate spede embarked hymself, & sailed thither dayly expectyng and lokyng, what way the duke of Yorke would take for achyueing hys long intẽded purpose. After whose departure, ỹ duke of Yorke and therle of Salisbury, somwhat exasperate and moued with this doble dealyng, beganne to grudge and murmure: affirming that in the Quene rested nothyng, but fraude and feminine mallice, whiche ruled the kyng at her pleasure and wil, studied nothyng somuche, as the destruccion of the nobilitie, and pees of the Realme. After long consultacion had it was agreed, that therle with a warlike company, shoulde marche toward the kyng, and complain to him, bothe of the manifest iniury doen to his sõne, and also of the vnkind breach, of the swoyne amytie and late agremẽt, in whiche suite if he did preuaile, he thẽ should not omyt the occasion to hym geuen, in reuengyng the displeasures to hym doen by the quene and her sinister counsailors, whiche euell & vngodly, ordered the Subiectes of the whole Realme. After this deuise made and concluded, therle of Salisbury remoued from Middelham castle, accõpanied with .iiii. or .v. M. men, and toke his waie through Lancashyre, and Shropshire, toward London. In the meane season the quene, whi-
the was assisted and ruled, by the dukes of Somerset and Buckyngha hauyng the bigilant ye and circumspect brayne, of a pollitique gouernor: imagened that the erle of Warwicke had kindeled this fire, and begon this tumult, to thentent (accordyng to his pretensed purpose) to set
the duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high trone of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of no smal wit, nor litle pollecye, conceuung in her opinion, that it was no bote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, & hearyng of therle of Salisburies setyng forward, w a cõpany of armed men and archers: assẽbled together a greate counsaill, to puruey a remedy, for that imminent mischief, and (as in a multitude often times it happeth, so many heddes so many wittes) so diuerse wer in opinion, that neither people nor weapon sholde be stirred, tyl the erle aproched, doubtyng, whether he came to demaunde warre or peace, or to aske Justice, & to reforme wrong. Other, otherwise
thought, and wer of a contrary opinion, makyng the foundacio of their argument, that the raising of people, and assemble of souldiors by hym could signifie no peace, nor treaty of concord: except a man shoulde saie, that intreatyng for fauor with naked sworde in hande, were an humble submission and a meke request: which onely consideracion, moued them to saie, ỹ as force with force, ought to be repelled, so he w a great po-

wer, or he came into the middest of the Realme, shold of necessytie be en-
countred and (if fortune would serue) vtterly destroyed. This sentence
toke place, & without delay, syr James Twichet lorde Awdeley. because
his seigniory and power lay in those pattes, wher the erle should passe,
was appoyncted to mete with hym, and to geue hym battayl, if he sawe
cause or place conuenient, and the quene folowed after. The lord Aude
ley, accordyng to his commission, assembled aboue. x. M. men, and know
yng by his espials whiche way therle kept, approched nere to hym on a
faire plain called Bloze Heath, within a mile of the toune of Drayton,
in the countrey of Salope, commonly called Shropshire. The erle per-
ceiuing by the liuery of the souldiors, that he was circumuented and li-
kely to be trapped with the quenes power, determined rather there to a-
bide the aduenture, with fame and honor, then farther to fly, with losse &
reproche: & so encamped himselfe all the night. on ỹ side of a litle brooke
not very broode but sumwhat depe. In the morning earely. beyng the
day of. s. Tecle, he caused his souldiors to shote their slightes, towarde
the Lorde Awdeleys companye, whiche laie on the otherside of the said
water, and then he and all his companye, made a signe of retraite. The
lorde Awdeley, remembring not onely the trust that he was put in. But
also the Quenes terrible commaundemente, (whiche was to bring to ẽ
her presence, therle of Salisburie, quicke or dead) blew vp his trumpet,
and did set furth his bowarde, & sodainli passed the water. Therle of Sa-
lisburie, whiche knew the slaightes, stratagemes, and polliceis of war-
like affaires, sodeinly returned, and shortly encountered with the Lorde
Awdeley and his chiefe Capitaines, or the residewe of his army coulde
passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadfull. Therle desyring the
sauing of his life, and his aduersaries coueting his destruccion, fought
sore for the obteyning of their purpose, but in conclusion, the erles army
as men desperate of aide and succor, so egerly fought, that thei slewe the
lorde Audeley, and all his capitaines, and discomfyted al the remnaunt xxx
of his people. In this battail, wer slain. xxiij. C. persõs. but the greatest
plague lighted on the Chesshire men, because one halfe of the shire, was
one the one part, and the other, on the other part, of whiche numbre wer
sir Thomas Dutton, sir Jhon Donne, & sir Hugh Uenables, But there-
les twoo sonnes, the one called Sir Jhon Neuel, and the other sir Tho-
mas wer sore wounded, whiche soberly iorneng into the Northcountrey
thinkyng there to repose theim selfes, wer in their iorney aprehended. by
thequenes frendes, and conueyed to Chester: but their kepers deliuered
them shortly, or elles the Marche men had destroyed the Gayles. Such
fauor had the commons of Wales, to the duke of Yorkes band and his
affinitie, that thei could suffre no wrong to be doen, nor euil word to be
spoken of hym or his frendes.



FTER this battail, the duke of Yorke not onely perceiuing ỹ the destruccion of him & hys frēdes, was intēded (as by ỹ last conflict, was apparaūtly declared) but also remembryng, ỹ all hys coūsailes & priuy intēctes were now opened to ỹ king & the quene which studied to diuert & turne frō thē all mischief or infortunitie, which might chaunce eyther to thē or their frēdes, thought it mete neither long to dissimuie, nor farther to kepe his bil vnder wing: & therfore with a corragious harte, aswell for ỹ obteinyng of ỹ croune, as for ỹ tuitiō & sauegard of him & his frēdes, he detetmined no lenger to slepe in hys den, but with all diligince, to set furth his busines and auaunce his banner. And therefore sending for therle of Salisbury his felow and compete in all his doynges, counsailes, and fortunes (after long communicacion had, of the Quenes misgouernaunce, and how she without their assent, did all thynges at her wil and pleasure) determined to raise a greate army, and by fine force, either to die or win their purpose. What should I saye, men were assembled, frendes wer sent for, and a puissaunt armie was gathered, bothe of Northren men and Welshemen whiche in good ordre came into the Marches of Wales, adioynyng to Shropshire, whete they determined, either to abyde their enemies or to mete them if thei marched forward. The king was not ignorant of this assemble, nor yet vnaduertised of the dukes intēt: wherfore to resyst the mischief at the beginnyng, he caused commissiōs to be made, and sent into euery part of ỹ realme, where he suspected either to haue assured frendes, or indifferēt fauorers, for men and money. By reason of whiche commaundemēt, a great numbre was assembled. Many for the loue they bare to the king, but more for ỹ feare that thei had of ỹ quene whose countenaunce was so fearfull, and whose loke was so terrible that to al men, against whom she toke a smal displeasure, yet frouning was their vndoyng, & her indignacion, was their death. The king accōpanied with the dukes of Somerset & Excester, and other of the Line of Lancaster determined clerely, to set on the Duke of Yorke, & his confederates, & them by force either vtterly to vanquish, or by pollecy to attrap and bring to confusion: wherupon in hope of good lucke, the kyng with his armi by long marching, came nere to the duke of Yorke, which was strōgly encāped, a litle frō ỹ toune of Ludlow, nere adioyning to ỹ cōfines of Wales, to whom not long before, was come hys trusty frend Richard Erle of Warwicke, with a greate numbre of expert men in martiallfeates, whome he had brought with him frō Calice, wherof two wer mē of approued pollecie, in ỹ warres of Normaādy, & Guyē the one called Andrew Trowlop, & the other Jhō Bloūt. These armies thus lieng ỹ one in ỹ cōspect & vew of ỹ other. studied al meanes & pollecies, how to take aduaūtage eche of other, & how wt lesse ieoperdy, ỹ one might set on ỹ other, the duke perceiuig by reasō of his expert capteines, & wai how he might easely dāpnify & discōfite his enemies, thought no lenger to

his purpose but manfully to geue the onset, & so with his secret frendes and capitaines, determined the next morning early, with dreadfull blastes of the terrible trompet, to begin the battaill, and set on the kyng and his army, or he wer redy or in aray. But of this deuise succeded nothing nor of this imagination proceded any effect. For Andrewe Trolop and other the Calicians, which were men of great knowledge and muche experience, & had liued by the kynges wages, more then a few yeres, perceiuing now, that they should fight against their souereigne lorde hymself (whose frend thei esteemed before that tyme, therle of Warwick euer to haue ben taken and reputed, and not his enempe or destroyer) in the dedde of the night, before the day of battaill, secretly departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselues to the kyng, admonishing him of all thynges prepared and deuised, for his losse & destruccion. If these auncient capitaines wer welcome to the kyng, or if he ioyously theim receiued, I referre that to all men, whiche haue relief in their distresse or haue a sodeyn good chaunce, when thei thinke least vpon it. When the duke of Yorke was aduertised of their departyng, no matuail though his senses wer moued, and his wittes disturbed, as a man that sodainly riseth out of a traunce, woteth not what to do or sate: For he first considered the Power and Authoritie of the kyng, and sawe that Andrewe Troloppe, of his frend was sodeinly transformed, into the Image of his extreme enemy, whose force and pollecie, asmuche now discõforted hym, as by the truste whiche he put in hym, he was before incouraged: wherefore he euidently perceiuing, that all his counsaill and purpose, was by the forenamed Andrew, reueled and disclosed, thought it better for hym and his, to departe in suretie, then to abyde the chaunce, of mutable Fortune, which turneth the wheele at her wil & pleasure: wherupon he with his younger sonne Edmond erle of Rutland, secretly departed into Wales and so passed into Ireland, where he was with al ioy & honor gladly receiued. Therle of March sonne & heire apparant to the forsaid Duke, accompanied with therles of Salisbury, and Warwicke, and sir Jhon Wenlocke, stale away thesame night, & came into Deuonshire: wher by the meanes of Jhon Dinham Esquire (which after was high treasurer of England, in the time of kyng Henry the vij.) thei bought a ship, whiche cost C.x. markes at Exmouth, & sailed to Gernsay, and after came to Calice, & wer let in at the posterne, & ioyfully welcomed of their frendes.

THE next day in the morning, the kyng beyng aduertised of the departyng of the Duke of Yorke and his partakers, caused al his horsemen to follow them by euery passage, but thei were neither seen nor espied, as they that folowed, made report. The kyng perceiuing that therl lordes were escaped, pardoned all the poore souldiors, sauyng certayn Kyng leaders, wherof some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this he remoued to Ludlowe, and there dispatched his hoste, and spoyled the toune and the Castle, and sent the Duches of Yorke, with her two ponger sonnes, to be kept in ward, with the

Duches

duches of Buckyngham her suster, where she continued a certain spate After this, he proclaymed these lordes, traitors to hym, enemies to their countrey, and rebelles to the Crowne: confiscating al their landes, goodes, and offices, committing the gouernaunce of the Northe partes, to the Erle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Clifford, as to hys trusty and moste faithfull frendes: and of his towne of Calice, he made Captain, Henry the newe Duke of Somerset: but the Olde Husbande man saieth, that as to hasty sowing, often time deceiueth, so to late, neuer well proueth. For in this businesse, protractyng of tyme onely, hurted & harmed the Kyng & his sequele. For if he at the beginning, had dispossed his aduersaries of that refuge and hold, no doubte but he had either tamed, or vanquished theim with litle labor and smal daunger.

x THE Duke of Somersette, reioysyng much in his new office, elected diuerse hardy and valiaunt souldiours, and with greate pompe sayled toward Calice: and when he thought surely to haue entered into the Hauen, the artillary shotte so tierslye, bothe oute of the towne and Risebancke, that he sufferyng there a sore repulse, was fayn to land at whitsandbay, and sent woorde to the capitaines of the towne, to receiue hym, as the Kynges lieuetenaunt, and shewed to them his letters Patentes,

xx but neither he nor his Wrytyng, was once regarded or looked on: so of necessitie he resorted to the Castle of Guysnes, daily Skirmishing with the Garrison of Calice, more to his losse then gain. After his arriual, as is aforesayd, diuerse of the Marriners, owing more good will to therle of Warwicke, then to this young Duke, conueyed their shippes into the Hauen of Callice, and in theim diuerse of the Earle of Warwickes enemies, as Ianyn Fendill, Jhon Felowe, and diuerse other, and presented theim to thesaied Erle, whiche incontinet, caused their Heddes to bee striken of. This dayly Conflict, still continuyng betwene the Lordes, whiche soiorned at Calice, and the Duke of Somersette, lieng at Guys-

xxx nes, no small numbre of the Commonalty, dayly resorted to the Erle of Marche and his confederates: by reason whereof, all though they dayly lost people and had many slain, yet their numbre was restored, and the gappe was euer filled, which was the continual losse, & daily detriment to the Duke of Somerset. Yet he like a valeaunte Prince, nothyng lesse myndyng then for lacke of ayde to be expelled from the great office and renoumed aucthoritie, whiche the kyng had to him geuen, in the partes beyond the sea, sente Letters to the Kyng, and messengers to the Quene desiryng them of ayde and succor, in defence of the querell, and lawfull assistence. His postes were not vnheard, nor his requestes vnprouided.

xl For without delay, Richard lorde Riuers, & sir Anthony Wooduile, his Valiaunt Sonne whiche after was Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike, personnes, were appoynted to passe the seas, and to be Coadiutors to the Duke of Somerset. These marcial capitaines, endeuouryng theim selues to the point, for the which thei were assigned, came to the Porte of Sandwyche, and there abode the Winde and the

wether, whiche obeyeth neither kyng, nor serueth Emperoure.

THE Earles of Marche and Warwicke, and other beyng at Calice, had knowledge of all these doynges, and secret conuenticles: wherefore to anticipate and preuent the Dukes purpose, they sent Jhon Dynham the valiaunt esquire, with a small numbre of men, but with a multitude of courageous hartes, to the toune of Sandwiche, whiche soaynly entered the same, and toke the Lorde Riuers in hys bedde, and his sonne also robbyng houses, & spoylyng shippes of great riches and marchandise, and besyde this, they toke the principall shippes, of the kynges naue then lyng at the Port, well furnished with ordenaunce, and artillarie, but not without the fauour of the Marriners, whiche fauored more the one part then the other. But although Jhon Dinham, Capitain on the Lordes parte, was sore hurte and maymed on hys legge, by reason wherof, he euer after halted and somewhat limped: yet his courage and policey was so much, that he banquished his enemies, and broughte the shippes royall laden with praye and prisoners, to the toune of Calice, and theim presented to the Erle of Marche, not knowing then, that the Lorde Riuers doughter shoulde bee the Erles wife, whiche then had an husbande lyuing, nor thinkyng that her father for her sake, should after be destroied. But who can know the secretes of GOD, or without him declare the chaunce that after shall insue.

AFTER this booty gotten, and good lucke obteined, diuerse of the beste shippes, taken in the Hauen of Sandwiche, wer well vitailed, and manned, and with theim the Erle of Warwicke, transfreted and sayled into Irelande, to common, with the duke of Yorke, of his greate affayres and businesse. The wether was so faire, and the Wynd so fauorable to the Erles purpose, that within lesse then .xxx. daies, he passed and repassed from Calice to Deuelyne, and assertayned the Erles of Marche and of Salisbury, what was the Duke of Yorkes deuise and intent, bothe for his entry and theirs, into the Realme of Englande. The erle of Warwicke had come to short home, to tel these tidynges, if the Duke of Excester, whiche beyng Admirall of the sea, lay in the West countrey to stop the erles passage, might haue had his awne will, but the capitaynes of his Nauy murmured against him, and the marriners dispraysed and disdained him, glad to here of the erle of Warwickes good successe by which occasion, he neither would nor durst once medle or coupe with the erles nauie

DVRYNG this tyme, the kyng called a Parliament, in the Citee of Couentre, in the whiche, the Duke of Yorke and al his confederates were attaynted of high treason, and their goodes and landes confiscate and forfeted: and to prohibite their landyng in all partes, hauen tounes were watched, and the sea costes, were garnished with Bekons. And sir Simon Mondford with a great crew, was appoynted to kepe the dounes, and the fiue Portes, and all menne passyng into Flaundres, were vpon payne of death, prohibited to passe by Calice, lest the lordes there

should

shoulde borow of them any money, as they did prest of the marchauntes of the staple. xviij. M. l. late before which was a great displeasure to the kyng, & a more corasey to the quene. The lordes lieg at Caleys, wer not ignorant of al these doynges and prouisiõs, but dayly were asserteyned what was done in the kynges priuie chambre, wherefore firste they sent a company to Sandwiche, which conquered the Toune, and apprehended syr Symon Mõtford, and brought hym with all his mates to the hauen of Calice, where incontinent, he with. xij. of his chief fellowes lost their heddes on the sandes before Rysebanke. After the kynges Nauye
x gayned, and his capitayns on the arriual of the sea taken and destroied, the lordes lyeng at Caleys, hoppyng in their frendes within the Realme determined to passe the sea, and to land in England. And after they had put the Castell and Towne of Calice, in sure and safe Custody to theyr onely vse, they passed the sea, and landed at Sandwich. And so passyng through Kent, there came to them the Lord Cobham, Jhon Guldeford, William Peche, Robert Horne, and many other Gentelmen, which conueyed them to the citie of London. But the fame of their landyng once knowen, gentelmen repayred, and yomẽ resorted out of all the Southe-
xx partes of the realme: vpon which rumor, Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour with the Kyng and Quene, accompanied with the Erle of Kendale, a Gascoyn, and the Lord Louel, resorted to London, with a great company of armed men: declaryng to the Mayre of the citye, that theyr repayre was onely to defend, and kepe thee citie from the spoyle & robbery of such traytors, as the kyng was credibly enformed woulde thether make accesse: to whome the Mayre aunswered, that he wel knew both his awn oth, and bounden duety toward his souereigne Lord and Prince, & neded neither of Prompter, nor yet of Coadiutor, either to defend or gouerne the citie, to him committed in charge. With which aunswere, the Lord Scales and his associates not a litle displeased, entered
xxx into the Towre of London, dayly with new inuentions, doyng displeasures and domages to the Citizens of the citie, whome they lore suspected rather to fauour then to hate, the erles of Marche, & Warwicke and other of their band and affinitie. Which Erles with a great army came shortely to London, and were of the Mayre and citizens ioyously receiued, to whome resorted the Archebyshop of Canterburie, the Bishops of London, Ely and Excester, with many Prelates and religious persons. These Lordes nothyng slackyng the purpose, that they came for, dayly consulted and assembled together in the house of the friers Franciscane within the citie. AND after long debatyng, and secret consul-
xl tacion hadde it was agreed, that they with their whole Puyssaunce should Marche forward, toward thee kynge: determining either by force or fayre meanes, to bring their purpose to a conclusion. When this counsaill was dissolued, the erles of March and Warwicke, Thomas Lord Fawcõbridg, Henry Lord Borchier, called erle of Ewe, w a great numbre of men, which came out of Kent, Esser, Surrey, and Sussex to

the nombre as some Writers affirme, of.xxv.M.person departed from London, toward the kyng, beyng at Couentre, then called the Quenes secret arboz, leuing behynd them, to kepe the Londoners in their fidelytie from reuertyng from their part, the erle of Salisbury, the lozd Cobham, and syz Jhon Wenlocke: which lozd Cobham, with certayn Aldermen of the citie, so kept the West side agaynst the Towze, and syz Jhon Wenlocke, with other so vigilantly watched the East Parte towarde sainct Katherynes, that no person either could issue oute, oz enter in, to ꝑ greate displeasure of the lozd Scales and his companye, whiche dayly shotte theiz ozdenaunce out, and had likewise great ozdenaunce shott at ꝛ them to the hurt and no pleasure of both partes. The kyng not ignozãt of all these doynges, assembled a great army, and accompanied with the duke of Somerset, which was lately come from Guysnes, and the duke of Buckyngham, and diuerse other great lozdes of his parte and facciõ came to the Coune of Nozthampton, where the Quene encouraged her fyendes, and pzomised greate rewardes to her helpers: foz the kyng studied nothyng but of peace, quiet and solitary lyfe. When the kinges host was assembled, and that the Quene perceiued that her powze was able to matche with the fozce of her aduersaries, she caused her army to issue out of the towne, and to passe the Riuer of Nene, and there in the newe ꝛꝛ Felde, betwene Harsyngton and Sandiffozd, the Capitaynes, strongely emparked them selfes, with high bankes and depe trenches. The erle of Marche beyng lusty, and in the flower of his cozagious youthe, lyenge betwene Towceter and Nozthampton, determined to set on the kynges army, without longer pzotractyng of tyme. And in the nighte season remoued his campe toward Nozthampton, and in marchyng fozward set his men in good ozdze of battaill, wherof the bawegarde was cõducted by the erle of Warwicke, which eyther by strengthe oz stealth maugze ꝑ lozd Beamond, which kept a strayt, goyng toward the kynges Campe, entered freshly, and began the battayle aboute .vij. of the clocke, the.ix. ꝛꝛꝛ daye of Julij. After whome followed the erle of Marche, with the bãner of his father. This fight continued in doubtfull iudgemente, tyll the houre of nyne, at whiche tyme the kynges army was pzofligat, and discomfited, and of thesame slayn, and dzowned in the ryuer, few lesse then x.M. talle Englishmẽ, & ꝑ kyng hym selfe left alone disconsolate, was taken and apprehended, as a man bozne, and pzedestinate to troble misery and calamitie. At this battyll were slayne, Humfrey Duke of Buckyngham, Jhon Talbot erle of Shewesbury, a valeaunt person, and not degeneratyng frõ his noble parent: Thomas lozd Egremond, Jhon vis-
cont Beaumond, and syz William Lucy, which made greate hast to co- ꝛꝛ
me to parte of the fight, and at his first apprzoche was stryken in the hed ẅ an axe. Diuers other gentelmẽ wer slain in this ciuile batail, whose names were not remembzed noz published, by any aucthoz that I haue redde. Beside these dead persons, many were taken przisoners, because thei left their hozses, & discẽded to fight on fote. The duke of Somerset

and

and other, which narowly escaped, fled with the Quene and prince Edward, into the Bishoprycke of Durhame, in whiche place they determined to congregate, and gather a new Army and power, and if no hoope were of recouerey, then they agreed to fly into Scotland: there to expect better lucke, and happiez chaunce, by foztunes fauour. The erles beyng victozious in this blody Battayll conueyed the kyng that night agayn to the toune of Northampton, and the next day with greate solempnitie and smal comfozt, they set fozward the king, & by easy iozneys brought him to Lodon the.xvi. day of July, where he was fayntly receiued, and
x feebly welcomed, and was lodged in the Bishops palace. After whose commyng to the citie, the Towze of London was deliuered to the Erle of Marche vpon a certayn composicion. But the Lozde Scales, suspectyng the sequele of the delyuery of thesame, toke a wherry priuily, entendyng to haue fled to the Quene. But he was espyed by diuerse watermē belongyng to the erle of Warwicke, whiche wayted foz his fozthecommyng on the Thamse, and sodaynly takē, and shoztly slayne with many dartes and daggers, and his body left al blody and naked at ỹ Gate of the Clyncke, whiche after was buried in the churche adioyning. Thē
xr were diuers persons appzehended, and endyted of treason, wherof some were pardoned, and some executed: but Thomas Thozpe, second Barō of therchequer, greate frende to the house of Lancaster, and extreme enemie to the Famylie of Yozke, was taken disguised in a Monkes apparell, with a shauen croune, & so brought to therle of Warwicke, whyche sent hym to the Towze of London, where he long remayned. Duryng this troble, was a Parliamēt sommoned to begyn at Westmynster, in ỹ moneth of October next folowing. Befoze which tyme, Richarde Duke of Yozke, beyng in Ireland, by swyft currers, & flieng Postes, was adxxrtised of the great victozy, gained by his parte, at the felde of Northhampton, and also knewe that the kynge was in case to be kepte, and
xxr ozdered at his pleasure and wil: wherfoze losyng no tyme, noz slugging one houre, he sayled frō Deuelyne to Chester with no small companye, and by longe iourneys, came to the Citie of London, which he entered the Fryday nexte befoze the feast of sainct Edward the confessoz, with a swoutd bozne naked befoze hime, and toke hys lodgynge in the kynges awne palayce wherupon the cōmō people babbeled, that he should be kyng, and that kyng Henry should no lōger reigne. During the time of this Parliament, the duke of Yozke, with a bolde countenaunce, entered into the chambze of the peres, and sat doune in the Trone royal vnder the clothe of estate (which is the kynges peculier seate) & in the pzesxl sēce aswel of ỹ nobilitie, as of ỹ spiritualty (after a pause made) said these wozdes in effect. My singulet good lozdes, and bety indifferent frendes, in whose powet & authozit cōsisteth ỹ peyse and the stay of this noble Realme of Englande, the whiche aswell befoze ỹ tyme, that Christe, our sauiour and redemer, toke vpon hym our fraile flesshe, and humain nature, as euer since, hath ben a Realme renoumed, a kingdom famous,

The duke of Yozks oratiō made to al ỹ lozdes of the Parliament.

,, famous, & a region (aswel amonge ste Paganes as Chzistians) greatly
,, bzuted, beloued and feared. I no lesse require, then frendely exhozte you
,, now, beyng together as louers of God and frendes to your countrey,
,, neither yet to iudge, oz once suspect, that I eyther enflamed with amby-
,, cio oz desirous of high rule, oz couetous of soueraignte, haue pzesumed
,, to entre vnder this trone, oz attemptes to set in this pzincely chayze and
,, seage Royall, except you heare the cause, and digest wel the truthe. Foz
,, without these two poyntes knowen, and vnderstanded your iudgemē-
,, tes may be voyde, and your cogitacions friuolous, Therfoze I declare
,, and publish to you, that here I sit, as in the place to me by very iustice &
,, lawfully belongyng, & here I rest, as he to whom this chayre of righte
,, appertaineth, not as he, which requireth of you fauoz, parcialitie, oz bea
,, ryng, but egall right, frendely indifferency, and trew administracion of
,, iustice: Foz I beyng ỹ patty greued, and complaynaunt, cannot mint-
,, ster to my self the Medecine, that should helpe me (as experte Leches &
,, Chyzurgians may) except you be to me both faithfull ayders, and also
,, trew counsaylozs. Noz yet this noble realme and our naturall countrey
,, shal neuer be vnbuckeled, from her quotidiā feuer, except I (as the pzin-
,, cipall Phisician & you, as trew and trusty Appotecaries) consulte toge-
,, ther, in makyng of the Potion, and tzye out the clene and pure stuffe, frō
,, the old, corrupt, and putrified Dzegges. Foz vndobtedly, the rote & bo-
,, some of this long festured cākar, is not yet extirpat, noz the feble foūda
,, cion of this fallible building, is not yet espyed, whiche hath bene, and is
,, the daily destruccion of the nobilitie, and the quotidian confusion of the
,, poze comminalty of this Realme and kyngdome. Foz all you knowe (oz
,, shoulde know) that the high and mighty Pzince kynge Richard the .ii.
,, was the trew and indubitate heyze, to the valeaunt Conquerour, and he
,, noumed pzince kynge Edward the .iij. as sonne and heyze to the hardie
,, knyght, and corragious capitayn, Edwarde pzince of Wales Duke of
,, Acquitayn and Cozne wall, eldest sonne to the sayd king Edward the iij
,, which kyng was not onely in dead, but also of all men, reputed and ta-
,, ken as the very true and infallible heyze to the wise & pollitique pzince,
,, kyng Henry the .iij. as sonne & heyze to kyng Edward the seconde, sonne
,, and heyze to kyng Edward the first, the very Heyze and firste begotten
,, soune of the said noble and vertuous Pzince, kyng Hēry the .iij. Which
,, kyng Richard, of that name the second, was lawfullye and iustly posses-
,, sed of the croune and diademe of this Realme and region tyl Henry of
,, Derby, duke of Lancaster and Herdfozd, sonne to Jhon duke of Lan-
,, caster, the fourth begotten sonne, to the sayd kynge Edward the .iii. and
,, yonger bzothe, to my noble aunceston Lyonel Duke of Clarence, the iii. el
,, begotten sonne of the sayd kyng Edward, by fozce and violence, cōtrary
,, both to the dutie of his allegiaunce, & also to hys homage to hym bothe
,, done and swozne, Rayled warre and battayle, at the Castell of Flynt in
,, Nozthwales, against the saied kyng Richard, and hym appzehended &
,, impzisoned within the Towze of Lōdō. Durying whose life & captiuitie

he

he wrongfully vsurped and entruded vpon the royall powet and high
estate of this Realme and region, takyng on hym ỹ name, stile, & autho
rite of kyng and gouernor of the same. And not therwith satisfied and
contented, compassed and accomplyshed, the death & destruccion of hys
naturall prince, and most worthy souereigne Lord, not as common ho
mycyde, and bocherly murdre, but as a regicide & destroyer of his king.
After whose piteous death, and execrable murder (alas my hatte pan
teth to remembre the abhominable facte) the right & title of the crowne,
and superiorite af this Realme was laufully reuerted and returned to,
Rogiet Mortimer erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Lady Philippe,
the onely child of the aboue rehersed Lyonel, duke of Clarẽce, to which
Rogiers daughter called Anne, my most derest and welbeloued mother,
I am the very trew and lineall heyre, whiche discent, all you cannot tu
tely agayn say, nor yet truly deny. Then remembre this, if the title be,
myne, why am I put from it: if I be trew heyre to the Croune (as I am,
in dede) why is my right witholden: if my clayme be good, why haue I,
not tustice: for surely learned men of great science and literature, saie &
affirme, that lyneall discente and vsurped possession, can nothyng pre
uayle if continuall clayme be lawfully made, or openly publyshed. For
auoydyng of whiich scruple and ambiguitte: Edmond erle of Marche,
my moste welbeloued vncle, in the tyme of the first vsurpar, in dede, but,
not by right, called kyng Hẽry the. iiij. by his cosyns, the erle of North
humberland, and ỹ lord Percy, he beyng then in captiuitie, with Owen,
Glendore, the rebell in Wales, made hys title, and righteous clayme, to,
the destruccion of both the noble persons. Likewise my most derest lord,
& father, so farre set furth that right and title that he loste his life, and,
worldely wele, at the toune of Southampton, more by powte then indif
ferent tustice. Syth whose death, I commyng to my full age, haue ne
uer desisted to pursew my title, and requyre my tyght, which by meanes,
of sinister counsaill, and intust detencion, I can neither obteyne nor re
couer. So that of fine force, I am compelled to vse power in stede of,
prayer, & force in stede of request (not as I sayde before) for my priuate,
emolument, and peculier profite, but to restore peace loue, and quietnes,
to this our naturall region: which euer sith the fyrst vngodlye vsurpa
cion of the forenamed Henry vntruly called kyng Henry the. iiij. hathe,
ben clerely banished, and out of thesame inustly exiled. What murders,
and manslaughters hath bene perpetrated, and committed within thys,
countrey, sithe the begynning of that vngracious vsurpacion: what,
numbre of noble men haue ben slayn, destroyed and executed, sithe that,
vnfortunate day: what manifest iniquitie hath ben openly borne, and,
maintened in euery countreye and citie, sithe the dolefull death of king,
Rychard: or what person darre sue for hys right at this dai, cõtrary to ỹ,
will of the counsailors, which now beare the swynge and rule the roste.
Well, well, although almighty God slackely & slowly do procede, to ỹ,
punishment of synners: yet the differryng of his scorge, is recompensed,

with

„ with the greater payne, when his rod striketh, yea, and oftentimes he rea-
„ ueth the very malefactors, apparauntly vnpunished, and scorgeth their
„ bloud, and punisheth thē in their heyres, by worldely aduersitie. Suche
„ is his mercy, when it pleaseth him to shewe it, and so sharpe is his whyp
„ when he list to strike. For although Henry of Lancashire, erle of Derby
„ tokt vpon hym the sceptre, and the croune, and wrongfully bare the na-
„ me and stile of a king, and was not much tickeled with myne Vncle, the
„ erle of March, at that tyme beyng within age: Yet was he neuer in su-
„ rrtie of hym self, nor had any, or enioyed any perfyt quietnes, either in
„ mind or in body: for surely a corrupt conscience feleth neuer rest, but lo-
„ keth when the sword of vengeaunce wil descend & strike. His sonne also
„ called king Henry the. v. obtayned notable victories, and immortall
„ prayses, for his noble actes, doen in the realme of Fraunce: yet God for
„ the offence of his vntrew parente, sodaynly touched hym, vnbodynge
„ his soule in the flower of his youthe, and in the glory of his conquest.
„ And although he had a fayre sonne, and a yong apparāt heyre: yet was
„ this Orphan such a one, as Preachers say, that God thretened to send,
„ for a punishment, to his vnruly and vngracious people: saiyng by hys
„ prophet Esay: I shall geue you children to be your princes, and enfan-
„ tes without wysedom, shall haue the gouernaunce of you. The Pro-
„ phet lyed not, if you note all thinges in an order: For after this Henry v.
„ v. (whose fame no mā can iustly reproue or deface) succeded his sonne
„ whome all we haue called our naturall prince, & obeyed, as his heyre: in
„ whose tyme, and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to cōsider,
„ with what great tormentes & afflictions God hath whypped & scorged
„ this miserable Isle, yea, with such and so many scourges and plagues,
„ as no nacion (the Egyptians onely excepte) were euer tormented, or af-
„ flicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murders and oppressiōs,
„ which of late hath ben done, and exercised here emong vs: but I wil de-
„ clare and manifest to you, how the croune and glorye of this Realme, is
„ by the negligence of this silly man, and his vnwise counsaill, minished,
„ defaced and dishonored. Is not Normandy, whiche his father gat, re-
„ gayned, and Conquered agayn, by the insolencye of hym, and his coue-
„ teous counsaill? Is not the whole duchy of Aquitayn by .u.C. and odd
„ yeres, peaceble possessed by the kynges of this Realme, in one yere and
„ a litle more gotten out of our handes and seigniorie? what should I
„ speake of Angeow and Maine or the losse of the Isle of Fraunce, & the
„ riche citie of Parys? Alas my hart sobbeth, myne eyes water, and my
„ toungue foltereth, eyther to speake or thynke of the losses and misfortu-
„ nes, that this our natiue cōtrey, hath of late susteyned. But as ỹ Pro-
„ phets saie: euell gotten gooddes, do not long continue, nor vsurped po-
„ wer, hath no prosperous successe. I will not molest you, with the reher-
„ syng of the calamitie, whiche fell emōgest the Israelites, when Athalia
„ slew all the bloud Royall, except litle Joas, and tirānously vsurped the
„ croune: nor trouble you with ỹ continual warre, which happened emonge

the

the Romaines, when Julius Cesar toke vpon hym, without lawe or au-
ctoritie, the name and stile of Emperor: but I put you in remembraūce
of our owne nacion, what mischiefe, strife and misery succeded in this
realme, by the iniurious vsurpaciōs, of Herrald sonne to Godwyn erle
of Kent, and Stephē of Bloys, erie of Bulleyn, the one beyng the cause
of the conquest of this realme, and the other the occasion of infinite tro-
bles, and domesticall discencion within thesame: yet all these vexations
and scourges, be but a shadowe or counterfeit light, in comparison of the
great calamities and miseries, which al we here present, haue seen and
x experimented. Yet in the middes of this afflicciō, and to make an end of
thesame, God of his ineffable goodnes, lookyng on this countrey, with
his yes of pitie, and aspect of mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore
again this decayed kyngdō, to his auncient fame & old renoume. Wh-
che here in open parliament, accordyng to my trust and true title, I haue
and do take possession, of this royall throne, not puttyng diffidence, but
firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine ayde, and the assistence of
you, the peeres of this Realme, I shall decore and maintein thesame, to
the glory of hym, honor of my bloud, and to the publique wealth, alwell
of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiectes, of
xx this kyngdom and regiment. When the duke had thus ended his ora-
cion, the lordes sat still lyke Images grauen in the wall, or dōme Gods,
neither whispering nor spekyng, as though their mouthes had been so-
wed vp. The duke perceiuing none aunswer, to be made to his declared
purpose, not well content with their sobre silence, and taciturnitie, aduī-
sed them well, to digest and pondre the effect of his oracion and saiyng,
and so neither fully displeased, nor all pleased, departed to his lodgyng
in the kynges place.

VVHILE he was thus declaryng his title, in the chābre of the pe-
res, there happened a straunge chaunce in the very same tyme, emongest
xxx the cōmons in the nether house, then there assembled: for a Croune whi-
che did hang in the middell of thesame, to garnische a branche, to set ligh-
tes vpon, without touche of any creature, or rigor of wynd, sodainly fell
doune, and at thesame tyme also, fell doune the Croune, whiche stode on
the top of the Castle of Douer: as a signe and prognosticacion, that the
Croune of the Realme should bee diuided and changed, from one line to
another. This was the iudgement of the cōmon people, whiche wer nei-
ther of Gods priuite, nor yet of his priuye counsail, and yet they wil say
their opinions, whosoeuer saye nay.

THE lordes of the realme, forgat not the dukes demaunde, nor long
xl protracted the tyme, to se some good ende, in so waightie a cause: where-
fore diuerse lordes, alwell spirituall as temporal, with many graue and
sage persones of the commonaltie, daily assembled at the Blacke Friers
and other places, to treate and common of this matter, beyng of no smal
importaunce. Duryng whiche tyme, the Duke of Yorke, although he
and the kyng, wer both lodged in the palace of Westminster, yet for no

prater or intercession, he would once visite or se the kyng, till some perfit conclusion wer taken, in this greate and wayghtie purpose: saiyng and affirmyng, that he was subiect to no man, but onely to God, and he was his lord and superior, and none other. ¶ will a litle space leue the lordes consultyng together, and speake of outward attemptes & foren doynges

THIS ciuill discension within the realme of Englande, did muche animate and incorage James the secõd of that name, kyng of Scottes to make warre on the Englishe nacion, partly for the displeasure which he conceiued, for the death of Edmond duke of Somerset, his mothers brother, and partly to shew hymself emõgest his people, to be bothe valiaunt and coragious. This kyng James from his firste rule, began to entre into suspicion with William Erle Douglas, a man both of great kynne and more power, euer mistrustyng, that he nothyng more desired, then to depriue hym from his aucthoritie, and to vsurpe the same. This cancard suspicion was so rooted in the kynges harte, that sodaynly it branched out in so muche that the Kyng sendyng for the Erle, (whiche trustyng on his awne innocencie, humbly came to his presence) caused hym shamefully to be slayn and murdered with whiche iniury, his twoo brethren, Archibald Erle of Murrey, and Hugh Erle of Ormount, not alitle pricked and incoraged, with the Erles of Angus and Morthone, beeyng all of one lyne and surname, made open warre on thesayed kyng James: but inconclusiõ he preuayled, and suppressed the great power of the Douglasses. And then thinkyng hymself a kyng without either peere or fere, assembled a greate army, and entered into the Marches of Northumberlande, and besieged the Castle of Roxborough, and there caused his newe Bombarde, lately cast in flaunders, called the Iron and diuerse other peces, to be shot against the Castle, wherof one beyng weake and slender, brake in peces, and with one of the fragmentes slewe the kyng, standyng emongest a greate company of his people, and wounded the erle of Angus. The Scottes not dismaied with the death of their kyng, seyng the Castle easy to be wonne, manfully assauted and with muche payn gat it, and thesame long defended, till Richard Duke of Gloucester it conquered and destroyed. This kyng James, of quene Mary his wyfe left three sonnes, James whiche succeded hym. Alexander duke of Albany, and Jhon. This youg kyng James was put vnder the tuicion of James Kenede, bishoppe of sainct Andrewes, whiche duryng his noneage, ruled the realme to the kynges greate honor, but more to his awne profite and peculier gaine: For he made sumpteous houses, and buylded Colleges, whiche his young pupill kyng James, neither could nor was hable to do.

Kyng James of Scotlande slayne with a pece of a gõne

ABOVTE this very season, and duryng this vnatural crõtrouersy within the Realme of Englande, Charles the Frenche kyng, whiche only by trouble and calamitie, gat to him a perpetuall name, and emongest his nacion aboue the sterres exalted, ended the poynt of his fatall fine whiche Prince in his youth, neuer regarded wanton pastyme, nor

lasciuious

lasciuious dailiaũce, for his wittes were set, and his industrie onely applied to recouer agayn his paternall patrimony, and Princely inheritaunce: So that more plainly then in a mirror, all menne maie perceyue that payn often profiteth, and labor commõly auaileth, but idelnesse syldome, and dalliaunce, neuer. To this Charles, succeded kyng Lewes, of that name the.xi. of whose dooynges you shall heare after: & shal both studie and maruell, for the straungenes of his demeanour, & the craftie pollecie of his secrete compasses. Now I wyll returne to the great counsaill of the lordes celebrated about Lõdõ, for the duke of Yorkes claime

The.xxxix yere.

After long argumentes made, & delibrate consultacion had emong the peeres, prelates, and commons of the realme: vpon the vigile of all sainctes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so muche as kyng Henry had been taken as kyng, by the space of.xxxviij. yeres and more that he should inioye the name and title of kyng, and haue possession of the realme, duryng his life naturall: And if he either died or resigned, or forfeyted thesame, for infringing any point of this concorde, then the sayed Croune and auctoritie royall, should immediatly bee diuoluted to the Duke of Yorke, if he then liued, or els to the next heire of his lyke or linage, and that the duke from thensefurth, should be Protector and Regent of the lande. Prouided alwaye, that yf the kyng did closely or apertly, studie or go aboute to breake or alter this agrement, or to compasse or ymagine the death or destruccion, of thesayede Duke or hys bloud, thẽ he to forfet the croune, and the duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed, and sworne by the twoo parties: but also wer enacted, in the high court of Parliament. For ioye whereof, the kynge hauyng in his company thesaied Duke. rode to the Cathedrall Churche of sainct Paule within thee citee of Lõdon, and there on the daye of all Sainctes, went solẽpnely with the diademe on his hed, in procession, and was lodged a good space after, in the bishoppes Palace, nere to thesaied Churche. And vpon the Saturdaye next insuyng Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sounde of a trumpet, solempnely proclaimed heare apparãt to the Croune of Englande, and Protector of the realme.

Artícles of agrement betwene kyng Henry the vi. and Richard duke of Yorke

AFTER this the parliamẽt kept at Couentre the last yere, was declared to be a deuilishe counsaill, and onely celebrate for the destrucciõ of the nobilitie, and no lawfull Parliament, because thei whiche wer returned, wer neuer elected, accordyng to the dew ordre of the lawe, but secretly named by theim, whiche desired more the destruccion, then the auauncement of the publique wealthe, and common profite. When these agrementes wer doen and enacted, the kyng dissolued his Parliament, whiche was the laste Parliamente that euer he ended. Suche was the

 pleasure

pleasure of almyghtie God, take kyng Henry beeyng a good and vertuous manne, whiche had tasted innumerable aduersities and calamities of the worlde, should be depryued of his terrestriall Croune to be recompensed with an heauenly garland, and a ioyfull place: For surely a perfite good man, although he be plagued with a thousande displeasures cannot be but blessed, and haue a good soule toward God.

THE Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Quene would spurne and impugne the conclusions agreed and taken in this parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the kyng: but she beyng a manly woman, vsing to rule and not to be ruled, & therto counsayled by the dukes of Excester and Somerset, not onely denied to come, but also assembled together a great army, intēding to take the kyng by fine force, out of the lordes handes, and to set theim to a new skoole. The Protector lyng in Londō, hauyng perfite knowledge of all these doynges: assigned the Duke of Norffolke and the Erle of Warwicke, his trustie frendes, to be about the kyng, and he with therles of Salisbury, and Rutlande: with a cōuenient company, departed out of London, the second daye of Decembre Northward, and sent to the Erle of Marche his eldest sonne to folowe hym with all his power. The Duke by small iorneis, came to his Castle of Sandall, beside Wakefelde, on Chrystmas eue, and there began to assemble his tenauntes and frendes. The quene beyng thereof asserteined, determined to couple with hym while his power was small and his ayde not come: And so hauyng in her company, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Somerset, the Erle of Deuonshire the Lorde Clifford, the Lorde Rosse, and in effecte all the Lordes of the Northe parte, with eightene thousande men, or as some write twentie and twoo thousande, marched from Yorke to Wakefelde, and bad base to the Duke euen before his Castle he hauyng with hym not fully fiue thousande persones, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and all though sir Dauy Halle, his old seruaunt and chief counsailer, auysed him to kepe hys Castle, and to defende thesame with his smal numbre, till his sonne the Erle of Marche wer come with his power of Marchemen and Welshe souldiours, yet he would not be counsailed, but in a great fury sated, a Dauy, Dauy, hast thou loued me so long, and now wouldest haue me dishonored: Thou neuer sawest me kepe fortres when I was Regent in Normandy, when the Dolphyn hymself, with his puissaunce came to beliege me, but lyke a man, and not like a birde included in a cage, I issued and fought with myne enemies, to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honor: If I haue not kepte my self within walles, for feare of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man liuyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapon is onely her toungue, and her nayles, should incarcerate my self, and shut my gates: then al men might of me woundre and all creatures maye of me report dishonor, that a woman hath made me a dastard, whō no man euer to this daye could yet proue a coward:

and

And surely my mind is rather to die with honor then to liue with shame for of honor commeth fame, and of dishonor riseth infamy. Their great numbre shall not appall my spirites, but incorage theim, for surely I thinke that I haue there, as many frendes as enemyes, whiche at ioyning, will either flye or take my part: therfore auaunce my banner, in the name of God and sainct George, for surely I will fight with thē though I should fight a lone. Therle of Salisbury and other his frendes, seing his corage, resolued thēselfes to his opinion, & ordered their men, and set them furth in warlike fashion, for their moste aduauntage. The Duke of Somerset and other of the quenes part, knowyng perfitly, that if the Duke gat the victory, their dayes wer minished, and their liuynges left bare, lyke men quickened and exalperate, for the safegard of their lifes, and defence of their goodes, determined to abide the chaunce, and to espie their moste aduauntage, and so appointed the lorde Clifford, to lye in the one stale, and the Erle of Wilshire in the other, and thei theimselfes kept the mayne battaill. The duke of Yorke with his people discended doune the hill in good ordre and array & was suffered to passe forewarde, toward the mayne battaill: but when he was in the plain ground betwene his Castle and the toune of Wakefelde, he was enuironed on euery side, like a fish in a net, or a deere in a buckestall: so that he manfully fightyng was within halfe an houre slayn and ded, and his whole army discomfited, & with him died of his trusty frendes, his two bastard vncles, sir Jhon, & sir Hugh Mortimers, sir Dauy Halle his chief cōsaylor, sir Hugh Hastynges, sir Thomas Neuel, William and Thomas Apparre, bothe brethren, and twoo thousande and eight hundred other, wherof many wer young gentelmen, and heires of greate parentage in the Southe parte, whose linages reuenged their deathes, within foure Monethes, next and immediatly insuyng. In this conflicte was wounded and taken prisoner, Richarde erle of Salisbury, sir Richard Lymbrike, Raufe Stanley, Jhō Harow, Capitain Hauson, and diuerse other. While this battaill was in fighting, a prieste called sir Robbert Aspall, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland. ij. sonne to the aboue named duke of Yorke, scace of the age of. xii. yeres, a faire gētelmā and a maydēlike person, perceiuyng that fight was more sauegard, then tarying, bothe for hym and his master, secretly conueyd therle out of the felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towne, but or he coulde entre into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed, and taken, and by reson of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yong gentelman dismayed, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees imploryng mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holding vp his handes and making dolorous countinance, for his speache was gone for feare. Saue him sayde his Chappelein, for he is a princes sonne, and peraduenture may do you good hereafter. With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde: by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so will I do the and all thy kyn, and with that woord, stacke the erle to the hart with

The battayll at Wakefelde

The duke of Yorke slayn.

with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & bro-
ther wo3de what he had done, and sayde. In this acte the lo3d Clyffo3d
was accompted a ty3aunt and no gentelman, fo3 the p3opertie of the
Lyon, which is a furious and an vnreasonable beaste, is to be cruell to
them that withstande hym, and gentle to such as p3ostrate o3 humiliate
them selfes befo3e hym. Yet this cruel Cliffo3de, a deadly bloudsupper
not content with this homicyde, o3 chyldkylling, came to the place wher
the dead co3ps of the duke of Yo3ke lay, and caused his head to be stry-
ken of, and set on it a croune of paper, & so fixed it on a pole, & p3esented
it to the Quene, not lieng farre from the felde, in great despite, and much
derision, saiyng: Madame, your warre is done, here is your kynges ran-
sone, at whiche p3esent, was muche ioy, and great reioysing, but many
laughed then, that so3e lamented after, as the Quene her self and her son-
ne! And many were glad then of other mens death, not knowyng that
their awne were nere at hande, as the lo3d Clyffo3d, and other.
But surely, mans nature is so frayle, that thinges passed be sone fo3-
gotten, and mischiefes to come, be not fo3sene. After this victory by the
Quene and her parte obteyned, she caused the erle of Salisbury, with
all the other p3ysoners, to bee sente to Pomfret, and there to bee behed-
ded, and sent all their heddes, and the dukes head of Yo3ke to be set
vpon poles, ouer the gate of the citie of Yo3ke, in despite of theim, and
their Image: whose chyldren shortly reuenged their fathers querell, both
to the Quenes extreme perdition, & the vtter vndoynge of her husband
and sonne. This ende had the valeaunt lo3de, Rychard Plantagenet,
duke of Yo3ke, and thys fyne ensued of his to much hardines. The erle
of Marche so commonly called, but after the death of his father, in dede
and in tyght very duke of Yo3ke, lyeng at Glocester, heryng of the
death of his noble father, and louyng brother, and trusty frendes, was
wonderfully amased, but after cõfo3t giuẽ to him, by his faithful louers
and assured alyes, he remoued to Shrewsbury, and other townes vpon
the ryuer of Seuerne, declaring to them the murder of his father, the
ieopardye of him selfe, and the vnstable state and ruyne of the Realme.
The people on the Marches of Wales, which aboue measure fauored
lynage of the lo3de Mo3timer, mo3e gladly offred him their ayde & assi-
stence, then he it either instantly requyred, o3 hartely desired, soo that he
had a puyssant army, to the number of .xxiii. M. redy to go agaynst the
quene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was settyng fo3-
ward, newes were bro3ught to him, that Jaspar erle of Penbroke, halfe
brother to kyng Hẽry, and James butler, erle of Ormond & Wylshyre
had assembled together, a great number, both of Welshe and Irysh peo
ple, sodaynly to surprise and take him and his frendes, and as a captiue
to conuey him to the quene. The duke of Yo3ke, called erle of Marche,
somwhat spurred and quyckened with these noueltyes, retired backe, &
met with hys enemyes in a fayre playne, nere to Mo3timers crosse, not
farre from Herfo3d east, on Candelmas day in the mo3nyg, at whiche

tyme

time the sunne (as some write) appered to the erle of March, like. iij. sunnes, and sodainly joyned all together in one, and that vpō the sight therof, he toke suche courage, that he fiercely set on his enemie, & thē shortly discōfited: for which cause, men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnes for his cognisaunce or badge. Of his enemyes were lefte dead on the ground. iij. M. & viii. C: The erles of Penbroke and Wilshyre fled, and syr Owen Tewther, father to thesayd erle of Penbroke, which Owen had maried kyng Henries mother (as you haue heard before) with Dauyd floyde, Morgan ap reuther, & diuers other were takē and behedded at the citie of Herford. During this season, the quene was greatly encouraged with the victory, obteined late at Wakefeld, partly because the duke of Yorke, her vtter enemy was tyd out of the worlde, & partly because she perceyued, the lordes of the North countrey to adhere and cleue to her parte and facciō: wherfore with a great multitude of Northrē people, she marched toward London, of whose approche the Londoners were nothing glad: for some affirmed, that she brought that rusty company, to spoyle and robbe the citie: other saide, that she would be reuenged, of suche as fauored the duke of Yorke. So the pore cittzēs hāgyng betwene the water and the fyre, were much amased, but the magistrates and gouernors caused great watches to be kept and good order to be obserued. The Quene, still came forwarde with her Northren people entendyng to subuerte and defaict all conclusions and agrementes, enacted and assented to, in the last Parliamēt. And so after her long torney, she came to the town of sainct Albōs: wherof the duke of Northfolke, the erle of Warwycke, and other, whō the duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence, beyng aduertised, by the assent of ỹ kyng, gathered together a great hoste, and set forward towarde saincte Albons, hauyng the kyng in their company, as the head and chefetayn of the warre, and so not myndyng to differre the tyme any farther, vpon shrouetuesday early in the mornyng, set vpon their enemyes. Fortune that day so fauored the Quene, that her parte preuayled, & the duke and the erle were discomfited, and fled: leauing the king accompained with the lord Bonuile, and syr Thomas Kyrell of Kent, whiche vpon assurance of his promise taried still and fled not, but their trust, them deceyued. For after the victorie obteyned, and the kynge broughte to the Quene, they two were deteyned as prysoners, and so continued till the kynges departing from that towne. In this battaill were slayn. xxiij. C. men, and not aboue, of whome no noble man is remēbred, saue syr Jhon Gray, which thesame day was made knight, with. xii. other, at the village of Colney. Happy was the Quene in her two battayls, but vnfortunate was the king in al his enterprises, for wher his persō was presente, ther victory fled euer from him to the other parte, & he cōmōly was subdued & vanquished. Whē quene Margaret had thus well sped, first she caused the kyng, to doubbe prince Edward his sonne, knyght, with. xxx. other persons, which in the morning fought on the quenes side, against

his parte. After she sent to the Mayre of London, commaundinge him without delay, to send certain Cartes, laded with lenten victayle, for ỹ refreashing of her and her army. The Mayre, incontinent made prouisiõ, laded cartes, and sent them toward the quene. But the moueable cõmõs, which fauored not ỹ quenes part, stopped ỹ cartes at Crepulgate and boldely sayde, that their enemies, which came to spoyle & robbe the citizens, should neither be releued, nor victayled by them. And not withstanding gentell aduertisement to them gyuen, of the mischefes, whych might ensue of their doynges: yet they remayned still in one obstinate mynd and wilful will, not permittinge the cariages, to passe or go forward. During which cõtrouersie, diuers of the Northen horsemẽ, came and robbed in the suburbes of the citie, and would haue entered at Crepulgate, but thei by the commoners wer repulsed, and beten backe, and iii. of them slayn wherupon the Mayre sent the recorder to the kynges counsaill to Barnet, to excuse the matter, and the duches of Bedford, & the lady Scales, with diuers sad fathers of the spiritualtie, went to the quene to mollifie her rancore, and asswage her melãcolie, whiche she had conceiued against the citie. At this humble request, the quene and her counsail appointed certayn lordes and knyghtes, with .iiii.C. tall persons, to ryde to the citie, and ther to bewe, & se the demeanoure and disposicion of the people: & diuers Aldermen wer appointed to mete them at Barnet, and to conuey them to London. But what soeuer man purposeth, God disposeth: for all these deuises were shortly trãsmuted into another forme, because trew report was brought, not onely to the citie but also to the quene, that the erle of Marche had vanquesshed the erles of Penbroke and Wilshyre, and that the erle of Warwycke, on whome rested the chefe trust of that faction, after the last conflict, had at sauncte Albons, had mete with the sayd erle of Marche at Chippyng Norton by Cottesold, and that they with both their powers were comynge toward London. These trew tales turned the quenes purpose, & altered all her long deuised ententes, in so muche that she litle trustinge Essex, and lesse Kent, but London least of all, with her husband and sonne, departed from sainct Albons, into the Northcountrey, where the roote, & foundacion of her ayde and refuge, onely consisted. But at the daye of her departyng, she caused the heddes of the lord Bonuile, and syr Thomas Kyriel, to be cut of, in the presence of her sonne, contrary to ỹ mynd and promise of her husbãd, but emõgest men of warre, faith or othe, syldome is perfourmed.

THE duches of Yorke, seyng her husband and sonne slayne, and not knowyng what should succede of her eldest sonnes chaunce, sent her .ii. yonger sonnes, George & Richard, ouer the sea, to the citie of Vtrechte in Almayn: where they were of Philippe, duke of Bourgoyne, wel receyued and fested, and so there thei remayned, till their brother Edwarde had obteyned the Realme, and gotte the regiment. During which time diuers merchantes mistrusting the mutacion of the world, fled out of ỹ realme,

Realme, emõgest whom, one Philippe Malpas, a man of greate riches, sayling into Flaunders, was taken by Jhon Columme, a French man and payed.iiij.M. markes for his raunsone. The erles of Marche and Warwycke hauyng perfite knowledge, that the kyng and quene with their adherentes, were departed from sainct Albons, determined first to ryde to London, as the chefe key, and common spectacle to the whole Realme, thinkyng there to assure them selfs of the East and West parte of the kingdome, as kyng Henry and his faction nesteled and strẽgthed him and his alyes, in the Nozth regions and boreall plage: meanynge
x to haue a buckelar agaynst a swourd, and a southerne byl, to cõtenaple a Nozthren bastard. And so these two great lozdes, resoluinge them selfs vpon this purpose, accompained with a great numbet of men of warre, entred the citie of London, in the first weke of Lent. What should I declare how the Kentishmen resozted: how the people of Essex swarmed, & how the counties adioynyng to Londõ, dayly repaired to se, ayd, & comfozt, this lusty pzince and flower of chiualry, as he in whome the hope, of their ioy, and the trust of their quietnes onely then consisted. Thys wise and pzudent noble man, perceiuing the mooste patte of the Realme, to be to him frendly and adherent, mynding to take tyme when tyme serxx ued, called a great counsayll, both of lozdes spirituall and tempozall, & to them repeted the title, and right that he had to the Realme, & dignitie royall: rehersing the articles of the agrement, not onely concluded betwene kyng Henry, & his noble father, Richard duke of Yozke, by theyz writinges signed and sealed: but also cozrobzated, and cõfirmed by aucthozitie of the high court of Parliament: the bzeaches whereof, he neythet fozgat, noz omitted vndeclared. After the lozdes had considered, & weyghed his title and declaracion, they determined by aucthozitie of the sayd counsayl, foz as much as kyng Henry contrary to his othe, honoz and agrement, had violated and infringed, the ozder taken and enacted xxx in the last Parliament, and also because he was insufficient to rule the Realme, and mutile to the common wealth, and publique pzofite of the poze people, he was therfoze by the fozesayd aucthozitie, depziued and deiected of all kyngly honoz, and regall souereigntie. And incontinent, Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyze to Rychard duke of Yozke, was by the lozdes in thesayed counsayll assembled, named elected, & admitted, foz kyng and gouernour of the realme: on which day, the people of the erles parte, beyng in their muster in sainct Jhons felde, & a great number of the substanciall citezens there assembled, to behold their ozxl der: sodaynly the lozd Fawcõbzidge, which toke the musters, wylely declated to the multitude, the offences and bzeaches of the late agremente done and perpzetrated by kyng Hẽry the.vi. and demaunded of the people, whether they woulde haue the sayd kyng Henry to rule and reigne any lenger ouer them: To whome they, with a whole voyce, aunswered nay, nay. Then he asked thẽ, yf they would serue, loue, and obey the erle of March as their earthly pzince and souereign lozd. To which questiõ

they aunſwered,yea,yea,crieng, kyng Edward,with many great ſhowtes and clappyng of handes.The lozdes were ſhoztly aduertiſed of the louyng conſent,which the commons franckely and frely of their fre will had geuen,wherupon incontinent,they all with a conuenient number of the moſt ſubſtanciall commons,repaired to Baynardes caſtel,makyng iuſt and trew repozt to the erle of their election and admiſſion, and the louyng aſſent of the faithfull commons. The erle after long pauſynge, firſt thanked God of his great grace and benefite, then to him declared and ſhewed, and the lozdes and commons alſo, foz their harty fauour, and aſſured fidelitie,and notwithſtandyng that like a wyſe pzince,he alledged his inſufficiencie foz ſo greate a roome and weyghty burden, as lacke of knowledge,want of experience & diuers other qualities,to a gouernour apperteyninge: yet in concluſion he beynge perſwaded by the Archebiſhop of Cãterbury,the biſhop of Exceſter and other lozdes,then beyng pzeſent,graunted to their petition,and toke vpon him the charge and vpon the next day,beyng the.iiii.day of Marche, he as kyng, rode to the church of ſainct Paule,and there offered.And after Te deum ſong, with great ſolempnitie, he was conueyed to Weſtmynſter, and there ſet in the hawle,with the ſcepter royall in his hand,where,to all the people which there in great number were aſſembled,his title and clayme to the croune of England, was declared by.ii.maner of wayes: the firſte, as ſonne and heyze to duke Richard his father,right enheritoz to theſame: the ſecond, by aucthozitie of Parliament and fozfeyture commited by kyng Henry.Wherupõ it was agayne demaunded of the commons, yf they would admitte,and take the ſayd erle, as their pzince & ſouereigne lozd,which al with one voyce cryed yea,yea,Which agremẽt cõcluded,

Kyng Edward the iiii. proclaymed king of Englande.

He entered into Weſtminſter church vnder a canapy, with ſolẽpne pzoceſſion,and there as kyng offered,and after the homages taken of al the nobles there pzeſent,he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the biſhops palace: Dayly makyng pzouiſion to go Northwarde agaynſt his aduerſe faccion and open enemyes,and on the mozow he was pzoclaymed kyng,by the name of kyng Edward the.iiii.thozoughout ỹ citie While theſe thinges were in doyng in the Southpart,kyng Henry beyng in the Nozth countrey,thinking becauſe he had ſlayn the duke of Yozke the cheſe Capitayn of the contrary lynage, that he had bzought all thyng to purpoſe and concluſion as he would, aſſembled a great army, truſting with lytle payne and ſmall loſſe, to deſtroy the reſidew of his enemyes,whome he eſtemed to be of no fozce,oz of a ſmall validitie. But he was ſoze deceyued:foz out of the dead ſtocke,ſpzang a ſtronge & mightie bzaunche, which by no meanes could either be bzoken, oz made ſere:which was this kyng Edward the.iiii.whiche was ſo beloued and fauoured of the people,that no man was ſpokẽ of,no perſon was remẽbzed,but only he:foz he was ſo much eſtemed, bothe of the nobilitie and commonaltie,foz his liberalitie, clemencie, integritie, and cozage, that aboue all other,he was extolled and pzayſed to the very heauẽ. By reaſon

son whereof men of al ages & of all degrees to him daily repayred, some offeryng theym selfes and their men to reopard their lifes with him, and other plenteously gaue hym money, to support hys chatges and maynetayne his warre. By reason wherof, he assembled together a puyssant army, to thentent to gyue to his enemyes a fierce and sharpe battayle, & so in one day to obteyn his purpose and make an ende of all hys troble. When his army was redy, and all thinges prepared, he departed out of London the.xii. day of Marche, & by easy tourneys came to the castell of Pomfret, wher the rested, appointyng the lorde Fitzwater, to kepe the
x passage at Ferybridge, with a great number of talle personages, Let no man thinke or yet imagine, that either the counsayll of kynge Henry, or his vigilant quene, either neglected or forgat to know or searche what their enemyes did, but that they prepared to their power al the men, that they either could perswade or allure to their purpose to take their part. And thus thinking them selfes furnished, committed the gouernaūce of the armye to the duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberlād, and the lord Clyfford, as men desiring to reuēge the death of their parētes slayn at the first battayle of sainct Albons. These noble capitaynes, leauyng kyng Henry, his wyfe, and sonne, for their most sauegard in the citie of
xx Yorke, passed the ryuer of Wharfe, with all their power, entendynge to prohibite kyng Edward to passe ouer the tyuer of Ayree, and for the more expedicion and exployt of their purpose (after many comparaisons made betwene the erle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, bothe beynge in lusty yought, and of francke corage) the lord Clifforde determined with his light horsemen, to make an assaye to suche as kepte the passage of Ferybridge, and so departed from the great army, on the Saturday before Palmsondaye, and early or his enemyes were ware, gat the bridge, and slew the kepers of thesame and al such as woulde withstand him. The lord Fitzwater hearyng the noyse, sodaynly rose out of
xxx his bed, & vnarmed, with a pollax in his hande, thinking that it had byn a fray emōgest his men, came doune to appeace thesame, but or he either began his tale, or knew what the matter meant, he was slayne, and with him the bastard of Salisbury, brother to the erle of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong gentelman, and of great audicitie. When the erle of Warwycke was enformed of this feate, he lyke a man desperate, mounted on his Hackeney, and came blowyng to kyng Edward saiyng: syr I praye God haue mercy of their soules, whiche in the beginning of your enterprise hath lost their lyfes, and because I se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeaunce and punishment to God our creator and redemer,
xl and with that lighted doune, and slewe his horse with hys swourde, saiyng: let him flye that wyl, for surely I wil tary with him that wil tary with me, and kissed the crosse of his swourde.

THE lusty kyng Edward, perceiuing the courage of his trusty frēd the erle of Warwycke, made proclamacion that all men, whiche were afrayde to fighte, shoulde incontinent departe, and to all men that tar-

ried

ried the battell, he promised great rewardes with this addicion, that yf any souldiour, which voluntarily would abide, and in ordre before the conflict flye, or turne his backe, that then he that could kyll hym, should haue a great remuneracio and double wages. After thys proclamacio ended the lord Fawconbridge, syr Water Blont, Robert Horne with the forward, passed the ryuer at Caltelford.iij. myles from Ferebridge, entending to haue enuironed and enclosed the lord Clyfford and his copany, but they beyng therof aduertised, departed in great haste toward kyng Henries army, but they mete with some that they loked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the lord Clyfforde, eyther for heat or payne, putting of his gorget sodainly with an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde, was striken into the throte, and in continent rendered hys spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother, and all his company almost were there slayn, at a place called Dintingdale, not farr fro Towton. This ende had he, which slew the yong erle of Rutland, kneling on his knees: whose yong sone Thomas Clifford was brought vp with a shepperd, in poore habite, & dissimuled behauior euer in feare, to publish his lignage or degre, till kyng Henry the.vii. obteyned the croune, and gat the diademe: by whome he was restored to his name and possessions. When this conflict was ended at Ferebridge, the lord Fawcō- bridge, hauyng the forward, because the duke of Northfolk was fallen sicke, valeātly vpon Palmsunday in the twylight, set furth his army, and came to Saxton, where he might apparantly perceyue the hoste of his aduersaries, which were accompted.xl.M. men, and therof aduertised kyng Edward, whose whole army, they that knew it, and payed the wages, affirme to.xlviii.M.vii.C.& ix. persos, which incōtinēt with the erle of Warwycke set forward, leuyng the rereward vnder the gouernāce of syr Jhon Wenlocke, and syr Jhon Dynhā and other. And fyrst of all he made proclamacio, that no prisoner should be take, nor one enemye saued. So thesame day about.ix. of the clocke, which was the.xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palmsundaye, bothe the hostes approched in a playn felde, betwene Towton and Saxtō. When eche parte perceyued other, they made a great shoute, and at thesame instante time, their fell a small snyt or snow, which by vyolence of the wynd was dryuen into the faces of them, which were of kyng Hēries parte, so that their sight was somwhat blemeshed and minished. The lord Fawnconbridge, whiche led the forward of kyng Edwardes battail (as before is rehersed) being a man of great polycie, and of muche experience in marciall feates, caused euery archer vnder his standard, to shot one flight (which before he caused them to prouyde) and then made them to stād still. The Northrē mē, feling the shoot, but by reason of the snow, not wel bewyng p̄ distaūce betwene thē and their enemies, like hardy men shot their scheke arrowes as fast as they might, but al their shot was lost, & their labor vayn for thei came not nere the Southernmē, by.xl. taylors yerdes. Whē their shot was almost spent, the lord Fawconbridge marched forwarde with his

The conflict at Ferebridge

The conflict at Saxtō vpō Palmsunday

his archers, which not onely shot their awne whole sheues, but also gathered the arrowes of their enemies, and let a great parte of theim flye agaynst their awne masters, & a nother part thei let stand on the ground which sore noyed the legges of the owners, when the batayle ioyned. The erle of Northumberlād, and Andrew Trolope, which were chiefetayns of kyng Hēries bawgard, seynge their shot not to preuayle, hasted forward to ioyne with their enemies you may beleue the other part nothing retarded, but valeauntly fought with their enemyes. This battayl was sore foughtē, for hope of life was set on side on euery parte and takynge of prisoners was protlaymed as a great offence, by reason wherof eury man determined, either to conquere or to dye in the felde. This deadly battayle and bloudy conflicte, continued.x. houres in doubtful victorie. The one parte some tyme flowyng, and sometime ebbyng, but in conclusiō, kyng Edward so corragiously comforted his mē, refreshyng the wery, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and ouercome, and lyke men amased, fledde toward Tadcaster bridge to saue thē selfes: but in the meane way there is a litle broke called Cocke, not very broade, but of a greate depenes, in the whiche, what for hast of escapyng, and what for feare of folowers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirme, that men alyue passed the ryuer vpon dead carcasis, and that the greate ryuer of Wharfe, which is that great sewer of the broke, & of all the water coming frō Towton, was colored with bloude. The chace continued all night, and the most parte of the next day, & euer the Northren men, when they saw or perceyued any aduantage, returned agayn and fought with their enemyes, to the great losse of both partes. For in this.iii. dayes were slayn (as they that knewe it wrote) on both partes xxvi.M.vii.C.lx.and.xvi.persons, all Englishmen and of one nacion, wherof the chefe were the erles of Northumberland, and Westmerland and the lord Dakers the lord Welles, syr Jhon Neuel, Andrew trolop, Robert Horne, and many other knyghtes and Esquyers, and the erle of Deuonshyre taken prysoner, but the dukes of Somerset and Excester fled from the felde and saued them selfes. This conflict was in maner vnnaturali, for in it the sonne fought agaynst the father, the brother agaynst the brother, the nephew against the vncle, and the tenaūt agaynst his lord, which slaughter did not onely sore debilitate and much weken the puyssance of this realme, consideryng that these dedde men, whē thei were liuyng had force ynough to resist the greatest princes power of all Europe: But also gaue a courage to outward enemyes and foren potētates, to inuade and make warre in this realme, which thinge was not vnlikely to haue ensued, if either Lewes the French kynge had bene at this tyme quiet in his realme, or James kynge of Scottes had bene of age and master of him selfe, yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest were opened, yet it was shut agayn, or it was espied.

A great slaughter of Englishmen.

After this great victorie, kyng Edward rode to Yorke, where he was

with all

with all solempnitie receyued : and first he caused the heddes of his fa-
ther the erle of Salisbury, and other his frendes to be taken from the
gates, and to be buried with their bodyes. And there he caused the erle
of Deuonshyre and.iii.other to be beheded, and set their heddes in the
same place. After that he sent out men on light horses, to espye in what
parte kyng Henry lurked, which hearinge of the irrecuperable losse of
his frendes, departed incontinent with his wyfe and sonne, to the towne
of Barwycke, and leauynge the duke of Somerset there, came to the
kynges courte of Scotland, requiring of hym and his counsayll, ayde
succor, relief & cõfort. The yong kyng hauyng compassiõ on the misera-
ble fate and great mischaunce of this sorowfull man, not onely cõforted
him with fayre woordes and frendly promyses, but also assigned to him
a competent pencion to lyue on, duryng the tyme of hys abode within
the realme of Scotland. Kyng Henry considering the great humanitie,
shewed to hym by the Scottish kyng, in whome onely now consisted the
whole hope and especiall trust of his ayde and succor, thought to bynd
and oblige the sayd kyng with some great benefite to hys parte, and for
that cause, deliuered to hym the toune of Barwycke vpon twede: which
towne the Scottes many yeres had desired, but yet thei neither by force
nor fayre promyses, could obteyne their desire or purpose before that ti-
me, Some writers affirme, that he not voluntarily, but coacted by ne-
cessitie, rendered thesame towne, or els he could not be permitted once to
enter, or haue any succor in the realme of Scotlande. But whatsoeuer
the cause was: after kyng James had taken possession of the towne, he
frendly entertayned and faithfully supported the parte and faccion of
kyng Henry, and concluded a mariage betwene his syster and the yong
prince of Wales, whiche mariage, Philippe duke of Burgoyne, enemy
to quene Margaretes father, labored much to infringe and interrupte:
but by the consent of both the frẽdes, the mattimony was agreed, but it
was neuer solempnised, as after you shall heare. When kynge Henry
was somwhat setteled in the realme of Scotlande, he sent his wyfe and
hys sonne into Fraunce, to kynge Rene her father, trusting by his ayde
and succor, to assemble a greate army, and once agayne to possesse hys
Realme and dignitie, and he in the meane season determined to make
hys abode in Scotland, to se and espye, what way his frendes in Eng-
lande woulde study or inuent, for his restitucion and aduauncement.
But whether it were his destinye or his folye, he so imprudẽtly demea-
ned hym selfe, that within shorte space, he came into the handes of hys
mortal enemyes. Quene Margaret thus beyng in Fraũce did obteyn &
impetrate of the yong Frenche kynge, that all fautors and louers of
her husbande and the Lancastreall band, might safely and surely haue
resorte into any parte of the realme of Fraunce, prohibiting all other of
the contray faccion, any accesse or repayre into that countrey.

Kyng Henry the vi. deliue-red the towne of Barwicke into the han-des of James kyng of Scot lande.

THVS you haue hearde the variable chaunce and tragedicall
hystory of kynge Henry the sixte, whiche had reigned ouer this realme.

eight and thirthie yeres and odde monethes, whiche the tenthe yere after hys depoſicion, was agayne erected to hys throne and eſtate royall, as after ſhalbe declared. Nowe leuynge kynge Henry with the princes of his faccion conſultynge to gether in Scotlande, and Quene Margarete hys wyfe gatherynge men together in Fraunce, I wyll returne to the actes of kyng Edwarde.

FINIS.

¶ The ende of the trobelous ſeaſon of kynge Henry the.vi.

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Finis

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of Kyng Edward the fourth.



ROsperous foztune and glozious vi= The first pese
ctozy, happely lucceding to this yong Pzince and couragious Capitayn, in the mortall battaill fought at Towton, (as you haue heard) he beyng incozaged and set vp, partly becaule he had obteined so great a conquest, and partely, because he perceiued, that aswell the nobles as the commõs of the Realme, began to dzawe to hym, and to take his part, after the fashion and maner of a triumphaunt conquerox, and victozious champion, with great pompe returned to London. Where (accozding to the old custome of the realme) he called a great assemble of persons of all degrees: and the .xxix daie of June, was at Westminster with all solempnitie crouned and anoynted kynge, and called kynge Edwarde the .iiii. after Willyam the Conquerox, which was in the yere of Chzistes incarnaciõ. M.iiii. C.lxi.

xx IN the whiche yere, he called his high Court of Parliament, where-with the estate of the Realme was wholy set in good ozdze, and specially such thynges as apperteined to the cõmon wealth, which were to muche neglected and decaied. Duryng the tyme of the ciuill and intestine war, he caused all statutes and ozdinaunces made by kyng Henry the syxte, (whiche either touched his title oz his profite) to bee adnihilate and frustrate. In the whiche Parliament, the Erle of Oxford farre stricken in age, and the Lozd Awbzey Ucer, his sonne and heire, whether it were foz malice of their enemies, oz thei were suspected, oz had offended the kyng, they bothe and diuerse of their counsailozs, were attainted & put to execucion, whiche caused Jhon erle of Oxford, euer after to rebell. And af-xxx terward he created his twoo younger bzethzen Dukes, that is to saye: Lozde George, Duke of Clarence, lozde Richard, Duke of Glouceste, and lozde Jhon Neuell, brother to Rychard Erle of Warwicke, he first made Lozde Mountacute, and afterwardes created hym Marques Mountacute. Beside this, Henry Burchier, brother to Thomas Archebyshop of Cantozbury was created Erle of Esser, and Willyam Lozde Fawconbzige, was made Erle of Kent. To this Lozde Henry Burchier beyng a noble man in marciall actes, hyghly appzoued and renoumed, Richard Duke of Yozke, long befoze this tyme, had geuen his suster Elizabeth in mariage: Hauyng a firme hope, and sure confydence, that xl he and his generacion, should be a perpetuall ayde to the Duke and his sequele, aswell in pzosperitie as aduersitie, associate together in al chances of foztune, which trust he did not defraude. as afterward appered to

Kyng Edward the fourth, sonne to the said duke Rychard, which for his assured fidelitie, made hym Erle of Essex: to thende that bothe he the father, and his sone, should euer be to hym, bothe an aide and a bulwarke. This Erle Henry, begat of lady Elizabeth his wife, foure sonnes William, Thomas, Jhon, and Henry, and one daughter named Isabel, whiche liued but a small season. In the whiche sonnes, in compassyng and bryngyng great thynges to passe, there lacked no industrie, nor prouydence: in graues and waighte affaires, there wanted neither labor nor diligence: in all iooperdies, they were hardy, strong, and corragious: and finally, in forseyng of thinges, they neither lacked policie, nor were destitute of counsaill. But in lorde Willyam, the eldest sonne of Henry, all these vertues were surely planted and ingrauen: which William espoused lady Anne Woodwile, descended of an high paretage, whose mother Jaquet was daughter to Peter of Luxenborough, erle of sainct Paule by whom he had Lorde Henry, afterward Erle of Essex, and Cicile, and Isabel, whiche died vnmaried: Cicile was maried, to Water lorde Ferreis of Chartley. But now to returne to the purpose.

¶ The second yere.

The. ij. yere.

When al these chaūces, thus luckely happened to kyng Edward, and all thinges in maner were framed, as he would haue them: Henry duke of Somerset, Sir Raufe Percie, and diuerse other, beyng in dispayre, and out of hope of all good chaunce, that might happen to kyng Henry the sixt, came humbly and submitted theimselfes, whom he gently interteined, and louingly receiued. Of whiche deede, the duke shortly repented hym and so did some of the other.

ALL this season was kyng Henry the. vi. in Scotlande, whiche to haue the more aide and comfort of the Scottysh kyng, he deliuered vnto hym the toune of Barwicke, (as you before haue heard) whiche had bene continually, in the possession of Englishmen, from the tyme of kyng Edward the firste, whiche, with hardy corage, manfull assautes, slaughter of many thousandes of Scottes, valiauntly conquered the same. This same season also, quene Margarete beyng in Fraunce, by the meanes of her father and frendes, found suche frendship at the Frenche kynges handes, that she obteined a crewe of fiue hundred Frenchemen, whiche was but a small numbre, for her purpose, and yet a greater number then her husbande or she, were able to interteine in wages, of their awne coffers. She thus beyng accompanied, with these bostyng Frenchemen, of whom sir Piers Bracy, a Bryton knight was Capitain, a man more fierce in the house, then in the fielde, and yet more fierce in flyyng from the feld to the house, then hardy to set forward from the house to the feld, set vp her sailes, and with a prosperous wind, arriued in Scotlande. If she and her company, were welcome to her husband and sonne, I report me to suche as languish, and would haue succor, and to suche as lacke aide,

and

and would be conforted. The Quene and her company, thought to doo some greate enterpryse, (as the nature of the Frenchemen is, to bee more busy then bold) sayled with her gallant band, toward Newe Castle, and landed at Tynmouthe. But whether she were a frated of her awne shadow, or that the Frenchemen cast to many doubtes, the truthe is, that the whole army returned to their shippes, and a tẽpest rose so sodainly, that if she had not taken a small Caruell, and that with good spede, arryued safe at Barwicke, she had neither vexed kyng Edwarde after, as she dyd with a newe inuasion, nor yet she had not lyued all her old age, in mysery wretchednes, and calamitie, as she did, leasyng bothe her husbande, her sonne, her Realme, and her honour. And although fortune was so fauorable to her, yet her company were with stormy blastes, driuen on the shore before Bamborough castle, where they set their shippes on fire, and cowardly fled to an Iland, called holy Iland, where they were so assailed by the bastard Ogle, an Esquire called Jhon Manners, with other of king Edwardes retinue, that many of them were slain, and almost.iiii C. taken prisoners, and put to raunsome. But the capitain Bracy more coward then coragious, happened by chaunce of a fisharman, & so came to Barwicke, to Quene Margaret his mastres: whether she gaue hym thankes or no, I doubte, but sure I am he none deserued, yet she made hym capitain of Alnewike Castle, which he with his fresh men kepte tyll they were relcowed. This chaunce litle amased the Quene, nor in any thyng abated her haute corage. For incontinently she obteined a greate company of Scottes, and other of her frendes, and so bryngyng her husband with her, and leauing her sõne called pryncc Edward, in the toun of Barwicke, entered Northumberlande, and toke the castle of Bamborough, and stuffed it with Scottes, and made therof capitain syr Raufe Gray, and came forward towarde the Byshoprike of Durham. When the Duke of Somerset hearde these newes, he without delaye refused kyng Edward, and rode in poste to his kynsman, kyng Henry the syxte: verefiyng the old prouerbe: kynne wil crepe, where it may not go: Refusyng the surety of his estate, whiche kyng Edward did promise hym, for the vncertayn gaine whiche he hoped to get, by supporting kyng Henry. With hym fled also sir Raufe Perce, and many other of the kynges frẽdes, but many mo folowed hym, for couetcousnes of spoyle and rapyne: in so muche that the puissaunce of kyng Henry, was thought to bee of as muche force, as the strength and army, of his enemy kyng Edward. The which army was iudged to be the greater, because he spoiled, & burned tounes, & destroied fieldes, whersoeuer he came. Kyng Edward (as you could not blame hym) was with these dooynges nothyng content, wherfore lyke a wyse prince, intendyng to stop the gut of kyng Henries power, or it made any farther issue: Prepared al municions, conuenient for the warre, rigged and appareled, a great naue of shippes, of whiche some were vitailed at Lyn, and some at Hull, and they were furnished with souldiors. When his army by the sea, was thus warlykely set forward,

Quene Margarete & her company arriueth at Tinmouth.

ward: he sent the lorde Montacute, (whom bothe for his hardinesse and sage conduyte in marciall affaires; he muche trusted and beleued) into Northumberlande, there to raise the people, to withstande his enemies. And after this, he in his royall persone, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his Realme, not without a great and puyssaunt armye, marched toward his enemies, and came to the cytie of Yorke, sendyng a great quantitie of his faythfull subiectes, to the ayde of the lorde Montacute, least paraduenture he geuyng to muche confidence, to the men of the Bysshoprike and Northumberlande, might by theim be deceiued and surprysed. The Lorde Montacute, forgat not ther office of a good Capitain; nor beyng well furnyshed with suche as he knewe would neither flie backewarde, nor stande stylll lookyng, and not fyghtyng, thought no leger to tract the tyme, but with a baliant corage, marched forward toward his enemies, and in his iorney, he was incountered, with the lorde, Hungerford, the lorde Roos, sir Raufe Percy, and diuerse other, at a place called Hegely Moze. Where sodaynly thesaied lordes, in maner without stroke strikyng, fled, and onely sir Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully slayn, with diuerse other, saiyng, when he was dyng: I haue saued the birde in my bosome: meanyng that he had kept, both his promise and othe, to kyng Henry the. vi: Forgettyng yt that he in kyng Henries moste necessitie, abandoned him, and submitted hym to kyng Edward, (as you before haue heard.) The lord Mõtacute seyng fortune thus prosperously leadyng his sayle, was auaunced with hardy corage toward his enemies, & then in passyng forward, he had by his espialles perfite intelligence, that kyng Henry with all his power, was incamped in a faire plain called Lyuels, on the water of Dowyll in Exham shire. It was no neede to byd hym hast hast, as he that thought not to lese the occasiõ, to him so manifestly geuen, and to leaue the good porte of fortune, to hym opened and vnclosed: and therfore, in good ordre of battail, he manfully set on his enemies, in their awne campe, which yt like desperate persones, withe no small corage receiued hym. There was a sore fought feld, and no partie by a long tract, could get any aduauntage of the other, till at the last, the lord Montacute, cryng on his men to do valiauntly, entered by playn force, the battaill of his enemies, and brake their array, whiche like men amased fled hether and thether, desperate of all succor. In whiche flight and chase, were taken, Henry duke of Somerset, whiche before was reconciled to kyng Edwarde, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Wolyns, the Lord Hungerford, Sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Huse, sir Jhon Fynderne, & many other. Kyng Henry was this day, the beste horseman of his company: for he fled so faste yt that no man could ouertake hym, and yet he was so nere persued, that certain of his henxmen or folowers were taken, their horses beyng trapped in blew veluet: whereof one of thẽ had on his hed, thesaid kyng Henries healmet. Some say his high cap of estate, called abococked, garnished with twoo riche Crounes, whiche was presented to kyng Edward, at

The battaile at Lyuels, on the Water of Dowil in Exham shyre.

at Yorke the fourth daie of May. The Duke of Somerset, was incontinently, for his great mutabilitie and lyghtnes, behedded at Exam, the other lordes and knightes, were had to new Castle, and there after a litle respite, were likewise put in execuciō. Beside these persons, diuerse other to the numbre of. xx b. were executed at Yorke, and in other places: wherby other fautors of kyng Henries partie, should be out of all trust of all victory, consyderyng that their capitaines, had hopped hedles. Frō this battaill escaped kyng Henry the. vi. sir Humfrey Neuell, Williā Taylbois, callyng hymselfe erle of Kent, syr Raufe Grey, and Richard Tunstall, and diuerse other, whiche beyng in feare of takyng, hyd themselfes and lurked in dēnes and holes secretly. Thei were not so closly hid, but they were espied: for the erle of Kent was taken in a close place in Riddesdale, and brought to new Castle, and therewith an axe lost his lyfe, Sir Humfrey Neuell, after long lurking in a Caue, was taken in Holdernes, and at Yorke beheaded. Thus euery man almoste that escaped, was after taken and scorged: so that it should seme that God had ordeined, all suche persones as rebelled against kyng Edward, to haue in cōclusion, death for their reward and guardone.

AFTER this battaill called Exham field, kyng Edward came to the citie of Dureme, to the intent to bee more neret to his enemies, if they would make any farther attempte: and sent from thence into Northumberlande, the erle of Warwicke, the lorde Montacute, the lordes, Fawconbrige and Scrope, and diuerse other, to recouer suche Castles and fortresses, as his enemies there held, and with force defended. These lordes first besieged the Castle of Alnewike, which sir Piers Bracy and the Frenchemen, by force and strong hande kept, and in no wise would yeld, sendyng for ayde of the Scottes, wherupon syr George Douglas, erle of Angus, with. xiii. M. men well chosen, in the daie tyme rescowed the Frenchemen out of the Castle, the Englyshemen lookyng on, whiche thought it muche better to haue the castle, without losse of their mē, then to tele bothe the castle and their men, consideryng the great power of the Scottes, and their final numbre: and so thei entered the castle and manned it, and after thesaied lordes, besieged the castle of Dunstanborogh, and by force toke it, and Jhon Goys seruaunt to the duke of Somerset capitain of thesaid castle, was taken and brought to Yorke: where, with a hatchet he receiued his reward. These Lordes also tooke by force, the strong castle of Bainborough, and in it sir Raufe Gray, whiche was before sworne to kyng Edward, for the whiche periurie to bothe the princes, he was disgraded of the high ordre of knighthode at Dancastre, by cuttyng of his gylt spurres, rētyng his cote of armes, and breakyng his sword ouer his hed: and finally, there his body was shorted, by the legth of his hed, and had no more harme, thus was he rewarded for his doble deceipt and manifest periurie.

The disgradyng of a knight.

AFTER this victory, kyng Edwarde returned to Yorke, where, in despite of therle of Northumberlande, whiche then lurked, in the realme

of Scotland, he created syr Jhon Neuell, lord Montacute, erle of Northumberland, & in reprose of Jaspar erle of Penbroke, he created William lord Herbert, erle of thesame place: but after when by mediacion of frendes, the erle of Northumberland, was reconciled to his fauor, he restored hym fully to his possessiõs, name and dignitie: and not intending therby, to diminisshe the honor of his frend, he preferred sir Jhon Neuel, to the stile of Marques Montacute, and so by that meanes, he was in estate and degre higher, then the erle of Warwike his elder brother, but in power, polecie, and possessions, farre baser and lower.

¶ The third yere.

The. iii. yere.

Although that kyng Edward might now thynke, all thynges to be in a good case, & hymselfe also to be of puyssaunce sufficiẽt against all his enemies, (for ỹ he had obteined so great a victory): yet did he prouide with all diligence, that neyther kynge Henry, nor quene Margaret his wyfe, should by any meanes remain in Englande: least the sight with the perswasions of them, and especially with olde frendes & alies, might alter and change the mindes, & also win the hartes of the mutable cõmonaltie. Wherfore he edified bulwarkes, and buylded fortresses on euery syde & parte of his realme, where might be any place propice and mete, for an armie to arriue or take lande. Beside this, he wrote to all them in the South partes of his realme, that in no wise they should receiue the said quene, nor in any thyng should help or minister to her: and if any did presume or attempt, priuatly or openly to infringe his will and commaundemẽt, the offendors should be taken as his aduersaries, & punished as his vtter enemies. And on that parte that marched vpon Scotlande, he laied watches and espialles, that no persone should go out of the realme, to kyng Henry and his company: whiche then laye soiornyng in Scotlande. But what so euer ieoperdy or peryll might bee construed or demed, to haue insued by the meanes of kyng Henry: all suche doubtes, were now shortly resolued and determined, and all feare of his doynges, were clerely put vnder and extinct. For he hymselfe, whether he were past all feare, or was not well stablished in his perfite mynde, or could not long kepe hymself secrete, in a disguysed apparell, boldely entered into Englande. He was no soner entered, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlowe, and brought towarde the kyng, whom the erle of Warwicke met on the waie, by the kynges commaundement, and brought hym through London, to the Toure, and there he was laied in sure holde. Quene Margarete his wyfe, hearyng of the captiuitie of her husbande, mistrustyng the chaunce of her sonne, all desolate and comfortles, departed out of Scotlande, and sayled into Fraunce, where she remained with Duke Reyner her father, til she toke her infortunate iorney into Englande agayn: where she lost bothe husband and sonne, and also al her wealth, honor, and worldly felicitie. The newe Duke of Somerset and his brother Jhon, sailed into Flaunders,

Kyng Henry the vi. taken, & committed to the Toure of London.

where

where they also liued in greate misery.til duke Charles, because he was of their kyn,and discended of the house of Lancastre by his mother,succored them with a small pencion, whiche to them was a greate comfort. Therle of Penbroke went from countrey to coũtrey not alwaies at his hartes ease.nor in securitie of life,or suretie of liuing. Such an vnstable and blind goddes is fortune:for whē he that sitteth highest on the whele falleth to the ground,al that be vnderneth fal also,and can neither haue aide nor helpe of her,nor yet of theimselfes.

AFTER the takyng of kyng Henry the.vi.and the departyng of his
x wife,this realme was in more quietnes & tranquilitie, because that men of the contrary part and faccion,durst not once attẽpt nor yet moue,any newe tumulte or conspiracie,consyderyng that bothe the hed was fallen, and the chief membres fled and vanquished. Wherfore kyng Edward, beyng clerely out of doubt of all hostilitie and danger, set all his mynd the whole foure yeres folowyng, for bothe amending thinges preiudiciall to the common wealthe, and also for stablishyng of thynges, mete and necessary,for the people of his Realme and dominion. And firste of all,folowyng the old auncient adage which saith, that the husbandman ought first to tast of the new growē frute:he distributed the possessions,
xi of suche as toke parte with kyng Henry the. vi. to his souldiors and capitaines,whiche he thought had well deserued it. And beside,he lefte no poynt of liberalitie vnshewed, by the whiche he might allure to hym, the benecuolence and louyng hartes of his people:and in especiall to his nobilitie,he gaue bothe large and precious giftes and rewardes. And because that he would gladly haue ỹ loue of all men,aswel noble as ignoble,aswell of ryche as of poore, he shewed hymselfe more familiar, bothe with the nobilitie and the commonaltie,then(as some mẽ thought) was conuenient,either for his estate, or for his honour:whiche gentilnes and frendly familiaritie,he euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme,in part
xxx he reformed,and in part he newly augmented. The coyne both of golde and of syluer, whiche yet at this date is curraunt, he newly deuised and diuided:for the gold he named royals and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes. After this,he caused open Proclamacion to be diuulged, that all persones whiche were adherent to his aduersaries part,& would leaue their armure, & submit thẽselfes wholy to his grace and mercy should bee clerely remitted,pardoned,and relessed: and they that obstinatly would so refuse,should haue such paines, as by the law, to suche transgressors,was assigned and appoynted. What profite this gentle interteinyng of his people brought hym to: What good will and
xl fixed hartes of the people, he obteined by this kynd and frendly handelyng,all mẽ may with their yes manifestly perceiue. For only by the fauor and ayde of the people,euer after in all his warres, he was a victor and a conqueror:so that all enterprises afterward against hym attempted,had either euillsuccesse,or were sone rebelled, as afterward you shall perceiue. When he had brought his Realme into this estate, he surely

King Edward the fourth deuised ỹ names of ỹ Coynes.

thynkyng,and no lesse trustyng,but that he was set in the sure stall, sta-
ble throne,and vnmoueable chaire,of the croune of his realme and kyn-
gdom,was not only desirous of hymselfe,being a prince of haut corage,
young,lusty,,and sanguyne of complexion, to haue a wyfe,but was also
daily sollicited, required, and mocioned of the peres and nobilitie of the
Realme, to ioyne with suche a make, as should bee bothe to his honoure
and contentacion,and also for the securitie & establishment, of the royall
succession,and continuaunce of his progeny, in his newe possessed coun-
trey,and late recouered kingdom. Wherupon, like a wise and a circum-
specte Prince, very desirous of a Quene, but more thirstyng for suche a
make, by the aide of whose parentes, alies and confederates, He beyng
ioyned with theim in perfite affinitie,might lytle or nothyng doubte the
attemptes of his aduersarie kyng Henry,nor yet the malice of his secret
frendes and priuy fautors.This matter(as it was of great waight and
importance)hangyng long in consultacion:Emongest other it was mo-
ued,to send to James the.iiii.kyng of Scottes, for the obtenyng of the
faire lady Margaret his suster,to thintent,that on that syde,kyng Hen-
ry his aduersary,should be destitute of all aide,refuge, succor, and com-
fort:but whether it were for a priuie sickenes,or an open impediment,to
hym and his counsaill declared, or by them spied, this mocion vanished
and toke no farther effect.Then(as many men haue saied, & few or none
haue written)it was farther consulted, that the lady Elizabeth, suster &
heire apparant,to Done Henry kyng of Castle,(whiche afterward was
his heire in deede,and maried to Done Fernãdo,kyng of Arragon) was
a mariage for hym moste conuenient, and not so conuenient, as profita-
ble bothe to hym and his realme, and theim that should lineally succede
hym, consydering that if he might obtein the kyngdom of Castle, of the
whiche his greate graund mother, was one of the indubitate heires, as
daughter to Done Peter,late kyng of Castle,(by the valiaunt knyght,
Edward prince of Wales,restored to his seignyory, realme & kyngdom)
then were he in case,not only hable to defend hymselfe,and his realme of
Englande, against all forein enemies, and vtter inuasions, but also he
should be of puyssance sufficient to inuade,and likely to recouer the du-
chy of Guyen,yea,and whole Acquitain,beyng his awne true and lawe-
full inheritance, with the ayde onely of the Caltilians, puttyng the En-
glischemen to litle trauaill,& lesse charge. This mocion thus set forward
semed highly to redounde,bothe to the honor of the kyng, and the hygh
auauncement of the state of the realme:Considering first,the high pare-
tage of the woman,and secondly, the indubitate expectacion of thinhe-
ritaunce,of the realmes of Castel and Lion.And this mariage agreed vp-
pon,(whiche semeth more likely to be entreated of, then cõcluded as the
tale tellers sate). The erle of Warwicke was sent into Spayn, well in-
structed,and no lesse accompanied, for the cõclusion of thesaid mariage.
But who so will diligently consider, and in egall balaunce ponder, the
youth and appetite of kyng Edward, and the tender age and minorite

of

of this noble damosell: may euidently perceyue, that it was neither decent noz conuenient, foz hym noz his Realme, to expect and tary the maturitie and ful age of this noble pzinces, noz that he beyng a pzince, well cherished, of lustie courage, and apte to generacion, would oz could liue sole and vnmaried without a wyfe, till she were of age, mete & conuenient foz his bed. Foz it appereth on her goodly sepulture, in the cytie of Granado (where she is buried) and also diuerse famous and notable Historiographers, bothe of Spain and other regions, wzite and affirme, that she changed this transitozy lyfe, in the yere of our lozde. M.D.vi. being
x L. yeres of age, one moneth onely lackyng. By whiche repozt she should be bozne in the yere of our lozde M.iii.C.lvi. And when therle of Warwycke was sent foz the mariage of kyng Edwarde, in the beginning of the third yere of his reigne, the yere of our lozd. M.cccc.lxii. so that then she was syxe and not fully. vii. yeres, at whiche tyme kyng Edward had fully accõplyshed. xxiii. yeres and moze. The treatie of whiche mariage although it be not vnpossible, yet foz the causes afozesaid, it seemeth not a litle vnlikely. But admit that this mariage was moued, as it peraduenture might be, and that the erle of Warwycke sayled into Spain, (as he did not in deede) of likelihode his legacion was frustrate, & came to none
xx effect: but sure it is that thesame yere, he came to king Lewes the.xi. then beyng French kyng, lyng at Tours, and with great honour was there receiued, and honozably interteined: of whõ, foz kyng Edward his master, he demaunded to haue in mariage the lady Bona, daughter to Lewes duke of Sauoy, and suster to the lady Carlot, then French Quene, beyng then in the Frenche court. This mariage semeth pollitiquely deuised, and of an high imaginacion to be inuented, if you will well consider, the state and condicion of kyng Edwardes affayzes, which at this tyme, had kyng Henry the.vi. in safe custody, in the strong toure of London, and the moste parte of his adherentes, he had as he thought, either
xxx pzofligated oz extinct, Quene Margarete onely except, and Pzince Edward her sonne, whiche were then soioznyng at Angiers, with old Duke Reiner of Aniow her father, wzityng hymselfe kyng of Naples, Sicile, and Jerusalem, hauing as muche pzofites of the letters of his glozious stile, as rentes and reuenues out of thesaid large and riche realmes and dominions, (because the kyng of Arragon toke the pzofytes of thesame, and would make no accõpt therof to duke Reiner). Kyng Edward therfoze thought it necessary, to haue affinitie in Fraunce, and especially by the Quenes suster: whiche Quene, although she ruled not the kyng her husband, (as many women do) yet he of a certain especial humilitie, was
xl moze cõtent to haue her fauoz & folowe her desire, (foz wedded men often tymes doubt stozmes) rather then to haue a lowzyng countenaunce, and a ringing peale, whẽ he should go to his rest and quietnes: trusting that by this mariage, Quene Margarete (whom thesame Quene Carlot litle oz nothyng regarded, although her father was called a kyng and she a quene, & none of both hauing subiectes, pzofites, noz dominions) should

The treatye of a mariage for kyng Edward the. iiij.

haue

haue no aide, succour, nor any comforte of the Frenche kyng, nor of none of his frendes nor alies, wherefore Carlot muche desirous to aduaunce her bloud and progenie, and especially to so great a prince as kyng Edward was, obteyned bothe the good will of the kyng her husbande, and also of her syster, so that the matrymony on that syde was clerely assented to, and the erle of Dampmartine appointed with other, to sayle into

The mariage concluded for kig Edward the fourth.

England, for the clerely finishyng of thesame. After these thynges thus concluded the erle of Warwycke was dimissed and highly rewarded, & for the great and noble courage that was in hym, he obteyned suche fauour of the kyng, the Quene & the nobles of Fraunce, that when he fledde out of England, he was there honourably receiued, frendly maynteined, and lounglyly succored, as you shall perceyue hereafter.

BVT now consider the old prouerbe to be true that saieth: that mariage is destinie. For during the time that the erle of Warwicke was thus in Fraunce, concludyng a mariage for kyng Edward: The kyng beyng on huntyng in the forest of Wychwod beside Stonystratforde, came for his recreacion to the mannor of Grafton, where the duches of Bedford soiorned, then wyfe to syr Rychard Woodvile, lord Ryuers, on whō then was attending a daughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Greye, wydow of syr Jhon Grey knight, slayn at the last battaill of sainct Albons, by the power of kyng Edward. This wydow hauing a suyt to the kyng, either to be restored by hym to some thyng taken from her, or requyryng hym of pitie, to haue some augmentacion to her liuyng, founde suche grace in the kynges eyes, that he not only fauoured her suyte, but muche more phantasied her person, for she was a woman more of formal countenaunce, then of excellent beautie, but yet of suche beautie & fauor, that with her sober demeanure, louely lokyng, and femynyne smylyng, (neither to wanton nor to humble) beside her toungue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to rauisshe the mynde of a meane person, when she allured, & made subiect to her, the hart of so great a kyng.

Kig Edward falleth in loue with the duches of Bedfordes daughter, & after marieth her.

After that kyng Edward had well considered all the linyamentes of her body, and the wise and womanly demeanure that he saw in her, he determined first to attēpt, if he might prouoke her to be his souereigne lady, promisyng her many gyftes and fayre rewardes, affirming farther, that if she would therunto condiscend, she might so fortune of his paramour and concubyne, to be chaunged to his wyfe & lawfull bedfelow: whiche demaunde she so wysely, and with so couert speache aunswered and repugned, affyrmyng that as she was for his honour farre vnable to bee hys spouse and bedfelowe: So for her awne poore honestie, she was to good to be either his concubyne, or souereigne lady: that where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was nowe set all on a hote burnyng fyre, what for the confidence that he had in her perfyte constancy, and the trust that he had in her constant chastitie, & without any farther deliberacion, he determined with hym selfe clerely to marye with her, after that, askyng counsaill of them, whiche he knewe neither

would noȝ once durſt impugne his concluded purpoſe.

BVT the duches of Yoȝke hys mother letted it as muche as in het lay alledgyng a pȝecontract made by hym with the lady Lucye, and diuers other lettes: all which doubtes were reſoluꝺ, & all thynges made clere & all cauillacions auoyded. And ſo, pȝiuilie in a moȝnyng he maried her at Graſton, where he firſt phantaſied her vilage.

¶ The. xiij. yere.

AND in the next yere after, ſhe was with greate ſolempnitie crou- The. xiij. yere.
x ned quene at Weſtmunſter. Her father alſo was created erle Ry- uers, and made high Conſtable of Englande: Her bȝother loȝde Anthony, was maried to the ſole heire of Thomas loȝd Scales, & by her he was loȝd Scales. Syȝ Thomas Grey, ſonne to ſyȝ Jhon Grey, the quenes firſt huſband, was created Marques Doȝſet, and maried to Ci- cilie, heire to the loȝde Bonuyle. Albeit this mariage, at the firſt appa- raunce was very pleſaunt to the kyng, but moȝe ioyous to the quene & pȝofitable to her bloud, whiche were ſo highly exalted, yea, & ſo ſodaynly pȝomoted, that all the nobilitie moȝe maruayled then allowed this ſo- dayne ryſyng and ſwift eleuacion: Yet who ſo will marke the ſequele of this ſtoȝy, ſhall manifeſtly perceyue, what murther, what miſerie, & what
xx troble enſued by reaſon of this mariage: foȝ it can not be denied, but toȝ this mariage kyng Edward was expulſed the Realme, & duſt not abide, And foȝ this mariage was therle of Warwycke & his bȝother miſerble Incommodi- ties & ſpȝang of kyng Ed- wardes mar- riage.
ſlain. By this mariage were king Edwardes. ii. ſonnes declared baſtar- des, & in cõcluſion pȝiued of their lifes. And finally by this mariage, the quenes bloud was cõfounded, and vtterly in maner deſtroyed. So that men did afterward diuyne, that either God was not contented, noȝ yet pleaſed with this matrimony, oȝ els that he puniſhed kyng Edward in his poſteritie, foȝ the diepe diſſymulyng and couert clokynge, with hys faithfull frende the erle of Warwicke. But ſuch cõiectures foȝ the moſt
xxx part, be rather moȝe of mens phãtalies, then of diuine reuelacion. Whẽ this mariage was once blowen abȝode, foȝren kynges and pȝynces mar- uayled and muſyd at it: noble men deteſted and diſdained it: the commõ people grudged and murmured at it, and al with one voice ſayde, that hys vnaduiſed wowyng, haſty louyng, and to ſpedy mariage were ney- ther meete foȝ hym beyng a kyng, noȝ conſonant to the honoȝ of ſo hygh an eſtate. The Frenche kyng and his quene were not a littell diſcontent (as I can not blame them) to haue their ſiſter, firſt demaunded and then graunted, and in concluſion reiected, and apparantly mocked, without any cauſe reaſonable. Wherfoȝe ſhoȝtly to appeſe her doloȝ, they maried
xl her to Jhon Galẽce, duke of Millayn, where ſhe liued in great felicitie. But when the Erle of Warwicke had perfit knowlege by the letters of his truſty frendes, that kyng Edward had gotten hym a new wyfe, & that all that he had done with kyng Lewes in his Ambaſſade foȝ the cõ- ioynyng of this new affinitie, was both fruſtrate & vayne, he was earne-

ſtly

ſtly moued and ſore chafed with the chaunce, and thought it neceſſarye that kyng Edward ſhould be depoſed from his croune and total dignitie, as an inconſtant prince, not worthy of ſuche a kyngly office. All men for the mooſt part agre, that this mariage was the onely cauſe, why the erle of Warwycke bare grudge, and made warre on kynge Edwarde. Other affirme that there were other cauſes, which added to this, made ꝑ fyre to flamme, which before was but a litle ſmoke. For after that kyng Edward had obteyned his kyngdome (as it was then thoughte) by the onely helpe and meane of the erle of Warwicke, he began to ſuſpect yea, and to doubt hym, fearing leaſt he being in ſuch aucthoritie and eſtimacion of the people, as he well might worke hym pleaſure or diſpleaſure, when he therunto were minded, wherfore he thought it cõuenient a litle and a litle to plucke awaye and myniſhe the power and aucthoritie, whiche he and his predeceſſors had gyuen to the erle, to thentent that he then might do at his pleaſure, bothe at home and in outward parties, without feare or dread, without checke or taunt, whatſoeuer to his awne minde ſemed moſt cõuenient. By this a man may ſe that often it chanceth, that frendes for one good turne will not render another, nor yet remember a great gratuitie and benefite in time of neceſſitie, to thẽ ſhewed and exhibited: But for kyndnes they ſhew vnkyndnes, & for great benefites receyued, with great diſpleaſure they do recompenſe. Of this the erle of Warwycke was nothyng ignorant, which although he loked for better thankes & more ample benefites at kyng Edwardes handes: yet he thought it beſt to diſſimule the matter. tyll ſuch a tyme were come, as he might find the king without ſtrength, and then to vnbraide him with the pleaſure that he had done for hym. And farther it erreth not from the truthe that kyng Edward did attempt a thyng once in the Erles houſe whiche was muche againſt the erles honeſtie (whether he woulde haue deflowred his daughter or his nece, the certaintie was not for both their honors openly knowen) for ſurely ſuch a thyng was attempted by kyng Edward, whiche loued well bothe to loke and to fele fayre dammoſels. But whether the injury that the erle thought he had taken at kyng Edwardes handes, or the diſdayne of aucthoritie that the Erle had vnder the kyng, was the cauſe of diſſolucion of their amitie and league, truthe it is that the priuie intencions in their hartes brake into ſo many ſmall peces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, coulde neuer ioyne them agayn, duryng their naturall lyfes.

The diſpleaſure betwene king Edward the. iiij. and ꝑ erle of Warwycke.

THE erle of Warwycke beyng thus moued, inflãmed, and ſet againſt the kyng, leſt in his fury, his purpoſe might be eſpied and broughte to nought, determined hym ſelf, couertly diſſymulynge, ſo long to ſuffer all ſuch wronges & iniuries, as were to hym done, till he might ſpye a tyme conuenient, & a world after his awn appetite, for the ſetting furth of his enterpriſe, and accompliſhing of his purpoſe: wherupon he ſayled into England, and with reuerence ſaluted the kyng as he was wont to do, & declared his Ambaſſade and therploye of theſame, without any ſpot of

grudge

grudge to be perceyued, as though he were ignorant of the new matrimony. And when he had taryed in the courte a certayn space, more for to shewe that he was thesame person, and of thesame good mynde towarde the kynge, as he was before the tyme of hys legacion, then for any great affeccion that he bare, either to the kyng or the quene, he obteyned licence of the kyng, to depart to hys Castel of Warwycke, both for hys health and recreacion, whither with great honour he was accõpanied with diuers of the kynges familier seruitors, as thoughe none inward grudge or couert dissimulacion had ben hydden betwene theim, xx where he remayned tyll all hys priuie imaginacions were made open, and all hys enterprises were ready to be set forwarde. Duryng whiche tyme, the quene was deliuered of a ponge and fayre lady, named Elyzabeth, whiche afterward was wyfe to the noble prince kynge Henry the vii. and mother to kyng Henry the. viii.

The. v yere.



When kyng Edward had reigned thys, full the terme of. v. yeares, not all in pleasure, nor yet so indispleasure, but eyther by policie or frendshippe, he euer was superior, & had the vpper hande of hys enemyes: He dayly studied and intentyuely applied his whole mynd with al labor and dili- The. v. yere
xx gence to obtayne the loue, fauor and amitie of outward princes & forein potentates. First to haue a Rowlad for an Olyuer, for the French kyng whome he knew not to be hys frendes, by reason of the refusall of hys quenes syster, he procured an amitie with Henry, kynge of Castell, and Jhon kyng of Arragon. At the concludyng of whiche amitie he graun- Kynge Edward licenced a certeyne number of shepe to be transported into Spayne.
ted lycence and libertie for certayn cottesolde shepe to be transported into the countie of Spayne (as people report) which haue so there multiplied and encreased, that it hath turned the comoditie of Englãd, moche to the Spanysh profit, & to no small hynderance of the lucre and gayne whiche was beforetymes in England, raysed of wolle and felle. Beside
xxx thys to haue an amytie with hys nexte neyghbor, the kyng of Scottes he wynkynge at the towne of Barwyke, was content to take a truce for xb. yeres.

BVT Lord what happy chaunce and good lucke had kyng Edward for besyde these new frendes and conferates (of the whiche some were more farther of, then he coulde cal to for helpe with a whistel, when he stode in moost daunger and distresse) Fortune besyde all his expectatiõ prouyded hym euen at hys elbowe, A brother in lawe, a perpetuall allye and frendly neyghboure: whiche offered allyaunce and new amitie, if he had eyther refused or mysled, surely of al his other putatyue (I dare not
xl say fayned) frendes, for all their leage, in his extreme necessitie, he had bene clerely abandonyd, and of all comfort left disconsolate. Thys happy chaunce came by thys occasion, In thys same season was lord and prince in Flaunders, Brabant and Zelãdt, and other the lowe contreys,

thereaboute, Philippe duke of Burgoyne, a man as he was of greate age and yeres, so was he had in muche honor, great estimacion & hygh reuerence emongest all kynges and prynces in hys dayes: which duke as you harde before, was enemye mortall to kynge Henrye the sixte This duke had onely one sonne legitimate, called Charles erle of Charoloys, a man of suche haute corage, of so hygh enterprice and vntimerous audacitie (euen lyke the sonne of Mars) as fewe or none was sene in hys tyme: For how he discomfited kyng Loys the.xi. then the French kyng at the battayle of Montleherrye, the Frenchemen hathe not yet forgotten. The lāde of Luke also hath in recent memorie his sore scorge & cruell plage. Thys erle Charles was at thys tyme a wydower, hauyng onely a sole doughter, and no sonne, wherfore both by hys father and hym selfe and the companions of the order of the goldē fleece, beyng of their counsail, it was thought not onely expedient but much more necessary, that he should take a wyfe, yea and in such a place as they might by that matrimony haue both aliance and ayde agaynste all their outwarde enemyes, and especially agaynst the Frenche kyng, whome they knew dayly to wayte & watche lyke a serpente, how he by fraude might swalow or catche them or ther possessions: vpon which cōmunicacion it was declared by certayne, there beynge present, that kynge Edward of Englande had a fayre virgyn to hys syster, called lady Margarete, a lady of excellent beautie, and yet more of womanhode, then beautie, and more of vertue then womanhode, whose innumerable good qualityes, beside the giftes of nature, grace and fortune, were so seriously setfurth to duke Philip, and the erle of Charoloys hys sonne, that bothe the father & the chyld iudged that mariage to be the moste meteest matrimony in Chrystendon, not onely for the excellent qualities and manyfold vertues emprynted in the person of the noble virgyn, but also for the great profite, allyance and continuall frendshyp that should growe and ryse betwene the realme of Englande, and the dukes landes.

The.vi.yere.

The.vi. yere.

After that thys poynte was clerely resolued on, the Duke appoynted his bastard sonne, lorde Anthony, commonly called the bastarde of Burgoyne, chefe Ambassadoure for this purpose: a man of great witte, corage, valyantnes and liberalitie, whiche beyng rychely furnyshed of plate & apparel, necessary for his estate, hauing in his cōpany gētelmen & other expert in all feates of chiualry, and mercial prowes, to the nūber of .cccc. horses (as the Brabanders wryte) toke hys ship, and with prosperous wynde arryued in Englande, where he was of the nobilitie receyued and with al honorable entertainment, conueyed to the kynges presence which like a prince, that knew what appertened to his degre, louingly welcomed, and familiarly embraced the bastard & other nobles that came with hym. And after hys commission seene, and hys message declared,

the

the kynge gaue to hym a gentell answere for that tyme, and so the ambassadours departed to their lodgynge, where they kept a greate housholde, and made triumphāt chere. You may thinke that kyng Edward was not so vnwyse, nor yet so vnpurueyed of counsail, to forsake thys beneficiall alliaunce, amicable consanguinitie and louynge frendshyp, thus frankely to hym profered and graunted, but that he and all hys counsaill with fote and hande endeuoured theym selfes to bryng too passe, and fynally to conclude thesame, the Erle of Warwycke onely excepte, whyche berynge hys harty fauoure too the Frenche kynge by x yll reportes, dyd asmuche as in hym laye to hynder thys mariage and affinitie, of whose good wil duke Charles was well informed.

But for all hys opinion at a certayne daye, the kynge sente for the Ambassadours, and there declared too theym howe he gladlye dyd bothe accept and graunte their louynge request, and demaunde, promisyng them in the word of a Prynce, that he should be duryng his life frend to the frēdes of the Duke and the Erle, and ennemies to their aduersaries and ennempes, which wordes not a littel pleased the Burgonyons. After this he caused the lady Margaret his syster to be sent for which beyng richely appareled, accompanied with a great multitude xx of ladyes and greate women, entred into the kynges great chāber, with so sober demeanure, so faire a visage, so louyng a countenaūce, & so princely a port, that she was esteined for her personage and qualities, bothe of the Burgonnyons and other, not to be vnworthy to matche in matrimony, with the greatest prynce of the world. And after the kynge, she & the ambassadours had cōmoned a good tract of tyme, the lorde Anthonye bastard of Burgonnye, contracted openly the sayde lady Margaret, for and in the name of his brother the erle Charles, and there in the name of the duke his father, and the Erle hys brother, he presented to ỹ lady Margaret a ryche and a costly Juell, whiche she ioyously receyxx ued gith great thankes and many gratulations geuen, bothe to her father in lawe and her new contracted husband.

After thys mariage, was thus concluded and contracted to speke Achalenges, what bankettes, festes, disguisynges, pastymes & pleasures were made and shewed to the ambassadours, it were to longe to wryte the matter, beyng no more serious, & much more tedious to her: But one thyng was very honorable, and not mete to be put in obliuiō. The bastard of Burgoyne, a man of a haute corage, chalenged Anthony lorde Scales, brother to the Quene, a man bothe egall in hart, and valyantnes with the bastard, to fight with hym bothe on fote & on horsbacke, the lorde Scaxl les gladly receyued hys demaunde and promised hym on the othe of a gentelman, to aunswere hym in the felde, at the daye appoynted: lyke chalenges were made by other Borgonyons, to the gentelmen of Englande, which you maye surely beleue were not refused. The kyng entēdyng to see this marciall sport and valiant chalenge performed, caused lystes royall for the champions, and costly galleries for Ladyes,

to loke on, to be newly erected and edified in West Smythfelde in London. And at the day by the kyng assigned, the.ii. Lordes entered within the lystes, well mounted, richely trapped, and curiously armed. On whiche daye they ran together, certayne courses with sharpe speres, and so departed with egall honor. The next daye, they entered the felde, the bastarde sitting on a bay courser, beingesomwhat dymme of sight, and the lord Scales had a gray courser, on whose shaffron was a long and a sharpe pyke of stele. Whē these.ii. valeaūt persones coped together at the tornay, the lord Scales horse by chaunce or by custome, thrust hys pyke into the nostrelles of the horse of the bastarde, so that for very payne he moūted so hygh, that he fell on the one syde with hys master, & the lord Scales rode round about hym with his sworde shakyng in hys hand, tyll the kyng cōmaunded the Marshall to helpe vp the bastarde, whiche openly sayed, I can not holde by the cloudes, for though my horse fayled me, surely I wyll not fayle my coūtercōpaignions. And when he was remounted, he made a countenāce to assayle hys aduersarie, but the kyng either fauorynge hys brothers honor then gotten, or mystrustyng the shame, whiche mighte come to the bastarde, if he were agayne foyled, caused the Heraldes to cry, a l'hostell, and euery mā to departe. The morow after, the two noble men came into the felde on fote, with two Poleaxes, and there fought valiantly lyke two corragious champions, but at the laste, the poynt of the axe of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the healme of the bastard, & by fyne force myght haue plucked hym on hys knees, the kynge sodaynlye caste doune his warder, and then the Marshalls them seuered. The bastard not content with this chaunce, very desirous to be reuenged, trustinge on his cunning at the Poleaxe (the whiche feate he had greatly exercysed, & there in had a great experiment) required the kyng of iustice, that he might perfourme his enterprise: the lord Scales, not refused it. The kyng sayd he wolde aske counsayl, & so calling to hym the Cōstable and Marshall with the officers of armes, after longe consultacion had, and lawes of armes rehersed, it was declared to the bastarde for a sentence diffinitiue by the duke of Clarence, then constable of Englande, and the duke of Northfolke Erle Marshall, that yf he woulde prosecute farther his attempted chalenge, he muste by the lawe of armes, be deliuered to his aduersarye in thesame case and lyke condicion, as he was when he was taken from him, that is to saye, the poynt of the lord Scales axe to be fixed in the sighte of his healme, as depe as it was when they were seuered. The bastard hering this iudgemēt, doughted much the sequele, yf he so should procede agayne, wherfore he was content to relinquyshe hys chalenge, rather then to abyde the hasarde of hys dyshonour: Other chalenges were done, & valiauntly acheued by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. When all these corragious actes were thus with ioy accomplished, sorowfull tidynges were broughte to the bastard, that duke Philip his father was passed thys transitory lyfe, of

which

whyche tidinges he was not a litell sorowfull, and there vpon takynge his leue of kynge Edwarde and his syster, the newe Duches of Burgoyne, liberally rewarded with plate and Juels, with all celeritie he returned to the new duke Charles his nephew, accõpting to him what exployt he had made in his Ambassade & message, which answere was to the great contentacion and accomplishement of the desire of the sayd Duke, and thereof most hartely thanked the lady for her consent, as for the thinge that he most desired, not forgettynge to gratefie kynge Edwarde for his preferment and furtherance in his louinge request.

This contract was made, and duke Philip dyed in the yere of our salvacion. M.CCCC.LXVIJ. and in the.vi. yere of kynge Edwarde the.iiii. in whiche yere kyng Edward more for the Marques Montagewes loue, then for any fauour he bare to the erle of Warwycke, promoted George Neuel their brother, to the Archebishoperyke of Yorke.

The. vii. yere.

NOw to returne to Charles duke of Burgoyne, whiche was with greate victory, and victorious triumphe returned from the conquest of the lande of Luke to Bruseles, he not forgetting the contract, which his bastard brother the lord Anthony had made in hys name, with the noble princesse lady Margaret, syster to Edward kyng of Englande, deuised alwayes how he might with all honor and royaltie, haue her receyued into his countrey. And first he wrote to the kyng of Englande, to sende her ouer the sea with all diligence, accordinge to the pact and leage betwene them concluded, which beynge nothinge slacke, and especially in suche a cause, as so highly magnified his blonde, prepared shippes and all thinges necessary, for the honorable conduyte of her and her cõpany and so accompayned with the dukes of Exceter and Southfolke and their wyfes, beynge bothe her systers, and a great companye of lordes and ladies and other to the number of. CCCCC. horsses, in the beginninge of June departed out of Londõ to Douer, & so sayled to Sluys, how she and her companye were there receyued, and from thence conueyed to Bruges, where the mariage was celebrate and solempnized, what abundaũt fare and Delicate bland was serued at the feast, with how riche hanginges the house was garnished and trimmed, with how many Cupperdes of golde & siluer the palace was adourned, with how many garnyshe of siluer vessell the companyes were serued, what Justes, what Tourneys, what bankettes, and what disportes were at this Nupciall feast. I neither dare nor wil write, accordinge to the Brabanders Cronicle, lest perauenture some mẽ might thynke that I flattered a litle, as perchance I thynke they saye not trew in a greate dele.

But now to let go ỹ matters of yoy & solace, & to returne to the pestilent serpent, whiche so longe had sucked vp his poyson, and now began to vomit and cast it so abrode, that all the.iii. peres folowing the whole

Realme was continually infected with thesame, whiche infection, neuer ceased till the ayre was purified with the bloudde and deathe of hym selfe at Barnet felde: for yf you call to youre remembraunce the depe dissimulunge of the Erle of Warwycke at hys retorne from beyonde the sea, and the continuall grudge that lurked in his stommack, toward kyng Edward syth that tyme, ye must thinke that of very necessitie it woulde at length either burste the vessell, and by some meanes issue out, as it did now euen at this tyme: he beyng at his towne of Warwycke, accompanyed with his two brethern the Marques Mountacute, and the Archebishop of Yorke, framed communicacion too make them merye and to passe furth the time two or thre dayes, and at the last haupnge an occasion to speake of the kyng & his doinges and proceedinges, he then first moued and excited them by all wayes possible to helpe and ayde, & to restore kyng Hēry the sixte, to the Croune and royal dignitie againe, saiyng to them after this wyse. My dere & welbeloued brethern, the incredible faythefulnes, the secrete sobernes, and the politique prudence that I haue euer by long cōtinuāce of tyme experimented in you both, doth not onely encourage my harte, yea and setteth me in great hope of obteyninge my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dreade & mistrust, fyrmely beleuyng, & surely iudging, that you both will with tothe and nayle endeuer youre selfe, to the vttermost of your power to bring to effect & purpose that thyng that I now shall declare vnto you. Surely, I woulde in nowise that you shoulde thynke that, that which I shal speake to you, of king Edward & kyng Hēry, should rise of any lightnes or phantasie of my mynd, or any trifelyng tope, lately fallen into my imagination, but the true experience and iuste iudgement, that I haue of them bothe, their qualities and conditions, in maner cōpell and constrayne me to saye as I saie, and to doe as I doo. For surely kyng Henry is a Godly, good, and a verteous persone, neither forgettyng hys frendes, nor puttyng in obliuion any benifite by hym, of a meane persone receyued, nor yet any payne for his causes susteined, he hath lefte vnrewarded: To whom God hath sent a sonne called Prince Edward, borne to bee of great worthynes and prayse, of muche bountefulnes and liberalitie, of whom men maie, many laudable thynges conjecture, considerynge the peyn, labor, and trauayll, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. Kyng Edward on the contrary side, is a man, contumelious, oppробrious, and iniurious person, to them that deserue kyndnes, he sheweth vnkyndnes, and to theim that loue him, he dedly hateth, now detestyng to take any peyn, for the preferment or maintenance, of the publique wealth of this realme, but all geuen to pastime, pleasure, and daliance. Sonet preferryng to high estate, men discended of lowe bloud, and basse degree, then men of old and vndefiled houses, whiche hath bothe supported hym, & the common wealth of his realme: So that now I perceiue, that it is euē come to this poynt that he will destroye all the nobilitie, or els the nobilitie must shortly, of very

The perswasiō of the erle of Warwyke vnto his two brethrē gaist king Edward the fourth.

very necessitie destroye and confounde hym. But reason would that ws
that wer first hurt, should first reuẽge our cause: for it is not vnknowen
to yow bothe, how that he immediatly after he had obteined the croune,
began first secretly, and then openly, to enuye, disdain, and impugne the
fame, glory, and renoune, of our house and familie, as who saied, that al
the honor, preferment, and authoritie that we haue, we had onely recei-
ued at his handes, and that we had neither obteined, dignitie nor rule
by our great labor, aide and trauaill. Whiche to all men maye seme vn-
true, whiche consider that our name, chief title, and principall authori-
x tie, was to vs geuen by kyng Henry the sixte, and not by hym. But if e-
uery man will remembre, who firste toke parte with his father, when he
claimed the Croune: who at that tyme, for that cause was in greate ieo-
perdie, and almost slayn by the kynges menial seruauntes, and who ne-
uer lefte this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garlande,
and the realme in quietnes, shal manifestly perceiue, that wee and oure
bloudde, hath shewed our selfes more like fathers to hym, then he like a
frend to vs. If we haue receiued any benefites of him, surely thei be not
so muche, as we haue deserued, nor so muche as we looked for, and yet
they bee muche more, then he would wee should inioye, as ye bothe well
xx perceiue and knowe. Let these thynges ouerpasse, and speake of the vn-
gentle vntrue, and vnprincely handelyng of me in the laste ambassade,
beyng sent to the French kyng, for to treate a mariage for hym, hauyng
full authoritie to bynd and to lose, to contracte and conclude. Whiche
thyng when I had finished and accomplished: how lightly hys mynde
chaunged, How priuily he wowed, and how secretly he maried, Bothe
you knowe better then I. So that by this meanes, I was almoste out
of all credence, in the Courte of Fraunce, both with the kyng and quene
as though I had come thether like an espiall, to moue a thyng neuer
mynded, or to treat of a mariage determined before neuer to take effect.
xxx Whereby the fame of all our estimacion, whiche all kynges and Prin-
ces haue conceiued in vs, partly obteined by the vertue and prowesse of
our noble auncestors, and partly acheued by oure awne peines and for-
ward actes: shall now bee obfuscate, vtterly extinguyshed, and nothyng
set by. What worme is touched, and will not once turne agayn? What
beast is striken, that will not rore or sound? What innocẽt child is hurt
that will not crye? If the poore and vnreasonable beastes: If the sely
babes that lacketh discrection, grone agaynst harme to theim proffered,
How ought an honest man to be angery, when thinges that touche his
honestie, be daily agaynst him attempted? But if a meane person in that
xl case bee angery: how muche more ought a noble man, to fume and stirre
coales, when the high tipe of his honor is touched, hys fame in maner
brought to infamy, and his honor almost blemished and appalled, with
out his offence or desert? All this brethren ye know to be true, the dis-
honor of one is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurte of one is the hurte
of all: Wherefore, rather then I will liue vnreuenged, or suffre hym to

reigne, whych hath sought my decaye and dishonor, I will surely spend my life, lande, and goodes, in settyng vp that iuste and good man kyng Henry the sixte: and in deposyng this vntrue, vnfaithfull, and vnkynde Prince (by our onely meanes) called kyng Edward the fourthe.

These faire wordes allured the Archbishop shortly, to his intent and purpose, but the Lorde Marques could by no meanes bee reduced, to take any parte against kyng Edward, till the erle had bothe promised hym great rewardes and high promocions, and also assured hym of the aide and power, of the greatest princes of the realme. Euē as the Marques vnwillyngly, and in maner coacted gaue hys consent, to thys vnhappy conturacion, at the intisement and procurement of therle, so with a fainte harte and lesse courage, he alwaies shewed hymself enemie to kyng Edwarde, excepte in his laste daie: whiche luke warme harte, and double dissimulacion, wer bothe the destruccion of him and his brethrē. The erle of Warwicke beyng a man of a greate wit, farre castyng, and many thynges vigilantly forseyng, either perceiued by other, or had perfect knowlege of himself, that the duke of Clarence bare not the best will to kyng Edward his brother (as he did not in deede) thought first to proue hym fart of, as it wer in a probleme, and after to open to hym (if he sawe hym flexible to his purpose) the secrete imaginacions of his stomack: thynkyng that if he might by pollicie or promise, allure the duke to his partie, that kyng Edward should be destitute, of one of hys best Hawkes, when he had moste nede to make a flight. So at tyme and place conuenient, the erle began to complain to the duke, of the ingratitude and doublenes of kyng Edward, saiyng: that he had neither handled hym like a frende, nor kepte promise wyth hym, accordynge as the estate of a Prince required. The erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but ỹ duke in a greate fury answered, why my lorde, thynke you to haue hym kynd to you, that is vnkynd, yea, and vnnatural to me beyng hys awne brother, thynke you that frendshyp will make hym kepe promise, where neither nature nor kynred, in any wise can prouoke or moue him, to fauor his awne bloud? Thynke you that he will exalte and promote hys cosin or alie, whiche litle careth for the fall or confusiō, of hys awne line and lignage: This you knowe well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he hath maried to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonuile and Harpyngton, he hath geuen to his wifes sonne, and theire of the lorde Hungerford, he hath graunted to the lorde Hastynges: thre mariages more meter for hys twoo brethren and kynne, then for suche newe foundlynges, as he hath bestowed theim on: But by swete saincte George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester would ioyne with me, we would make hym knowe, that wee were all three one mannes sonnes, of one mother and one lignage discended, which should be more preferred and promoted, then straungers of his wifes bloud.

When therle of Warwicke had hard the dukes wordes, he had that whiche he bothe sore thrusted and lusted for, and then began boldy to

disclose to the Duke,his intent and purpose euen at the full,requiryng hym to take parte with hym, and to be one of the attempted confederacie. And least the duke might thynke that the matter was lightly,and vncircumspectly begon, he declared to hym, how warely, howe secretly, how spedely al thynges concernyng this purpose, had been compassed, studied, and forsene, requiryng hym in so greate and vrgente a cause, bothe to take pein & trauaill, and also to studie with al circumspection and forseyng,how these thynges thus begon,might be brought to a certaintie and a finall conclusion. And the rather to wynne the dukes hart
x the erle beside diuerse and many fayre promyses made to the duke,offered hym his eldest daughter(beeyng of ripe age and elegant stature) in mariage,with the whole halfedele of his wyfes inheritaunce. The duke at the perswasion & requeste of therle,promysed to do al thynges whiche he would or could,in any maner require or deuyze. After that the Duke and the erle had long consulted, concernyng their straunge and dangerous affaires:thei first determined to saile to Caleis,of the which toune the erle was chief capitain where his wife and twoo doughters then sojorned,whom to visite, the duke of Clarence beyng in amours, had no small affection. But the erle continually remembryng the purpose that
xx he was set on, thought to begyn and kindle the fire, of his vngracious conuiracion (whiche so many yeres vexed and vnquieted the realme of Englande) before his departure, wherfore he appoynted his brethren, the Archebishop and the Marques, that they should by some meane in his absence, stirre vp newe commocion or rebellion, in the Countie of Yorke and other places adiacente:so that this ciuill warre should seme too all men, to haue been begon without his assent or knowlege (he beeyng in the partes of beyond the sea.)

The.viii.yere.

xxx When all these thynges were thus determined, and graue counsayll allowed,the erle and the duke sayled directly to Caleis:where thei were solempnely receiued,and ioyously interteined of the Countesse and of her twoo daughters. And after that the duke had swore on the Sacrament to kepe his promyse and pacte inuiolate made and concluded with the erle of Warwycke,he maried the Lady Isabell,eldest daughter to thesayed erle,in our Lady Churche at Caleis, with greate pompe and solempnitie. After whiche mariage so solempnized, the duke and therle consulted sadly together,by what meanes they should continue the warre (which
xl as it was by theim appoynted) was recently and within fewe dates begonne in Yorke shire,not without great rumore and disturbaunce,of al quietnes in that countrey. The.viii.yere.

The mother of thys pernicious commocion, was vncharitie, or very impietie, for there was in the citee of Yorke, an olde and riche Hospitall, dedicated to Saincte Leonarde, in the whiche Almosehouse

the

the poore and indigente people were harbored and refreshed, and the sicke and impotente persones were comforted and healed. For thys good purpose and charitable intent, all the whole Province of Yorke, geue yerely to thys Hospitall certain measures of corne: in maner as an oblacion of the first fruites of their newe grayne, thynkyng their gyfte geuen to so holy a place, for so holy an expence, should bee to theim meritorious, and before God acceptable. Certain euill disposed persones of the erle of Warwickes faccion, intendyng to set a bruill in the countrey, perswaded a great nombre of husbande men, to refuse and deny to geue any thyng to thesaied Hospitall, affirmyng and saiyng: that the corne that was geuen to that good intēt, was not expended on the pore people, but the Master of the Hospitall wexed riche with suche almose and his prestes wexed fat, and the poore people late leane without succour or comfort. And not content with these saiynges, thei fell to dooynges, for when the Proctors of the Hospitall, accordyng to their vsage, went aboute the countrey, to gather the accustomed corne, they wer sore beaten, wounded, and very euil intreated. Good men lamented this vngodly demeanure, and the peruerse people much at it retorsed, and toke suche a courage, that they kept secrete conuenticles, and priuie communicaciōs, in so muche, that within fewe dates, thei had made suche a confederacie together, that thei wer assembled to the nombre of .xv. thoulād men, euen ready prest to set on the citie of Yorke. When the fame of this commocion and great assemble, came to the eares of the citizēs of Yorke they were firste greatly astonied: but leauyng feare aside, they were in a great doubt and vncertaintie, whether it wer best for them to issue out of their walles, and to geue battaill to the rebelles, or to kepe their citie, and repulse the violence of their enemies, by the manfull defendynge of their walles and portes. But the Lorde Marques Montacute, gouernor and presedent of that countrey for the king, did shortly put the citizens out of al feare and suspicion of inuasion, for he takyng spedy coūsaill, and considerynge the opportunitie of the tyme, with a small nombre of menne but well chosen, encountered the rebelles, before the gates of Yorke: where after long conflicte, he toke Robert Hulburne their capitain, and before theim commaunded his hed there to bee striken of, and then he caused all his souldiours (because it was darke, to entre into the citie of Yorke) and after their long labor to refreshe them.

Here is to be maruelled, whi the Marques thus put to death the capitain and ruler of the people, stirred and reised vp by hym, and the fellowes of his conturacion and conspiracie: Some saie he did it to the intent, that he would seme frutles and innocent, of all hys brothers doynges, and priuie imaginations: But other affirme and saye, that he for all his promise made to his brother, was thē deliberatly determined to take parte with kyng Edward, with whom (as it shall after appere) he in small space entered into greate grace and high fauor. The people beyng nothing abashed at the death of their capitain, but rather the more eger.

eger and fierse, by faire meanes and craftie perswasions: found the meanes to get to theim, Henry sonne and heire to the lorde Fitz Hughe, and sir Henry Neuell, sonne and heire of the Lorde Latimer, the one beeyng nephew, and the other cosin germayn to therle of Warwicke. Although that these young gentelmen, bare the names of capitaines, yet they had a tutor & gouernor called sir Jhon Coneyes, a man of liche coutage & valiauntes, as fewe was in his dayes, in the Northe partes. And firste considerying that they could not get Yorke, for want of ordinaunce and artilery, whiche they did lacke in dede, they determined with all spede to marche toward Londō, intending by the waye to reise suche a phantasie in the peoples hartes, ỳ they should thinke that kyng Edward was neither a iust prince to God, nor profitable to the cōmon welth of ỳ realme.

When kynge Edwarde (to whome all the dooynges of the Erle of Warwicke, and the Duke his brother, were manifest and ouerte, and were come to that poynt, that he expected and loked for) was by diuerse letters sent to him, certified that the great armye of the Northren men, wer with all spede commyng toward London. Therefore in greate hast he sent to Wyllyam lorde Herbert, whom, within twoo yeres before, he had created erle of Penbroke, that he should without dealye encountre with the Northren men, with the extremitie of all his power. The erle of Penbroke, commonly called the lorde Herbert, was not a litle toyous of the kynges letters, partly to deserue the kynges liberalitie, whiche of a meane gentelman, had promoted hym to the estate of an erle, partly for the malice that he bare to the erle of Warwicke, beyng the sole obstacle (as he thought) why he obteined not the wardship of the Lorde Bonuiles daughter & heyre, for his eldest sonne. Wherupon he accompaignied with his brother sir Richard Harbert, a valiaunt knight, and aboue.vi. or.vii. thousande Welshemenne well furnished, matched forwarde to encountre with the Northrenmen. And to assiste and furnishe hym with archers, was appoynted Humffray lorde Stafford of Southwike (named, but not created) Erle of Deuonshire, by the kyng, in hope that he valiauntly would serue hym in that iorney, and with hym he had eyght hundred archers. When these twoo Lordes wer met at Cottishold, they made diligent inquiry, to here where the Northren were, and so by their explorators they were asserteined, that they were passing towarde Northampton, wherupon the lorde Stafford, and sir Richard Harbert with twoo thousande wel horsed Welshmen, saied: they would go bewe and se the demeanor and nombre of the Northren men, and so vnder a wooddes side, thei couertly espied thē passe forward, and sodainly set on the rerewarde: but the Northren men wyth suche agilitie so quickly turned aboute, that in a moment of an houre, the Welshemen wer clene discomfited and scatered, and many taken, and the remnaunt returned to the armye with small gayn.

Kyng Edwarde beeyng nothyng abasshed of thys small chaunce, sente good woordes to the Erle of Penbroke, animatyng and

byddyng

byddyng hym to bee of a good courage, promysyng hym not alonely ayde in shorte tyme, but also he hymself in persone royall, would folowe hym with all hys puyssaunce and power. The Yorke shire menne, beyng glad of hys small victory were well cooled and went no farther Southward, but toke their waye toward Warwicke lokyng for aide of therle, whiche was lately come from Caleys, with the Duke of Clarẽce his sonne in lawe, and was gatherynge and reysyng of men, to succor his frendes and kynsfolke. The kyng lykewyse assembled people on euery side, to aide and assist therle of Penbroke and his compaygnie. But before or any part receiued comfort or succor, from his frend or partaker, bothe the armyes met by chaunce, in a fayre playn, nere to a toune called Banbery feld Hedgecot, three myle from Banbery, wherin be three hilles, not in equall distaunce, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lyyng in maner although not fully triangle: the Welshemen gat firste the West hill, hoppyng to haue recouered the East hyl: whiche if thei had obteined, the victory had been theirs, as their vnwyse Prophesiers promised thẽ before. The Northren men incamped themself on the Southe hill. The erle of Penbroke and the lorde Stafford of Southwike, wer lodged at Banbery the daie before the feld, whiche was sainct James daye, and there the erle of Penbroke, putte the Lorde Staffordе out of an Inne, wherein he delighted muche to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: contrary to their mutuall agrement by them taken, whiche was that whosoeuer obteined first a lodgyng, should not be deceyued nor remoued. After many greate woordes and crakes, had betwene these twoo capitaynes, the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, in greate dispite departed with hys whole compaignie and band of Archers, leauyng the erle of Pembroke almoste desolate in the toune, whiche, with all diligence returned to his host, lyyng in the feld vnpurueied of Archers, abidyng suche fortune as God would sende and prouyde. Syr Henry Neuell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with hym certayn light horssemen, and skirmished with the Welshemen in the euenyng, euen before their Campe, where he did diuerse valiaunt feates of armes, but a lytle to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken and yelded, and yet cruelly slayn: whiche vnmercifull acte, the Welshemen sore rued the next daye or nyght. For the Northrenmen beyng inflamed, & not a litle discontented, with the death of this noble man, in the mornyng valiauntly set on the Welshemenne, and by force of archers, caused theim quyckely to descende the hyll into the valey, where bothe the hostes fought. Therle of Penbroke behaued hymself lyke a hardy knight, and expert capitain, but his brother sir Richarde Herbert so valiauntly acquited hymself, that with his Polleare in his hand (as his enemies did afterward reporte) he twise by fine force passed through the battaill of his aduersaries, and without any mortall wounde returned. If euery one of hys felowes and compaignions in armes, had doen but halfe thactes, whiche he that daye by his noble prowes acheued, the Northrẽmen had obteyned neither sauetie nor victory.

Be side

Besides this, beholde the mutabiltie of foztune, when the Welshmen were at the very poynt to haue obteyned the victozy (the Nozthernmen beyng in manner (discõfited) Jhon Clappam Esquire, seruaunte to the Erle of Warwicke, moũted vp ẏ side of the East hyl, accompanied onely with. CCCCC. men gathered of all the Rascall of the towne of Nozthampton, and other Villages about, hauing bozne befoze theym the standard of the Erle, with the white Beare, Cryenge a Warwicke a Warwycke. The Welshmen thinkyng that the Erle of Warwicke had come on theim with all hys puyssaunce, sodaynlye as men amased fledde: the Nozthernmẽ, them pursued and slewe without mercy, foz the cruelty that they had shewed to the lozd Latimers Sonne. So that the Welshemen there wer slayn aboue. v. M. besyde them that were fled and taken

A great slaughter of Welshemen.

The erle of Penbzoke, syz Richard Herbert his bzother, and diuerse Gentelmen were taken, and bzought to Banbery to be Behedded, muche lamentacion and no lesse entreaty was made to saue the life of Syz Rychard Herbert bothe foz his goodely Personage, whiche excelled all men there, and also foz the noble Chiealry, that he had shewed in the Felde the day of the Battayll, in so muche that his Bzother the Erle, when he should lay doune his hedde on the Block to suffer, said to syz Jhon Conyers and Clappam, Masters let me dye foz I am Olde, but saue my bzother which is yonge, Lusty and Hardy, Wete and Apte to serue the greatest pzince of Chzistendoume. But syz Jhon Conyers and Clappam, remembzyng the death of the yong knight Syz Henry Neuel, Colyn to the erle of Warwicke, coulde not here on that side, but caused the Erle of hys bzother with diuerse other Gentelmen to the number of. x. to be there behedded. The Nozthamptonshzire men, with diuers of the Nozthernmẽ by them pzocured, in this fury made theim a Capitayne, and called hym Robyn of Riddesdale, and sodaynly came to the Banner of Grafton, where the erle Riuers, Father to the Quene then lay, whome they loued not, and there by fozce toke the sayde erle and syz Jhon his Sonne, and bzoughte them to Nozthampton, and there without Judgemente strake of their heddes, whose Bodyes were Solemply enterred in the Blackefreers at Nozthampton. When kynge Edward was aduertised of these vnfoztunate chaunces, he wzote in all hast to the Shziefes of Somerset shyze and Deuonshyze, that if they coulde by any meane take the Lozde Staffozd of Southwyke, that they vpon payne of their lyues, shoulde without delay put hym in execution, whiche accozdyngly to the Kynges Commaundement after longe Explozacion made, founde hym hyd in a village in Bzentmarche, called, wher he was taken and bzought to Bzidgewater, and there cut shozter by the hed. Thys was the Ozder, manner and end of Hegecot felde, comonly called Banbery felde, foughten the Mozow after Saincte James day, in the viij. yeare of kynge Edwarde the fourth, ẏ which battayle euer synce hath bene, and yet is a cõtinuall grudge betwene the Nozthernmen and the Welshemen. After thys Battayle Nozthernmen resozted towarde Warwicke, where the

Robyn of Riddesdale.

Hegecote felde comonly called Banberys felde.

erle had gathered a greate multitude of people, whiche erle gaue hyghe commendacions to sir Jhon Conyers and other capitaynes of ỹ North. much reioysyng, that they had obteyned so glorions victory, requiryng theim to continew as they had begon. The king likewise sore thrusting to recouer his losse late sustayned, and desirous to be reuenged of the deathes and murders of hys Lordes and frēdes, marched toward Warwycke with a greate Armye, and euer as he wente forwarde, hys company increased, because he commaunded it to be noysed and publysshed to the common people, that hys onely entent was to destroy, and vtterly to confounde the vnhappy stocke and yll grafted generacion, of suche pernicious persons, as would disturbe and bring in thraldome, ỹ quiet commons and peaceable people. The erle of Warwycke had by his espyalles perfyt knowledge how the kyng with his army was bent toward him, and sent in all hast possible to the duke of Clarence (which was not far from him with a greate powre) requiryng him that both their hostes myghte ioyne in one for as farre as he couide imagyne, the tyme of battayle was very nere. The duke hearynge these newes, in good ordre of battayle, came and encamped him selfe with the Erles host. When all thynges were redy prepared to fight: by the meanes of frendes, a meane was founde how to common of peace, for the whiche, letters were writtē frō from eche parte to other, declaryng their griefes and the very bottomes of their Stomakes: Heraldes spared no Horsefleish in rydyng betwene the kyng and the erle, nor in returnyng from the Erle to the kynge: the kyng conceiuing a certayn hope of Peace in hys awn imaginacion, toke bothe lesse hede to hym selfe and also no lesse fered the outward attemptes of his enemies, thynkynge and trustynge truelye that all thynges were at a god poynte, and shoulde be well pacified. All the kynges doynges were by espyals declared to the Erle of Warwicke, which like a wyse and politique Capitayne entendyng not to lese so greate an auantage to hym geuen, but trustyng to bringe all his purposes to a fynall ende and determinacion, by onely obteyning this enterprise: in the dead of the nyght, with an electe company of men of warre, as secretly as was possible set on the kynges felde, kyllyng them that kept the watche, and or the kyng were wate (for he thought of nothyng lesse then of that chaunce that happened) at a place called Wolney. iiij. mile from Warwycke, he was taken prisoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwicke. And to the entent that the kynges frendes myght not knowe where he was, nor what was chaunced of hym, he caused hym by secrete iourneys in the nyght to be conueyed to Middelham Castell in Yorkeshire, and there to be kept, vnder the custody of the Archebishop of Yorke hys brother, and other his trusty frendes, whiche entertayned the kyng, like his estate and serued him lyke a Prince. But there was no place so farre of but the takyng of the kyng was shortely knowen there, with the wunde whiche newes made many men to feare, and greatly to dread, and many to wonder, and lament the chaūce. Kyng Edward beyng thus in captiuitie,

Kyng Edward the, iiij. taken prisoner, by ỹ Erle of Warwyk.

uttie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other keepers, (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntinge, and one day on a playne there mett with hym syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Borogh, and dyuers other of hys frēdes, with such a greate bende of men, that neither his keepers would, nor once durst moue him to retorne to prison agayn. Kyng Edward escaped out de prison.

Thus as you haue harde was kyng Edward deliuered: Some saye that he was set at large by the erles consent and commaundemente, as who sayd, I had hym in my kepyng, and myght haue destroyed hym, I had hym in captiuitie, and so might haue deteyned him, but yet of myne awne fre will and gētelnes, without pact or raunsom I am contēted to set him at libertie & to deliuer him. This doing myght seeme to be some countenaunce of treuth, if the Erle after this had desisted from persecutyng the warre by hym newly begonne: But for a trueth this good chaunce happed to kynge Edward, by the yll luck of kynge Henry, for surely by this yll fortune a man may plainly cōiecture, that the extreme poynt of decay of his house and Estate was apparauntly at hande, considerynge that neither by mannes pollecie, nor by worldly riches his vnhappy predestinate chaunce coulde not by any pollecy be put by, nor by any instrument scraped away (wel suche was Gods pleasure) for if you consider how that the erle of Warwycke and his frendes, only to thentent to ayde, conserue and defende kynge Henry the. vj. haue dispended their substances, aduentured their liues, and taken paynes intollerable, hauyng a sure determinacion, fixed in their mindes, that as long as kyng Edward lued, that kyng Henryes faction should neuer prosper & yet when he was by the Erle taken prisoner, & in captiuitie, he by fortune escaped, or was wilfully deliuered. By thys you may playnly perceyue that the lucke of kyng Henry was vnfortunate, and that all that was done for hym, and in his querell, euer redounded to his misfortune and detriment, euer notyng this, that when thynges contriued & Imagened come to an vnlucky successe, all the senses of our bodies be then by anger, feare or madnes, vanished, and in maner distracte from themselues. But to come to the purpose, when kyng Edward had escaped the handes of his enemies, he went strayghte to Yorke, where he was with greate honor receiued of thee Citizens, and there taried two daies to prepare some small army to accompany hym in his iorney, but when he perceyued that he could haue no hoste mete and conuenient to passe to London, thorough the middes of his enemies (as he was appoynted to do) he turned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he founde the lord Hastynges hys Chamberlayne, well accompanyed. He then wyth the ayde of the lord Hastynges, and suche other as drew to hym, beyng well furnished with spedy iorneys, came safe to his citie of London.

When the erle of Warwike & the duke of Clarēce, had knowlege how the kyng by treason of them y they put in trust, was escaped their handes, & that in one moment of tyme, all their long studyes and forcastes

were brought to none effect or conclusion, they were angrye, & chafed without measure, & by and by callynge together al their chief frendes, began to consult agayn, of new, & to enquire the estate of their enemies, to the entent that they myght make a begynning of a new warre, which they coiectured to haue taken an ende when the kyng was broughte in to captiuitie. The mindes of these Princes were much satisfied, & their corage greatly kindeled, by reason that a great numbre of men hauing more pleasure in discorde then in concorde, louing better strife then vnitie, offered them selfes to beginne newe warre of their awne desire & request. Kyng Edward toke euen like study for the warres as hys ennemyes dyd, mynding either to bring them to conformitie or reason, by dent of sworde, or els by powre of battayle vtterly to destroye & extirpate them and their affinitie, to the entent ỹ all men might lede a more quiet life, & liue in more securitie & rest: for by the seditious rebellynge of these persons, the state of the Realme was brought to greate misery, for Churches and Temples were euery where robbed & spoyled, houses burnte, and men slayne in euery place, all the Realme was replenished with bloud, slaughter, sorow & lamentacion, Cornefeldes wer destroied Cities and Townes were made desolate and languished with famyn & dearthe, besyde many other thinges, which happen by the crueltye and fury of warre and rebellyon. This tumult and trouble in thee common wealth of this Realme sore vexed and troubled many, but in especiall ỹ nobilitie muche lamented and pitied the state of the commonalty which with all diligence rode betwene the Kyng, the Erle and the Duke to reconsile them eche to other, & to cõclude a perfect peace & amitie, requiring them rather more to remẽbre the benefites, that euery of them haue receiued of other, then to set forthe thee vngratitude or iniury, whiche one hath done to the other, which is rather the occasion of discord, then the meane to come to amitie. Further they exhorted theym rather to deserue the loue of all men, by kepyng of peace & vnitie, then by fightinge and intestine warre to destroy the Realme, and wynne the hatred & malice of al the nacion: for as he is vnkynde and vnnaturall, that will not cherishe his naturall parentes and procreators, much more vnnaturall and wicked are they, which will suffer their natiue coũtrey, beyng theyr common father and mother, by their contencion & stryfe to be brought to decay and vtter perdycion. The auctoritie first of the nobilitie of the Realme, and secondarily their charitable mocion, so mitigated the myndes bothe of the Kyng the Duke and the erle, that eche gaue fayth to other to go and come, sauely without ieopardy. In which promise the Duke and erle, hauing perfight trust and cõfidẽce, came both to London, accompanied with to small a numbre of men, in comparison to the great dangier that they were in. And at Westminster, the kyng, the Duke and the Erle had a longe communication together, for some end to be taken or made betwene them: But they fell at such greate wordes with such exprobracions, and openyng: either of olde benefites shewed

or of

oz of olde ingratitudes receyued, that in a great furye, without any cō-
clusion they departed, the kyng to Canterbury, and the Duke and the
Erle to Warwycke, where the Erle of Warwycke prepared a new hoste
to ryse in Lyncolnshire, and made there of captayne syr Robert Wel-
les, sonne to Rychard lozd Welles, an experte man in armes, and very
pollitique in warre.

These newes sodaynly brought to the kyng, did not a litell vexe and
tykil hym, because he euer feruently hoped, that his aduersaries wolde
rather come to some honest condicios of cōcozd, then so temerariously
x and so sodaynly renouate the warre. And the moze rumoz ỹ was spzede
(contrary to his expectacion) of this new begonne battall, the soner he
gathered together an host foz the resistence of thesame, and out of hand
he sent to Richard lozd Welles, willing hym vpon the sighte of his let-
ters with all hast to repayze vnto him, whiche oftentymes he had excu-
sed by sicknes and debilitie of his bodie. But when that excuse serued
not, hee thinking to purge hym selfe sufficiently before the kynges pze-
sence, toke with him syz Thomas Dymocke, whiche had maried his sy-
ster, and so together came to Londō. When he was come vp, his frēdes
certified hym that the kynge was with hym not a lytell displeased, but
xx highly discontented. Wherefoze foz verye feare, he with his brother in
law toke the Sentuary at Westminster, entendynge there to abyde tyll
the pzinces Ire were somwhat asswaged and mitigate. King Edwarde
which thought to pacifie all thys busy tumulte, without anye farther
bloudshed, pzomisyng both those persons their pardons, caused theim
vppon his pzomise to come out of Sentuary to hys presence, and cal-
lynge to hym the lozde Welles, willed hym to wzite to syz Robert his
sonne to leaue of the warre, and not to take the Erles parte. And in the
meane season, he with hys armye went fozward towarde his enemyes,
hauyng with hym the lozde Welles, and Syz Thomas Dymocke, and
xxx beyng not past two dayes iozney from Stafforde where hys enemyes, Hamp. ford
had pitched their felde, had perfyght knowlege that syz Robert Welles
nothyng moued with hys fathers letters, styl kept hys campe, abydyng
the kyng with his power. The kyng hauyng hygh indignacion at hys
presumpcion and mynded to be reuenged in parte, cōtrary to hys faith
and pzomise caused the lozd Welles father to the saide syz Robert, and
syz Thomas Dymocke to be behedded there, to the terrible example
of other, which shall put their confidence in the pzomise of a pzince. Whe
syz Robert Welles hard that the kyng drew nere, and that his father x
xl syz Thomas Dymocke ware behedded, he stode firste in a greate per-
plexitie, studieng whether he shoulde geue battayl oz no, because it was
both perilous and doughtfull to fyght with so great an armye, before
the erle of Warwicke with hys power were assembled, but yet hauynge
a yonge and a lustye courage, and with manly boldnes stimulate, and
pzicked fozward, he set on hys enemies.

The battayle was soze fought on bothe partes, & many a man slayne

And in conclusion, whyle Syr Robert was exhortyng and prouokyng hys men to tary, which were in manet discomfit, and redy to flye, he was enuironned and beset aboute with his enemies, and so was taken, and with hym syr Thomas Delaund knyght and many mo. After hys takyng, the Lincolnshyre men amased, threw away their coates, the lyghter to runne away, and fled, and therfore thys battayl is yet there called Lofecote felde. The kyng glad of this victory, commaunded out of hand syr Robert Welles and diuers other, to be put to execution in the same place. The same was, that at thys battayll were slayne. x. M. men at the least.

Lofecote feld

The erle of Warwicke lay att this time at his Castell of Warwicke, and was commynge with a houge host the next day towarde hys army in Lyncolneshyre, but when he hearde saye that they had foughte soner then he thought either they could or woulde, and that hys partye was ouerthrowen and vanquished: Although he might now be discouraged, yet he thought it necessary to dissimule the cace, because often tymes in battayles, vain thinges be regarded before trew, and to thentent to confort certayne of his company (beyng in dispayre and redy to flye) both in woorde and dede, he conscribed and prepared a newe host, and with all the studye and industrye, that he could practyse or vse, he imagened how to compasse Thomas lord Stanley, which had maried hys syster, that he might be one of the confederacy and conturacion: whyche thynge when he coulde not bryng to passe, for the lord Stanley hadde aunswered hym plainly, that he would neuer make warre against king Edwarde, he thought to spende no lenger tyme in waste, and mistrustyng that he was not able to mete with hys enemyes, he with the Duke of Clarence hys Sonne in lawe, departed to Excester, and ther taryeng a few dayes, and perceiuinge that all thynges lacked, whiche were apt and necessary for the warre, determined to sayle to kyng Loys the French kyng, to renew the familier acquaintaunce, which he had wyth him when he was there of Ambassade, for the mariage of kyng Edward as you haue hard, hauing a sure cõfidẽce & hope, either to haue a greate aide of the French king, or els to incence him ernestly to make battail against king Edward. And restyng vpon this opinion, thei hyred shippes at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, well armed, and at al poyntes trymmed and decked. And when the wynde and wether serued theym, the duke and the Erle with their Wiues, and a great number of Seruauntes, plucked vp the Sayles, and toke their way fyrst toward Caleys, wher the erle of warwicke was chefe capitayn, and thought there to haue left hys wyfe and doughters, tyll he had returned out of Fraunce.

WHen the erle of Warwicke thus fled out of England, the yere of our Lorde was iust. 1470. and the yere of kyng Edwardes reigne was then. 9. This sodain departynge of kyng Edwardes aduersaries, did not onely vexe and bite hym at the very stomacke, but also did stimulat and quicken hym to loke the more diligently to his affaires, and busines, and especially, because that the absence of ỹ erle of Warwicke, made the common people daily more and more, to long and bee desirous to haue the sight of him, & presently to beholde his personage. For they iudged that the Sunne was clerely taken from the worlde, when he was absent. In such high estimacion emongest the people, was his name, that neither no one manne, thei had in so muche honor, neither no one persone, thei somuche praysed, or to the cloudes so highly extolled. What shall I sate? his onely name sounded, in euery song, in the mouthe of the common people, and his persone was represented with greate reuerence, when publique Plaies, or open triumphes should be shewed, or set furthe abrode in the stretes: which hartie sauor, was the apparaunt occasion why his faction and compaignie, within a fewe dayes, merueilously increased and augmented. For the which cause, the kyng was vexed with a doble mischiefe, for he doubted muche, whome he should moste feare of twoo, either the familier enemies abydyng at home, or the extrauagant fooes, lyngeryng beyond the sea: But thiefly he prouided, but very slackly, to withstande the erle of Warwickes landyng. And first he wrote to Charles duke of Burgoin, whiche had maried the lady Margaret his suster, to helpe that therle nor his compaignie, should haue neither ayde nor refuge, in any part of his, nor his frẽdes territories or dominions. These tidynges wer ioyfull to the duke of Burgoyne, as to hym whiche (accordyng to the olde prouerbe) hated the erle of Warwicke, worse then the curre dogge, or serpent: partly, because he was the ouerthrower and confounder, of the house of Lancastre, of the which, the erle was lineally descended, by the Duches his mother, partly because therle had suche high offices, and was so renoumed in Englande, that king Edward the Dukes brother in lawe, might not do liberally all thinges in his realme, as he hym selfe would (which the duke esteemed to be a greate bondage.) And partely, because therle withstoode with all his power and might, the conclusion of the mariage betwene the kynges suster and thesaid duke. But the chief rancor was because the erle of Warwicke, fauored the Frenche kyng, whom the duke loued not, for at hys laste beeyng in Fraunce, he promised the Frenche kyng, to be frende to his frendes, and vtter enemye to his fooes and aduersaries. This roted hatered, and cankarde malice, whiche the Duke bare to the Erle, caused him to attempte mo displeasures, and to inuent mo mischiefes agaynst therle, then eyther kyng Edward could imagin, or was of the Duke required, as you shall playnly perceiue, by the sequele of this Historie.

Now let vs speake of the erle of warwickes doynges, whiche muste nedes play a pagiaunt in this enterlude, or els the plaie were at apoint. Therle as you haue hard before, sailed from Dartmouth towarde Caleis, where he was capitain generall, and with a prosperous wind came before the toune, in whiche fortresse was deputye for the erle the Lorde Uawclere a Gascoyne, besyde dyuers of therle of Warwickes seruaun-tes, which bare great offices and aucthorities in the toune. This Uaw-clere, whether he dyd it by dissimulacion, or bearyng his good mynde to kyng Edward (as by the sequele hereof, I doubt whether he dyd or no) In stede of receiuing of his master with triumphe, he bent and discharged against hym, diuerse peces of ordenaunce, sendyng him worde that he should there take no land. This naule lieng thus before Caleis ar-

The Duches of Clarẽce de liuered of a sonne vppon the sea, before the Toune of Calcis.

ryued, the duches of Clarence, was there deliuered of a fayre sonne whi-che chyld, therles deputie vnneth would suffre to be chrystened within the toune, nor without great intreaty, would permitt twoo flagons of wine to be conueighed aborde, to the ladies lyeng in the Hauen. This was a greate rigor and extremitie, for the seruaunt to vse agaynst the Master or the inferior to vse against the superior, wherefore the erle hoped and nothyng lesse mistrusted, then to be assured and purueyed in that place, whiche is the greatest treasure, that belongeth to England, and the fai-rest capitainship of the worlde, at the least in Christendom. But he was fain to kepe the seas, without comfort or aide, of any of his seruauntes. The kyng of Englande was quickly aduertised, of the refusall that Mõsire de Uauclere, made to hys capitain therle of Warwicke, whiche manfull doyng somuche pleased the kyng that incõtment he made hym chief capitayn of the toune of Calcis, by his letters patentes, whiche he sent to him out of hand, and therof discharged clerely therle, as a traitor and a rebell. Duke Charles of Burgoyne, lyng at sent Homers (which would nedes haue an owet, in the erle of Warwickes boate) beyng ad-uertised also, of Monsire de Uaucleres refusall made of his Master, sent to hym hys trusty seruaunt, Philip de Commines (whiche wrote all these doynges in a Chronicle) and gaue to hym yerely a thousand crou-nes in pencion, (a small reward God wotte, for so highe a seruice, as bu-truly to kepe his Master from his office) prayng and requiryng hym, to continew in truth and fidelitie toward kyng Edward, as he had shew-wed and begonne. The messenger founde hym so towarde and of suche confornitie, that he was content to swere in hys presence, truly to take kyng Edwardes part against all men, and onely to hys vse to kepe and defende the strong toune of Calice. But thesayed Philip de Commines sore mistrusted Monsire de Uauclere, because he sent worde to the erle of Warwyck priuily, lyeng at Whitsandbay, that if he landed he should be taken and lost: for al England (as he said) toke parte agaynst hym & duke of Burgoyn and al thinhabitantes of the toune, wer his enemies, the Lorde Duras the kynges Marshall, and all the retinue of the gar-rison wer his aduersaries: so that for a final conclusion, his onely saue-

garde

garde and comforte, were to withdrawe hym and his compaignye into Fraunce, where he knewe he should bee highly receiued & better welcomed, & as for the toune of Calice, he should take no thought for the said Monsire de Vaudere, promised thereof to make hym a good recompyng, when tyme and opportunitie should serue. This counsaill was profitable to the Erle of Warwicke, but not to the kyng of England, and lesse pleasant to the duke of Burgoin: which princes might very well think, bothe the office of the Capitaynship of Calice, and the pēcion of the. M. crounes (if it wer paied) on such a depe dissimuler, to be euil employed.

x The Erle of Warwicke, as he was both before his departure out of England determined, and also nowe by Monsire de Vaudere, newly counsailed and aduised, with his naupe sailed toward Normandy, and in the meane way, robbed, spoyled, and tooke many riche shippes, of the Duke of Burgoyns countreys (whiche sore netteled the duke, and caused hym to prepare a strong and a greate armye on the sea, to take therle prisoner, as he returned homeward) & at the last with all his naute and spoyle, he toke lande at Depe in Normandy, where the gouernor of the countrey for the Frenche kyng, frendely welcomed hym, and louinglye hym entertained, certifieng king Lewes of his landing and arriuall.

xx Kynge Lewes a greate season before, had so muche marueiled at the publique fame and common renoune, of the noble actes and hygh prowes of the Erle of Warwicke, that hee thoughte nothynge myghte more pleasauntly happe, or chaunce toward hym, then to haue a cause or occasion to him ministred, whereby he myght do the Erle some profite or pleasure. Which long lust accordyng to his desire, was now likely to take effecte, to his contentacion, and therles great commodity: wherfore beyng ioyous of his landyng in Fraunce, he sent vnto him certain princes which declared to hym on the kynges behalf, that as the kyng had long time sought waies and meanes, how to do him pleasure, aid & comfort: So seyng that now the tyme was come, that the Erle had necessitie of al those thinges, he assured him that he would neither forget him, nor yet desist to do for him any thing, which might be cōsonāt to his louing request, or frendely desire: requiring him with the duke his sonne in law to take pein to come to his castle of Amboys, set on the riuer of Leire: affirming that thei should neither lose their labor, nor think their iorney to haue euil successe in the conclusion.

xxi Whē duke Charles knew that therle was landed in Normandie, he sent in al hast a poste to king Lewes, with whom he was then ioyned in a league, requiringe him neither to help with men nor money, the erle of Warwike, nor the duke of Clarence, open enemies to king Edward, his felow, frend, and brother in law, & his perpetual alie & trusty cōfederate, adding therto sharp wordes and minatory saienges, if he would in any case be to them a refuge or succor

The Frenche king did not onely contempne his proude wordes, and laughed at his manacyng and bolde braggyng, but soberly answered, that

that without enfringyng of any league or treatye, he lawfully might & would helpe his frendes, and mespeciall suche, whiche by their desertes, be aboue other renoumed and extolled: Of whiche nombre, he affirmed therle of Warwicke to be one, whiche thyng if he dyd, he sayd: it should be neither cost, charge, nor burthen to the Duke of one blancke, nor put hym to the pein of a moment of an houre. When the duke had certified the kyng of Englande of thys answer, he was sodainly in a doumpe, and began seriously to immagine, who were his frendes, and who were his foes, and apprehended some, whom he thought gilty, & began with them to question, who were frendes to his enemies: and of their coniuracion, & (which was ỹ occasion that many fearing themselues went vnto Sanctuary) and many trustyng to the kynges pardon, submitted and yelded theimselfe to the kynges clemencye, Emongest whome, Jhon Marques Montacute, humbly yelded hymself, and vowed to bee euer true to thee kyng (as he had doen before tyme) whom he with muche humanitie and faire wordes, did receiue and intertaine, to thentent to flecte and allure the hartes of other men, to ioyne and knit with him, agaynst all hostilitie and vtter enemies

While these thynges were thus treated in Englande, therle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, rode with greate pompe toward Amboyse, where the Frenche kyng laie, and by the way the people gathered and in greate nombre flocked, to se and beholde with their eyes, the person and visage of hym, of whose valiaunt actes and wonderfull dooynges, their eares haue many tymes been fulfilled and replenished, Whē he came to the kynges presence, he was with all kyndes of curtesie and humanitie receiued and welcomed: To whome by long tracte of tyme, he declared the causes & considerations, of his comming into Fraunce. Kyng Lewes aswell hauyng nowe delectacion, with the presence of hys frende as he was accustomed to reioyse and be ioyous, when he harde either laude or prayse of him in his absence: promised him his power, his riches, and al thynges that he might or could do, to helpe him in his trouble, and to refreshe him in his aduersitie.

When Quene Margarete, whiche soiorned with Duke Reyner her father, called kyng of Scicile. &c. Harde tell that the erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had abandoned Englande, and wer come to the Frenche Courte: hopyng of new comfort, with all diligence came to Amboyse, with her onely son Prince Edward. And with her came Jasper erle of Penbroke, and Jhon erle of Oxenford, whiche after diuerse long imprisonmētes lately escaped, fled out of Englande into Fraunce and came by fortune to this assemble. After that, thei had long cōmoned & and debated diuerse matters, concernyng their surety and wealthe, they determined by meane of the Frenche kyng, to conclude a league and a treaty betwene them: And first to begin with all, for the more sure foundacion of the newe amitie, Edwarde Prince of Wales, wedded Anne second daughter to therle of Warwicke, which Lady came with her mo-

ther

ther into Fraunce. This Mariage semed very straunge to wise men, consideryng that, that the erle of Warwicke, had first dilherited the father, and then to cause his sonne, to mary with one of his daughters, whose suster the duke of Clarence before had maried, whiche was euer extreme enemye to the house of Lancastér: wher vppon they diuined that the mariage of the Prince, should euer be a blott in the Dukes eye, or the mariage of the Duke, a mote in the eye of the Prince, eche of them lokyng to be exalted when therle on hym smiled: and eche of them agayn thinkyng to be ouerthrowen, when the erle of hym lowred. After this mariage, the
x duke and therles toke a solempne othe, that they should neuer leaue the warre, vntyll suche tyme as kyng Henry the sixt, or the prince his sonne, were restored to the full possession and Diademe of the realme: and that the Quene and the Prince, should depute and appointe the Duke and the erle to be gouernours, and conseruators, of the publique wealth, till suche tyme as the Prince were come to mannes estate, and of habilitie meete and conuenient, to take vpon hym so high a charge, and so greate a burden. Ther wer many other condicions concluded, which booth reason, and the weightines of so great a busines, required to be set forward.

While these Lordes were thus in the Frenche Courte, there landed at
xx Caleys a damosell, belongyng to the Duches of Clarence (as she saied) which made Monsire de Vawclere beleue, that she was sent from kyng Edward to the erle of Warwicke, with a playn ouerture and declaratiō of peace. Of the which tidynges, Vawclere was very glad for the Erles sake, whom he thought (by thys peace) to be restored to all his olde possessions, tomes and dignities. But he was sore by this damosel deceiued for her message (as it after proued) was the begynnyng of the erles confusion. For she perswaded the Duke of Clarence, that it was neither naturall, nor honorable to hym, either to condiscende or take parte, against the house of Yorke (of which he was lineally descended) and to set vp a-
xx gain the house of Lancaster, whiche lignage of the house of Yorke, was not only by the whole Parliament of the realme, declared to be the very and indubitate heires of the Kyngdome: but also Kyng Henry the sixte and his bloude affirmed the same and there vpon made a Compolicion, whiche of record appereth. Furthermore she declared, that the mariage with therles daughter with Prince Edward, was for none other cause, but to make the Prince kyng, and clerely to extinguisshe all the house of Yorke, of whome the duke hymself was one, and next heire to the croune, after his eldest brother and his children. These reasons, and the mariage of the Prince to the Erles daughter, so sancke in the Dukes sto-
xl macke that he promised at his returne, not to be so an extreme enemie to his brother, as he was taken for, whiche promise afterwarde, he did not forget. With this answere the damosell departed into Englande, therle of Warwicke therof being clerely ignorannt.

When the League was concluded (as before you haue heard) the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, money, and men, and that they might

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the surer saile into Englande, he appoincted the Bastard of Burgoyn, Admirall of Fraunce with a greate Naule, to defende theim against the armie of the Duke of Burgoyn, which was stronger then bothe the Frenche kynges nauy, or the Englishe flete. Kyng Reyner also did helpe his daughter to his smal powre, with men and munitions of warre. When this army (whiche was not small) was conscribed and come together to Harflete, at the mouth of the riuer of Seyne, expectyng Winde and wether. The Erle of warwicke receiued letters out of Englande, that men so muche daily and hourely, desired and wished so sore his arriuall and returne, that almost all menne were in harneys, loking for his landyng: wherefore he was required to make hast, yea, hast, more then hast, although he brought no succor with him. For he was farther assured, that assone as he had once taken lande, there shoulde mete hym many thousandes, (as after it proued in deede) to do hym what seruice or pleasure thei could or might: al this was the offer of the common people. Beside this diuerse noble men wrote, to help hym with mē, harneis, money and all thynges necessary for the warre: beside their awne persones, whom thei promised to aduenture in his querell. When therle had receiued these Letters, he not a litle regardyng suche an Offer, and so many greate Benefites to hym euen at hande apparauntly proffered, fully determined with the Duke, and the Erles of Oxenford and Penbroke (because Quene Margaret and her sonne, were not fully yet furnished for suche a iorney) to go before with parte of the naule, and part of tharmye, and to attempt the firste brunte of fortune and chaunce, whiche if it well succeded, then should Quene Margarete and her Sonne, with the residue of the Naule and people follow into Englande. The Erle of Warwick thinking this weighty matter, not worthy to be lingered, but to be accelerate wt al diligence possible, takyng his leue of the Frenche kynge Lewes, geuing him no smal thākes, both on the behalfe of king Henry & also for his awn part, and so being dismissed, came where his nauy lay at Anker, commaunding his men to go on ship bord, mynding to take his course toward england.

The duke of Burgoin which was not content that therle of Warwick and his company, was succored and ayded of the French kyng agaynst his brother in lawe kyng Edward of England, to withstand that army, and to take therle of Warwicke prisoner, if it were possible. He prepared suche a greate Nauy, as lightely hath not bene sene before, gathered in maner of all naciōs, whiche army lay at the mouth of Seyne, ready to fighte with the Erle of Warwicke, when he shoulde set out of his hauen.

Se the worke of God, thesame nighte, before therle departed, ther rose such a sodain winde and a terrible tempest, that the dukes shippes were scatered one from an other, some drowned, som wether driuen into Scotland, so that twoo of them wer not in compaigny together, in one place. In the Morning next folowing, the Wether waxed faire, and the Winde prosperous

prosperous,wherbpō in hope of a bone voiage, the erle and his compa-
ny halsed vp their sayles ,and wyth good spede landed at Dartmouth
in Deuonshire,from whiche place he passed into Fraūce,almost the.vi.
moneth,last passed.

Before this tyme the duke of Burgoyne Charles,which more hated
the Erle of Warwycke,and enuied his prosperitie,then he loued kinge
Edward,sauyng for his ayde ẏ he trusted of in time of necessitie,wrote
to kynge Edwarde , bothe of the doynges of the erle of Warwycke in
Fraunce,and of hys armye and power, and also certefyed hym by hys
x trusty seruaūtes of the place, where the erle purposed with all his peo-
ple to take lande, kynge Edward passed litle on the matter , trustynge
to much to the mouable comunons of his Realme,and wythout any ar-
my layd,eyther to kepe the Erle from landinge,either to encountre wᵭ
hym at the first arryuall,to the entēt that hys frendes should not draw
in hepes to him for his strength,left al purueiance for defence alone, &
rode on huntyng,haukyng and vsyng all maner of pastimes,wyth La-
dyes and Damosels,for hys dispoyt and solace that could be imagened
or inuented. When the Erle of Warwycke had taken lande, he made
a Proclamacion in the name of kynge Henry the sixt vpō hygh paynes
xx commmaundyng and chargyng al men apt,or able to beare armour,to
prepare thē selfs to fyght against Edwarde duke of Yorke,which con-
trary to al ryght, Justice and law,had vntruely vsurped the Croune &
Imperial dignitie of this realm. It is almost vncredible to thinke how
sone the fame of the Erles landyng was blowen ouer, thorowe all the
whole realme,and how many thousand men of warre, at the very first
tidinges of hys landing,were sodainly assembled and set forwarde to
welcome him. When he was thus,accordyng to his desire, fully furni-
shed on euery syde wyth his kinred & frendes, he toke his way toward
London,where he iudged and faythfully beleued, to fynde more open
xxx frendes then priuie enemies,or cancard hartes.

When kyng Edward knew of the Erles landynge,and of the great
repayre of people , that to him incessantly without intermission dyd re-
sorte,he then began to thinke on his busynes,and studied how to fynde
a remedy for a mischief, (but this was to late) And first he wrote to the
Duke of Burgoyne , requiringe hym to haue a vigylant eye to the sea,
and so to se the stremes kept and scoured with his nauie, that the Erle
neither should nor might returne againe into Fraunce,yf he shoulde be
agayne propulsed out of the Realme . And as for the doynges in Eng-
lande he bad let hym alone , for he was bothe of puissaunce and abilitie,
xl sufficient to ouercome,and defend al his enemies and rebelles, within
hys own Realme and countrey. This saiyng littel or nothing pleased
the duke of Burgoyns messengers , for they thought that it had bene
muche more profitable to kyng Edward,to haue circumspectly forsene
afore,and prouyded to stoppe hys landyng,then now sodainly to abide
the fortune of battayll,which is euer dubious and vncertayne . Kynge

Edward accõpanied with the duke of Glocester his brother & the lord Hastynges his Chamberleyn, which had maried the Erles sister, & yet was euer true to the kynge his maister, and the lord Scales brother to the Quene, sent out curriers to al his trustie frendes, for the furniture of able persones, mete for the warre, and conuenyent for the defence of hys owne royal person, entendinge yf he might by any pollecy or subtil engyn to circumuent or trappe the erle of Warwycke, knowyng perfitly that yf he had ones maistred the chief belwether, the flocke woulde sone be dispercled.

Of them that were sent for, fewe in effect came, and yet more came p then were wylling, and more came willingly then were betrusted, some came for feare, and some muche doughted to come, but the greatest heddes wynked and sayd thei could not, but they ment they would not come. Kyng Edward beyng in this perplexitie, and in diffidence of reisyng any army, with such trusti frendes as he had, departed into Lyncolnshire, consultyng what was best to be done, but sodainly or he was fully determyned on any certayn purpose, newes were brought to him that al the tounes and al the coũtrey adiacent was in a great roze, and made fiers and sange songes, criyng king Henry, kyng Henry, a Warwycke, a Warwycke. Kinge Edwarde was muche abashed wyth these pr new tidinges, and more and more his espialles and explorators declared and accõpted to hym, that al the Realme was vp, and by open Proclamacion commaũded to make warre agaynst him, as enemy to kinge Henry and the Realme, wherfore his nere frendes aduised and admonished him to flie ouer the sea to the Duke of Burgoyne, his brother in lawe, there to tary tyl God and fortune should sende him better luck and chaunce, he beyng somwhat ruled by this counsail, but much more quickened by hauing knowelege, that some of the Erle of Warwyckes power was wythin a halfe daies iorney, and lesse of his tayle, wyth all hast possyble passed the washes (in greater ieoperdye then it besemed a pr Prince to be in) & came to the towne of Linne, where he founde an Englysh shyp .x.ij. Hulkes of Holland redy (as fortune wolde) to make sail and take their iorney, wherupon he beyng in a meruelous agonye and doughting the mutabilitie of the tounes menne, takyng no farther leysure for his sure succor & sauegard, with hys brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, & dyuers other hys trusty frendes entred into the shyp without bagge or bagage, without cloth sack, or male, and perchaunce with a great purse, & littel treasure, for he nor his had no leiser to prouyde, according to their degrees & estates. The lord Chamberlayne taried a while after exhortyng al his acquaintaunce, that of necessitie should tarye behinde, to shew thẽ selfs openly as frendes, to the parte aduerse for their owne sauegard, but hartly requiring them priuely to cõtinewe in their hartes trew to kyng Edward & frẽdly to him & his: this persuasion declared he entered, the shyp with ỹ other, which wer redy to depart. This was in the yere of our lords blessed incarnacion

tion.M.v.C.lxx.& in the.ix.yere of kyng Edward: When he with one smal ship of his own, & two Hulkes, & vij.or.viij.C.persones, with him hauyng no rayment, but apparell for warre, & small store of money, sailed toward Holland. At whych time the Esterlinges were mortal enemyes, aswel to the Englishmen as to the Frenche nacyon, & had done ỹ last yeres past much preiudice & domage to the Englishe marchantes, both in takyng and spoyling of shippes.

And as the kyng with sayle and ower was makynge hys course as fast as could be possible, the Easterlynges, whych had many shyppes of
x warre on the sea, him espied (according to the olde prouerbe) one yll cõmeth neuer alone, and with.vij.or.viij.gallant shippes, began to chace the king and his company. The kinges ship was good with sayle, and so much gat of the Easterlynges, that she came on the coast of Holland, and so discended lower, before a toune in Holland, called Alquemar, and there cast Ancker as nere the toune as was possible, because they could not enter the hauen at an ebbyng water. The Esterlynges also approched the Englysh ship as nere as their great shipppes could come at the lowe water, entending at the flud to haue obteyned their pray, and so they were likely to do, yf Monsieur de Gronture, gouernour for duke
xx Charles in Holland had not at that season bene personally presente in those parties.

O what a miserable chaunce & straunge lucke was thys to happen so sodainly to a kyng, and in especial to suche a king, as by his owne valyantnesse & prowes had ouercome his foes, & destroied his enemies in more then.v.or.vj.great & mortal battayles. First to be persecuted, exiled, & expulsed hys owne Realme & kyngdõ, by hys owne seruauntes, subiectes and kynsmen. Secondarely, beyng destitute of all helpe and consolacion, flyng to his onely frende & brother in law duke Charles, for refuge and comfort, to be chased on the sea by hys mortall enemies
xxx and deadly foes, & lyke to be taken prysoner, and brought into the captiuitie, which thyng yf it had happened (as God woulde that it should not) he had lien long vnraunsoned (kyng Henry being restored to hys pristinate estate and dignitie royal) or els he had dyed prisoner in great wretchednes & misery. These soure sauces he tasted as a penaunce for his wanton liuyng, & negligent ouerseyng of thynges that he myghte well haue forsene & preuented, but his mynd was so geuen to pastyme daliaunce, & sensual pleasure, that he forgat the olde adage, saiynge, in tyme of peace prouyde for warre, & in the time of war prouide for peace which thing yf he either had wel remẽbred, or politiquely prouided for
xl he had not beue chaced & expulsed hys Realme within.xi.dayes, as he was in dede. The onely excuse of his foly is to say, that he so much trusted fortunes flatteryng, that he thought neuer to see her chaunce, nor yet to haue at dyce any yl chaunce, or at chestes any checke mate.

King Edward thus lyeng at Ancker in great feare of the Easterlinges, was by good chaũce cõforted, & of his great perplexitie releued, or

he wist how, for the same tyme laye in the towne of Alquemare the lord Gronture, chief gouernour of Hollande, for duke Charles of Borgoyn which beyng incontinent aduertised of the kynges arryual, and also of the great ieoperdy that he was in, prohibited fyrste the Easterlynges in no wyse on paine of death, to intermit or medle with any Englishmē which were both the dukes frendes & alies: which commaundemēt so vexed and troubled the Easterlynges, makyng sure reconyng to haue had for their pray & pyrse, a kyng, a Duke, diuerse Barons & ryche gē-telmen, that they cryed out of God, rayled & cursed the duke & hys officer, and in a rage halsed vp their sailes, & without any more expectacio of good lucke, departed home to the countreye. The Lorde Gronture came a bord the shyp, where kyng Edward was, & him honorably saluted & required him to come to land, offering him his seruice wt all pleasure that he coulde do or imagine to be done. The kyuge hym hartelye thāked, & was wel reuiued & cōforted with his wordes, & so he with al his company were set on land, and wel refreshed. The lorde Gronture lyke a noble man, considering in what poore, estate and necessitie ỹ king & his people were in, ministred to them habundantly al thinges conuenient & necessary, according to euery mannes estate and degre, at ỹ dukes charge & cost. And after they had bene wel refreshed & newly apparreyled, he conduyted them to the Hage, a ryche toune in Hollande, where they arryued on the churche holy daye, not longe after Michelmas. The lorde Gronture, of al this aduenture wrote to the duke hys master, which thereat, was at the first so abashed & amased to se ỹ earle of Warwycke, whome he hated more then a Cocodrille, to haue the vpperhande of hys brother, that he had rather haue heard of kinge Edwardes death, then of his discomfiture, & especially by the erle of Warwycke, whom he more feared and disdayned, then any one man liuyng yet he willed the lorde Gronture to se hym & hys company, wel enterteyned at the Hage, tyll he sent for them.

Now let al Englyshmen consider (as before is rehersed) what profyt, what commoditie, & what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the lady Margarete, kyng Edwardes syster to the duke Charles, did to him in hys extreme necessitie: & but by that mean vncurable extremitie, for his alies & cōferates in Castel & Arragon, were to farre from hym, eyther spedely to flye to, or shortly to come fro wyth any ayde or armye. The French kyng was his extreme enemie, and frende to kynge Henry, for whose cause in the kyng of Scottes (for al the leage betwene them) he did put littel confidence & lesse truste. The stedes & all Eastland were wyth him at open warre, & yet by thys mariage, God prouyded hym a place to flie to, both for refuge and for releue.

When the fame was spred of kynge Edwardes flyynge, innumerable people resorted to the Erle of Warwycke to take hys parte, but all kyng Edwardes trusty frendes went to diuers sentuaries, dayly looking, and howerly harkening, to hear of his health, & prosperous retorn

who

who afterward serued hym manfully & truly. Emongest other, Quene Elizabeth hys wyfe, al moste desperate of all comfort, tooke sentuarye at Westminster, & their in great penury forsakē of all her frendes, was delyuered of a fayre sonne called Edwarde, whych was with smal pōpe lyke a poore mans child Christened & Baptised, the Godfathers being the Abbot & Prior of Westmynster, & the Godmother ỳ lady Scrope.

Kyng Edward ỳ fyfth borne in sanctuarye.

The Kentyshmen thys season, whose wittes be euer mouable at the chaunge of Prynces came to the subberbes of London, & spoyled houses, robbed berehouses, and by the counsayll of Sir Geffray Gates & x other sentuary men, they brake vp the kynges Benche, & deliuered prisoners, which fel at Radclefe, Limehouse, & S. Katherines to burning of houses, slaughter of people, & rauishing of womē: which smal sparcle had growen to a great flame, yf the erle of Warwycke wyth a greate power had not sodaynly quēched it, and punished ỳ offendors: whyche benefite by him done, caused him much more to be praised and accepted emonges the commons then he was before. When he had setteled and put an order in al thinges, accordynge as he thought most conuenient, Upon the.xij. day of October he rode to the towre of London, whyche was to him wt out resistence deliuered, and ther toke king Hēry the.vj xx out of ỳ ward, wher he before was kept, and was brought to the kings lodging and there serued, according to his degre. And the.xxv. day of the said moneth, ỳ duke of Clarence accompanyed wt the erles of Warwycke, Shrewsbury, and ỳ lord Stanley, and other lordes & Gentlemen, some for fear, & some for loue, and some onely to gase at the wauering world, resorted wt a great company to the towre of London, and from thence with greate pompe brought kyng Henry the.vj. appareld in a longe gowne af blew veluet, through ỳ high streates of London, to the cathedral church of sainct Paule, the people on the right hand, and on the left hand, reioysing & crying God saue the kynge, as though all xxx thyng had succeded as they would haue it, and when he had offered as kynges vse to do, he was conueyed to the palleys of the byshop of London, and there kept hys housholde lyke a kynge.

Kyng Henry ỳ.vj. agayne restored to hys kyngely estate.

King Henry the.vj. thus readepted (by that meanes, onely of ỳ erle of Warwycke) his croune & dignitie Royal, in the yere of oure Lorde 1471. newly, after so many ouerthrowes beginnynge to reygne, likely within short space to fal agayn, and to tast more of hys accustomed captiuitie and vsuall misery. This yll chaūce & misfortune, by many mēs opiniōs happened to him, because he was a man of no great wyt, such as men comonly call an innocent man, neyther a foole, neyther very wyse xl whose study alwayes was more to excel, other in Godly liuing & vertеous example, then in worldly regimente, or temporall dominion, in so much, that in cōparison to ỳ study and delectatiō that he had to vertue, and godlynes, he litle regarded, but in maner despysed al worldlye power & temporall authoritie, which sildome folow or seke after such persons, as frō them flye or disdayne to take them. But his enemies ascry-

bed all this to hys coward stomack, affermyng that he was a man apt to no purpose, nor mete for any enterpryse, were it neuer so small. But who soeuer despiseth or dispraiseth, that which the cõmon people, allow and marueyl at, is often taken of them for a mad & vndiscrete persone, but notwithstandynge the vulgare opinion, he that foloweth, loueth & embraseth the contrary, both proue doth sad and wyse (verifying Salomons prouerbe) the wisedom of this world, is folishnes before God. Other ther be that ascribe his infortunitie, onely to the stroke & punishment of God, afferming that the kingedome, whiche Henry the.iiij. his grandfather wrongfully gat, and vniustly possessed against kinge Rychard the.ij. & his heires, could not by very diuine iustice, longe contynew in that iniurious stocke: And that therfore God by his diuine prouidence, punished the offence of the grandfather, in the sonnes sonne.

When kyng Henry had thus obteyned again, the possession & dominion of the realme, he called his high court of Parliament to begin the xxvi. daye of Nouember at Westminster, in the which kynge Edward was declared a traytor to his coũtrey, & vsurpor of the realme, because he had vniustly taken on him, the Croune knd Scepter, & al his goodes were cõfiscate & adiudged, forfayted: & lyke sentence was geuen against all his partakers & frẽdes. And beside this, it was ther enacted that extreme punishment should be done wythout delay ouer such persons, as for his cause were taken or apprehended, & were either in captiuitie, or went at large vpon trust of their suerties, emongest whõ lord Jhon Typtoft, erle of Worcester leuetenaunt, for king Edward in Ireland exercising ther more extreme crueltie (as the fame wẽt) then princely pity, or charitable cõpassyon, & in especial on.ij. enfantes, being sonnes to the erle of Desmõd, was either for treason to him layed or malice agaynst hym conceyued, atteinted & behedded. Beside this, all estatutes made by king Edward, were clerely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate. The Crounes of the realmes of Englãd & Fraunce, was by ỹ authoritie of the same Parliament entayled to kyng Henry the.vj. and the heyres males of hys body lawfully begotten, & for default of suche heire male of hys body begotten, then ỹ sayd crounes & dignities were entayled to George duke of Clarence, & to heires males of hys bodye lawfully engendred, and farther the sayd duke was by authoritie aforsayd enabled to be next heire to hys father, Richard duke of Yorke, & to take by dyscent from him al hys landes, dignities & preheminences as though he had ben his eldest sonne & heire, at the time of his death. Jasper erle of Penbroke, and Jhon erle of Oxenford, and diuers other by kyng Edward attaynted, were restored to their old names, possessions, and auncient dignities (kepe them euen as longe as they myght) Besyde thys, the erle of Warwycke as one to whome the cõmon welth was much beholden, was made Ruler & Gouernor of the Realm, wyth whome as felow and compainion was associated, George duke of Clarence hys sonne in law. So that by these meanes the whole estat, both

of

of the realme, and the publique wealth of the same, wer newly altred & chaunged, yea, and in maner clerely transfigured and transmuted. To thys Parliament came the lorde Marques Montacute, excusyng him self that onely for fear of death, de declined to kynges Edwardes part, whych excuse was so accepted, that he obteyned his pardon, which, after was the destruccyon, of him and his brother: For if he had manfully and apartly taken king Edwardes parte, surely he beyng an open enemie, had much lesse hurted, then beyng a fayned, false and a coloured frende: for such thyngs as we se before our iyes, we be wel ware of, and
x seldome thinges before knowen, do vs any hurt or preiudice.

Quene Margaret, after that the erle of Warwycke was sailed into England, euer forcastyng and doubtyng, the chaunce that might happen, did neuer cease to praye to God, to sende victory to her frendes, & confederates: whiche, when she knew by her husbandes letters to bee obteygned, she wyth Prince Edward her sonne, and her trayn, entred their shyppes, to take their voyage into Englande: but ỹ Wynter was so sore, the wether so stormie, and the wynde so contrariant, ỹ she was fayn to take land agayn, and defer her iorney til another season. Her enemies sayed, that it was Goddes iuste prouision, that she whyche had
xx bene the occasion of so many battayles, and of so muche manslaughter in Englande, should neuer returne thether agayn, to do more mischief. Her frẽdes on the other syde, sayd, that she was kept away, and her iorney empeched by Sorcerers and Necromanciers: thus as mennes imaginacions ranne, their toungues clacked.

In thys season Jasper erle of Penbroke, went into Wales, to visite hys Countie of Penbroke, where he found lord Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Erle of Richemõd, hauyng not fully ten yeres of his age complete, which was kept in maner like a captyue: but well and honorably educated, and in all kynde of Ciuilitie brought vp, by the Ladye
xxx Harbert, late wyfe to William Erle of Penbroke, behedded at Banbery as you before haue heard. This lorde Hẽry was he, that after king Richard, brother to kyng Edwarde, was banquyshed and ouerthrowen, obteyned the croune and regalitie of thys realme, whom we oughte to beleue, to be sent from God, and of hym onely to bee prouided a kynge, for to extinguish both the faccions and partes, of kyng Henry the. vj. & of kyng Edward the fourth (which had almost brought the nobilitie of thys realme, to a final destruccion and an vtter decaye) consyderinge, that he once exalted to that dignitie, nothing more mynded, nor to any one thynge his study more applied: This Henry was borne of Margaret, the onely doughter and heire, to Jhon the first Duke of Somerset
xl then not beyng fully of. xiiij. yeres of age. The whych Lady Margaret, although she were after conioyned in mariage, with Lorde Henry sonne to Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, and after to Thomas Stanley erle of Darby, bothe beynge lusty, and of age mete for generacio: yet afterward she broughte furth no more fruite, as thoughe she had done

her part sufficiently, for to haue borne one man child, and the same to be a kyng. Jasper erle of Penbroke toke thys child being his nephew, out of the custody of the Lady Harbert, and at hys returne, he brought the childe to London, to kinge Henry the sixt, whome, when the kyng had a good space by him self, secretly beholden and marked, both hys wit, & his likely towardnes, he sayed to suche princes, as were then w hym: Lo, surely this is he, to whom both we and our aduersaries leuyng the possession of all thinges, shall hereafter geue rome and place. So thys holy man shewed before, the chaunce that should happen, that thys erle Henry so ordeyned by God, should in tyme to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioye the kingdome, and the whole rule of the realme.

Thys was kyng Henry the seuenth.

As I haue shewed to you before, what thynges were done in Englād after that kyng Henry obteyned the newe possession, of hys old kyngedome, thinkynge surely to haue possessed, and enioyed the same lenger season then either he did, or coulde by his aduersaries, be permitted, or suffered to do: so must I of congruent necessitie declare vnto you, what greate perplexitie, what sodain trouble, what multiplicitie of immaginacions, the landing of kyng Edward in Friseland, brought to and encombered wyth all, Charles duke of Burgoyn: and how fraudulently for hys owne aduantage he dissimuled, first with king Edward, and after wyth his partie aduerse, and how that he openly denied aid to king Edward, when he priuely ministered, ample and large succors to hym and his. I thinke you would not, that these thinges shoulde be forgotten: wherfore you must call to remembraunce, how that duke Charles had before this (as you haue hard) great intelligence with Mõsire the Uawclere, as he list him self to be called, either chief Capitain of Caleis or els deputie Capitayn, to the erle of Warwycke, which had promised to hym by the Duke, a pencyō yerely of a thousand Crounes, to the intent to stande stil true to king Edward, and to relinquishe kyng Henry but in especiall to abandon therle of Warwycke. The Duke althoughe that he had final confidence, but rather great diffidence in the othe and promise of Mõsire de Uawclere: thought it necessary to know, in what case Caleis stode, & what mutaciõs were there, because it was his next neighbor, (for that tyme Bulleyn and Bullenoys, and al Artoys, were in the handes of Duke Charles) as a pledge deliuered to his father, as is before rehersed. Wherfore in al hast (before he sent for king Edward or spake with him) he sent his trustie counsayler Phillip de Commines accompaignied wyth two gentlemen to Caleis, which two gentlemen fauored more the partie of Lancastre then of Yorke. The lord of Argēton met with ꝑ people of the countrey of Bullenoys, flyng from euery parte lyke wylde dere. For the erle of Warwycke, had now lately sent to Caleis, four hundred archers on horsbacke, which forraied and spoiled al the countrey of Bullenoys. The Dukes messengers, whych had not sene so sodain mutacion of worldly thynges, durst not kepe on their iorney, but the same nyght taryed at Turneham, and sent to Mõstre de Uawclere

Uawclere for a saueconduite, and also wrote to the Duke, of the feare that they were in. The Duke sent worde to Phillip de Comines, that he and his with al spede, shoulde passe toward Caleis, and if they there wer taken, he would shortly for a raunsom, bye or redeme them agayn. For he passed litle, either of the peyn of his seruaunt, or of his charge & expence, so that his purpose might be serued. When thys woorde was brought to the messengers at Turnehan, at thesame time thei receiued a letter, from Mõsire de Uawclere, with louyng wordes and gracious termes, declarynge that they might sauely come, and frely departe, as
x before they wer liberally accustomed: so that sir Phillip and his cõpaygnions came to Caleis, without any meting or solempne entertainmẽt contrary to tholde fashyõ that he had sene. Whẽ thei entered the toune they might perceyue euery man, did wer therle of Warwickes badge & on euery dore wer set whit Crosses, and ragged staues, with rimes and poyses, which purported the French kynge, and the erle of Warwycke wer al one. These thinges semed very straunge, and nothyng pleasant to the Burgonions. The lorde Uawclere sent for them to dîner ỹ next day, beyng wel accompaignied, and did were on his cap, a whit ragged staffe of gold enameled, and so dyd many other, and he ỹ coulde haue it,
xx neither of gold nor of siluer, had it of silke and cloth: this badge was takẽ vp within one quarter of an houre, after the newes came out of England: suche is ỹ mutacyõ of the cõmon people, lyke a rede wyth euery wind is agitable and flexible. Whil these Burgoniõs lay thus in Caleis thei had knowledge that therle of Warwicke had prepared. iiij. M. valiaunt men, to make frontier warre on the dukes countreyes, whereof by poste they certified the Duke, whych so fumed and smoked at ỹ matter, that he wyst neyther well what to do, nor of whõ to aske cõfortable or wholsome counsayl. For warre he was compelled to haue wyth the French kyng, which had taken from him certayn tounes: and yf he succoured king Edward, he was sure that wyth the Erle of Warwicke he
xxx shoulde haue no peace: and yf he lefte kyng Edward his confederate & alie, in the tyme of hys tribulacion, disconsolate, and destitute of aid and succoure, al the worlde of him might speake shame, vnfaithfulnesse and dishonor. When the duke had well aduised this matter, he wrote to his messengers, that thei should require to haue the league made, betwene the two realmes, kept and obserued, with diuerse other priuie instrucions. Phillip de Comines, beynge wyse and wel learned, declared to the counsayl of Caleis, that the Duke hys maister not a litle marueiled why the Englyshmen should ouer runne, and destroye the countreyes,
xl hauyng a league so sure, so strong, and with so many wordes of efficacy enforsed, lately made betwene the two countreyes, their territories & dominions, affermyng that the mutacion of the Prince, is no dissolucio of the league: For although the Princes be named, as chief contractors in euery treatie and amitie concluded, yet the Countreyes are boundẽ, and the subiectes shal make recompence, yf anye thynge bee altered wrong-

wrongfully out of his course. And the rather to obtein their desire, thei caused all the merchauntes goodes of Englande, beyng in the Dukes Countreies, to be attached for the redresse of the spoyle, that ỹ Englishmen had done in the Dukes Countrey. Whyche sore greued the Merchauntes, and muche hindered their voiages: beside this, the Merchãtes of the Staple of Caleis, wrote to the king, and to the erle of Warwicke: how, if their Wolle and fell at Caleis, were not sold and vttered as it was wont to be (the greatest part wherof, was brought by ỹ Dukes subiectes and vassals for redy money) the souldiers of the garrison should lacke their wages, the kyng shoulde not be payed hys custome, & the Merchaunt in conclusion shoulde stande in aduenture, both of losse of stocke and credence. These perswasions mollified therle of Warwickes mynde, and especially, because the kyng had no greate store of money, to furnishe Caleys withal, which store if he had had, surely ỹ duke of Burgoyne for al the league, had bene a litle disturbed, and greuously molested. But consyderyng that al things were not, correspondent at thys time to therles appetite: he was content that it should be thus cõdescended and agreed, that the alyaunce made betwene the Realme of Englande and the Dukes dominions, should stil remain inuiolated, sauyng in the stede of Edwarde, shoulde be put, for the kynge, thys name Henry. Thys conclusyon thus brought to an ende, came (euen as a mã would wishe) to passe, for the Duke of Burgoyns purpose, for at thys same tyme, the Frenche kyng had wonne from hym, the faire toune of Amias, and sainct Quintines, so that if the Duke should haue had war both with Fraunce and Englande, he had bene likely to haue bene shortely a poore duke, and els vtterly vndone and brought to destruccyon. And to pacifie and please the Erle of Warwycke, whom he neuer loued and lesse fauoured: he wrote louingly to hym, declaring that as he was lineally descended, and naturally procreated, of the noble stocke and familie of Lancaster, by his grand mother, beyng daughter to the hyghe and mighty Prince Jhon of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: so was he by nature obliged, and by aliance enforsed to support, honor, maintein and defende, thesayd noble house & lignage, during his lyfe, as euer he hath done, both in worde and dede, agaynst all maner of persones and estates: furthermore, promysyng to beare hys good harte, louinge mind, & frendly fauor, to kynge Henry the syxt and hys sequele, before al other Princes and Potentates, wyth many other flatteryng termes, & glosyng wordes: whych faire promises, I thynke neither the duke hymself inwardly mynded, nor yet outwardely beleued.

Now to returne to king Edward, beyng in the Duke of Burgoins land, which although he were out of his countrey, yet did he neuer dispaire, but had a ferme hope, to haue a mature and redy occasion to hym geuen, how to obteyne his kingdome and dominion, and that in shorte space. For partly, he hoped of a greate helpe, of his brother in lawe the Duke of Burgoyn, and partly, he was daily solicited by the letters and

messages

messages of men of his faccion in Englande, to returne with all spede, promising him company and comforte. Many other there wer, which eyther for fear of the rigor of the law, which they had offended, or elles disdayning that the worlde was so altered: or els being brought into kyng Edwardes favor, had hope to exercyse their pollinge romes, as they did before his fliyng out of England, dayly came to him from England, and prouoked him more and more, to take his iorney homward kyng Edward in maner ravished with their golden promyses, came to the Duke of Burgoin, to the toune of Sent Pol, and there declared to
x hym what great intelligẽce he had in the realme of Englãd, and what assured frendes he had in thesame, requiring him to aide hym w̃ spede as his onely truste, and sole hope of relife was in him, beinge not onely his brother in law, but ech beyng compaignion of others order: for the kyng ware the golden Flees, and the duke wer the Gartier. The duke of Somerset, which was cosin germain, remoued to the Duke of Burgoyn, and brought vp, and had a pencyõ in the Dukes house. (For surely the Duke of Burgoyn loued better the house of Lancastre, thẽ the house of Yorke) sore labored to the cõtrary, affirming that is was both vngodly, vnpryncely, and vnnaturall, to exalte and set vp a straunger,
xx hauing no ryght, and to depose and depryue hys naturall kynsman, hauing a iust title discended to him, from the king hys father, & the kyng his grandfather, from his scepter and regalitie. Duke Charles was in a great perplexitie, not knowyng wel what to say, whether consanguinitie shoulde preuayle more, or affinitie, or nature before favor, not willyng yf he might, to displease any of bothe the parties. But because the warre was ouert at hys very nose, with the French king: he cõcluded openly (but entending another thyng secretly) to aide the duke of Somerset, and other that were with hym, takyng of thẽ certain promises, for thynges to be done against the erle of Warwicke: when they should
xxx espie their tyme, moste propice and conueniẽt: The Duke of Somerset ioyous of these newes, sailed into Englande, and made report to kyng Henry. Kyng Edward was present, and heard al this determinacyon, which brought him into greate heauines, and a depe perplexitie: howe beit, he was priuely aduertysed by a frende, that these cloked dissimulacions, were onely for thys cause, that Duke Charles would in no wyse haue warre with both the realmes at once, and further, yf the said duke were put to the worse, or vanquyshed by the French kyng, then he wer not able, neyther to aide, nor to succor king Edward. Wherfore to blind with al the French kyng, which sore desired, that the duke myght haue
xl warre wyth England: for then he knew that his enterpryse, wer more then halfe gotten. The Duke declared opẽly, that he would in no wise minister any succors to kyng Edward, straightly chargyng & commaũdyng, vpon peyne of the harte, that no man should once passe the sea w̃ hym, or in hys army. But al this proclamacion notwythstandyng whẽ the duke saw that kyng Edward, vpõ hope of his frendes, would nedes

repaire

repaire into England again (he hauing compassyon of his vnfortunate chaunce) caused priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie. M. Florence, of the crosse of saynct Andrewe, and further caused foure great shyppes to be appoynted for him, in the hauen of Vere in zelaude, whiche is fre for all men to come to, and the duke hired farther for hym. xiiij. shyppes of the Esterlynges, well appoynted, and for the more suretie, toke bond of thē to serue him truely, till he were landed in Englād, and. xv. daies after. Of which returning, the Esterlynges were glad, trustyng that by that meane, yf he obteyned agayn the possession of the realme, they shoulde the soner come to a concord and a peace, and to the restitucion of their liberties and franchises, which they claymed to haue within England. The duke of Burgoyn as men reported, cared not much on whose side victory fel, sauing for paiment of his money. For he would oft saye, that he was frende to both partes, and eche part was frendly to hym.

The.x.pere.

The.x. pere.

KInge Edward beynge thus furnyshed, thoughte nothynge more peynful and wretched, then the taryng of one day lenger, nor nothynge more too be desired, then wyth al celeritie to sayle toward his countrey: wherupon hauyng wyth hym xx onely two. M. men of warre, besyde maryners, in the spring of ỹ yere. In the yere of oure Lorde. 1. 4. 6. 1. at the same verye season, that the Duke of Burgoyn, went to fight wyth the French kyng at Amias. He sayled into England, and came on the cost of Yorke shire, to a place called Rauenspurr, and there settyng all hys men on lande, he consulted with his Capitaines, to knowe to what place, they should first for succor resort vnto: for he imagened that no way could be for hym sure, hauing so small a company of souldiours.

Kynge Edwardes landynge.

After long debatyng, it was cōcluded, that diuerse persones hauing light horses, should skoure the coūtrey on euery side, to se yf by any perxxs swasions, they mighte allure the hartes of the rusticall and vplandyshe people, to take kyng Edwards part, and to were harnes in his querel: which, with al diligence, folowed their commission. It semeth somwhat to leane to the trueth, that kyng Edward beyng a wise and a circūspect Prynce, woulde not haue bene so foolishe hardy, as to enter Englande with halfe a handful of men of warre, excepte he had bene sure of spedy succor and faythful frendshyp: In whyche argument is no doubte, but that the duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Mouncacute, had secretly procured hys fauor, of which priuie signes and cloked worckynges, open tokens, & manifest doynges, xl afterward appered. The lyght horsemen which were sent about, after they had felte the mindes and ententes, of the rude people (as much as they myght) they returned to kyng Edward ỹ next day, making relacion that all the tounes rouud about, were permanent and stiffe on the parte of kyng Henry, and could not be remoued: and that it was but a

foly

folye farther to solicite or attempt them, considerynge that when they were moued and exhorted to be trew to kynge Edwarde, not one man durste speke for feare of the Erle of Warwycke.

Which aunswere, when kyng Edward had perfitly digested, of very necessitie he chaunged hys purpose: for where before his clayme was to be restored to the croune and kyngdome of England, nowe he caused it to be published that he onely claymed the Duchie of Yorke, to ỹ entent that in requyring nothyng, but that which was bothe trew and honest, he might obtayne the more fauor of the common people. It was almost
x incredible to se what effect this new imaginacion (all thoughe it were but fayned) sorted and toke immediatly vpon the fyrst openinge (Such a power hath Justice euer emõgest all men) whẽ it was blowen abrode that kyng Edwardes desyre was farther from nothyng, then from̃ the couetyng or desyre of the kyngdome and royall dominion, and that he no erthelye promocion desyred before hys iuste patrimony, and lyneall enheritance: All men moued with mercye and compassion, began out of hande either to faour hym or els not to resiste him, so that he mighte obteyne his duchie of Yorke, when he had founde these meanes to pacifie mens myndes, and to reconcile their hartes, he determined to take his
xi iorney toward Yorke, and so went to Beuerley. Therle of Warwycke which then lay in Warwyke shyre, beyng enformed that kyng Edward was landed, and goyng toward Yorke, with al hast wrote to the Marques Montacute hys brother, whiche had lyen at the Castell of Pomfret all the laste wynter, with a great company of Souldears, geuynge hym warnyng, and aduertesyng hym in what perill their whole affayres stode in, if their enemy should obtayne ỹ possession, or entre into the citie of Yorke, willyng and commaunding him to set on kyng Edward with all expedicion, & byd hym battayle, or els to kepe the passage, that he should passe no farther, tyll he hym self had gathered a greater host,
xii which with all diligence, he was assemblynge to come and ioyne wyth his brother the Marques. And because that the erle knew not by what way hys enemies wolde take their iorney, he wrote to al the townes of Yorkeshyre, and to the citie also, commaundyng all men on the kynges behalfe, to be redy in harnes, and to shutte their gates against the kynges enemyes. Kyng Edward without any wordes spoken to hym, cam peaceably nere to Yorke, of whose commynge, when the citiezens wer certefied, without delay they armed them selfe, and came to defend the gates, sendyng to hym two of the chiefest Aldermen of the citie, whych ernestly admonished hym on their behalfe to come not one foote nerar,
xi nor temerariously to enter in to so great ieopardy, considerynge that they were fully determined, and bent to cõpell hym to retract with dẽt of swourd, kyng Edward markyng well their message, was not a littel troubled and vnquietee in hys mynde, and driuen to seke the furtheste poynt of hys wit, for he had both two mischeuous and perilous chaunces, euen before his eyes, which were hard to be euaded or refelled, one

was if he should go backe agayn, he feared leste the rurall and common people for coueteousnes of pray, and spoyle, woulde fall on hym, as one that fled away for feare & dreade. The other was, if he should procede any farther in hys iorney, then myght the citiezens of Yorke issue out with all their power, and sodaynly circumuent hi n & take hym, wherfore he determined to set forward, neither with army nor with weapõ: but with lowly wordes, & gentel entreatynges, requyryng moste hartely the messengers that were sent, to declare to the citizens, ỹ he came neither to demaunde the realme of Englãd, nor the superiorities of the same, but onely the duchie of Yorke his olde enheritance, the which duchie, if he might by their mæanes readept and recouer, he would neuer let passe out of hys memorie so great a benifite, and so frendly a gratuitie to hym exhibited. And so with fayre wordes and flatterynge speche he dismissed the messengers, and with good spede he and his folowed so quickly after, that they were almost at ỹ gates as ione as the Ambassadors. The citezens heryng his good answere, that he ment, nor entended nothynge preiudiciall to kynge Henry, nor his royall authoritie, were muche mitigated & cooled, & began to cõmen with him from their walles, willyng him to conuey hym selfe into some other place without delay, which if he did they assured hym, ỹ he should haue neither hurte nor damage, but he gently speakyng to all men, and especially to suche as were Aldermen, whome he called worshipfull, and by their proper names them saluted, after many fayre promises to thẽ made, exhorted & desyred them that by their fauorable frendshyp, & frendly permission he might enter into his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. All the whole daye was consumed in doutful communication & ernest interlocution. The citiezens partely wonne by hys fayre wordes, & partly by hope of hys large promises, fell to this pact & conuention, that yf kyng Edward woulde swere to entertayne his citiezens of Yorke after a gentell sorte & fashyon, and here after to be obedient, and faythfull to all kyng Henryes commaundementes and preceptes, that then they woulde receyue hym in to their citie, & ayde and cõfort hym with money. Kynge Edward (whome the citizens called onely Duke of Yorke) beyng glad of this fortunate chaunce, in the next mornyng, at ỹ gate where he should enter, a Priest beyng redy to say masse, in ỹ masse tyme, receyuyng the body of our blessed Sauior, solemply swearyng to kepe and obserue the two Articles aboue mencioned, and agreed vpõ, when it was far vnlike, that he either entended or purposed to obserue any of them, which plainly afterward was to all men manifest, cuidẽtly perceyuyng, that he toke nomore studye or diligẽce for any one earthly thyng, thẽ he dyd to persecute kyng Henry, & to spoile hym of his kingdome. So it is dayly sene that alwel princes, as men of lesser reputatiõ led by blynd auarice and deuelishe ambicion, forgettynge the scruple of conscience, & the ende of all honestie, vse, to take an othe by ỹ immortall God, which they know perfitly, shalbe brokẽ & violate hereafter, before

kyng Edwardes othe of obedience to kyng Henry the.vi.

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the othe be first made or sworne: yet these persones (as exãples thereof be not very straunge to fynde) at one time or other be worthely scorged for their periurie, in so much often tymes that the blot of suche offence of the parentes is punished in the sequele & posteritie: of this thynge I maye fortune to speke more in the lyfe of Rycharde the.iij. as the cause shall arise where it may euidently appeare, that the progeny of Kynge Edward scaped not vntouched for this open periurie.

When kyng Edward had appesed the citiezens, and that their fury was past, he entred in to the citie, & clerely forgettinge his othe, he first
x set a garrison of souldiers in the towne, to the entent ỹ nothyng should be moued agayst hym by the citezens, & after he gathered a great host, by reason of his money. Whẽ all thing was redy, accordyng as he desyred, because he was enformed that his enemyes did make no great preparacion to resist hym, he thought it necessarie therefore with the more spede and diligence to make hast toward London: and as it were for ỹ nones, he left the right way toward Pomfret, where ỹ Marques Mõtagew with his army lay, and toke the way on the right hand, not fully iiij. myle from the cãpe of his enemies. And whẽ he saw that they made no stirryng, nor once shewed thẽ selfe in sight, he returned in to ỹ cõmen
xx hygh way agayne, a littel beyonde their campe, and came sauely to the towne of Notingham, where came to him syr William Parre, syr Thomas a Borogh, syr Thomas Montgomerie, and diuers other of hys assured frendes with their aydes, which caused hym at the fyrst cõming to make Proclamacion in hys owne name, kynge Edward the.iiij. boldely sayng to hym, that they would serue no man but a Kynge. Thys Proclamacion cast a great shame and dolor in to the hartes of the citezens of Yorke, for that they might apparantly perceyue, that they wer fraudulently seduced, and for their good will vnhonestly (yf it might be sayde) deluded and mocked. But when the fame was blowyn abrode, ỹ
xx kyng Edward, without any detriment, was in sauetyme come to Notyngham, Princes and noble men on all sydes began to fall to hym, fermely beleuyng that either the Marques Montacute, beryng fauor to kynge Edwarde, woulde not once with hym encounter, or that he was afrayde to set ouer or to geue battayl, knowynge not to what parte his souldiers would enclyne. But what soeuer the occasion was, the moste parte thought it more for their securitie & auauntage of them selfs, to take parte and ioyne with kyng Edward, beyng at all poyntes furnisshed with men of warre, rather then to cleue to kyng Henry, & to be alwayes in ieopardy, both of lyfe and lande. Kynge Edward (as you can
x not blame hym) beyng with these good fortunes animated, & with hys armye furnished at all poyntes, came to his towne of Lecester, & there heryng that the erle of Warwycke, accompanied with Jhon erle of Oxford were together at Warwycke with a great power, & were both determined to set on him, he politiquely imagening to preuent their inuẽsion, determined in great haste to remoue his whole army, hopyng su-

rely, either to geue them battayle, or elles to allure & bryng to his side hys brother George duke of Clarence, and to comen with hym in some priuie place, before he came to his confederates: leste paraduenture he should be by them, illaquiated & compased, knowing that the duke was in nothyng constant, nor in one mynd long permanent.

In this very season to tell you how the erle of Warwycke was displeased, and grudged agaynst his brother the Marques, for lettynge kyng Edward passe, it ware to long to write: for where he hym self had bigilantlye prouided & politiquely forsene, for all thinges, ỹ Marques neuertheless where the power of their enemies firste began to gather neuer moued fote, nor made resistence as he was cõmaunded, but beside thys suffered them with a so small nomber of souldiers, before hys eyes & in his open sight, without any battayle to passe by: wherfore the erle considerynge that kyng Edward did dayly encrease hys power (as a runnyng ryuer by goyng more & more augmenteth) thought it moste necessary for hym, to geue him battayle with spede, and therupõ accersed & called together hys army, and in all haste sent for the duke of Clarence, to ioyne with hym, which had conscribed, & assembled together a great host about London. But when he perceiued that the duke lyngered, & dyd al thinges negligẽtly, as though he were in doubt of warre or peace, he then began somwhat to suspect, that the Duke was of hys bretherne corrupted & lately chaunged, & therfore without delay marched forward toward Couentry, to thentent to set on his enemyes. In the meane season, kyng Edward came to Warwycke, where he founde all the people departed, and from thence with al diligence auaũced hys power toward Couentre, & in a playn by the citie he pytched his felde. And the next daye after ỹ he came thither, hys men were set forwarde, and marshalled in array, & he baliãtly bad the erle batttayle: which mistrustyng that he should be deceaued by the duke of Clarẽce (as he was in dede) kept hym selfe close within the Walles. And yet he had perfect worde ỹ the duke of Clarence came forward toward hym with a great army, kyng Edward beynge also therof enformed, raysed, his campe, & made toward ỹ duke. And leste that there might be thought some fraude to be cloked betwene them, the kyng set hys battailes in an order as though he would fight without any lẽger delay, the duke did likewyse. When eche host was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Glouceste, brother to them both, as though he had bene made arbitrer betwene thẽ, fyrst rode to the duke, and with hym commoned very secretly: frõ hym he came to kyng Edward, and with lyke secretnes so vsed hym, that in conclusion no vnnaturall warre, but a fraternall amitie was concluded & and proclaymed, and then leuyng all armye and weapon a syde, bothe the bretherne louyngly embraced, and familierly commoned together. It was no maruayll that the duke of Clarẽce, with so small persuasion and lesse exhortynge, turned from the erle of Warwyckes parte, for as you haue hard before, thys marchandyse was labored, conduyted and

concluded

concluded by a damsell, when the duke was in the French court, to the erles vtter confusion.

After this, kyng Edward caused to be proclaymed, that the duke & al that came with hym, should be taken as hys true frendes, wythoute fraude or yll suspicion. But this notwythstandinge, it semeth that god dyd neyther forgeue nor forget to punishe the duke with condigne punishment, for violating and brekyng his othe solempnely, and aduysedly taken and made, to the erle of Warwycke, for God not manye yeres after, suffered hym lyke a periured persone to dye a cruell & a straunge
x death.

Then was it concluded emongest the. iij. brethrē to attempt therle of Warwicke, if by any fayr means he might be recōciled or by any promise allured to their parte: To whom the duke of Clarence sent diuers of hys secrete frendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarely to require him to take some good ende now, whyle he might, with kyng Edward.

When the erle had hard pacientlye the dukes message, lorde, how he detested & accursed him, crienge out on him, that he contrary to his oth promise & fidelitie, had shamefully turned hys face from his confederaxx tes & alies: But to the dukes messengers he gaue none other answere but thys, ẏ he had leuer be alwayes lyke him selfe, then lyke a false and a periured duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war, tyll eyther he had lost hys owne naturall lyfe, or vtterly extinguished & put vnder hys foes and enemies.

From thence kyng Edward thus beyng furnished of a strong hoste, went without any maner of diffidēce or mistrust toward Londō: wher after that it was knowen that the duke of Clarence was come to hys brethrē, and that all they came together in one knot to the citie, suche a feare rose sodaynly emongest the citezens, that they wer driuē to their xxx wittes ende, not knowing either what to do or to say, but at ẏ last very feare compelled them to take kynges Edwardes parte. The selfe same season, the erle of Warwycke sent letters to king Henry, to the duke of Somerset, tharchebishop of Yorke, & other of hys counsayll, that they should kepe the citie from their enemies handes, by the space of. ij. or. iij dayes after the comming of their enemies, and that he shortly woulde be at hande wyth a puyssant army. They as they were cōmaunded defended the citie strongly, but it was to smal purpose, for the citezens in thesame tyme began naturely to consult, what part they should folow for their most indempnite: and in conclusion when they considered that xl kynge Henry was suche an innocent person, as of hym selfe he was not most apte to moderate and gouerne the publique wealth of the realm. And that on the other syde, kyng Edward by no other mens documēt but onely by hys owne pollicie and wit was wont to order the Realme and gouerne the kyngdom. And farther that kyng Edward was such a person, as was able bothe to defende him selfe and also al hys, from

iniurie and hostilitie, wherupon al men were glad to leane to hym, and to take hys parte. They concluded to take hys part & to receyue hym into the citie: whiche determinacion beyng blowen abroade (as the nature of ỹ people is euer to delyte in nouelties) the communaltie coulde not be compelled by no cõmaundemẽt to tary at home, but ranne in hepes out of the citie to mete him, and saluted him as their kyng, and souereygne lord. When the duke of Somerset and other of kynge Henryes frendes, saw the world thus sodaynly chaunged, euery man fled, and in haste shifted for hym selfe, leuinge kyng Henry alone, as an hoste that shoulde be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London adioyninge to Poules churche, not knowyng of whom, nor what counsayll to aske, as he which wyth troble and aduersitie was clerely dulled and appalled, in whych place he was by kyng Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie.

Kyng Henry ỹ. vi. agayne taken and cõmitted to prison.

Thys was a sodayne chaunge, for the same day, the Archebyshop of Yorke, to the entent that the people myght more fermely stycke on his syde, caused him to ryde about London, appareled in a gowne of blewe veluet, with a great company cryeng kyng Henry, kyng Henry (which sight asmuch pleased the citezens as a fyer paynted on the wall, warned the olde woman) not knowynge that or nyght, hys triumphynge shoulde be torned to trimblinge, and his solempnitie conuerted into mourning, such chaũce was to him prouided. King Edward returned to London agayn the. xi. day of Apryl, sixe monethes after that he had sayled into Flaunders: and fyrste callynge before hym a great assemble of people, highly commended the fidelitie of the citezens, whyche they constantly bare vnto hym, rendring to the Aldermen, most harty thankes for that, that they had kept, and caused the people to continew, and be permanent in their good mindes and loyaltie toward him, blaming farther and rebuking aswell Marchaunt straungers, as Englyshemẽ, whome he knew to haue prested, and lente money to kynge Henry for the arrayenge and settynge forth of a new armye agaynst hym. But when he had greuously wyth terryble wordes declared to them their sedicious crime & traiterous offence, he bad them to be of good comfort & to expel al feare, for he released to them both the punishment of theyr bodies and losse of gooddes, and graunted to them Pardon for theyr faultes & offences, by whyche gentle meane and easy indulgencye, he reconciled to him the hartes of the whole multitude, obteyninge that, by the fayr and louyng wordes, which he could not haue acheued with sharpe strokes and bloudy woundes.

Therle of Warwyckè pondering, that the gain of the whole battail stode in makyng hast, with al diligence, followed his enemies, hoppynge (that yf they wer neuer let so lytle, wt any stop or tariyng by ỹ waye) to fight with thẽ before thei should come to Londõ: the which he thought should be muche to his auauntage, cõsideryng that he perfyghtly knew the citie to be destitute of men of warre for Defence, and to haue no ma-

ner

ner of municions, to set on the walles or towers, so that they were not able to abide a siege, and for that cause, euer they enclined to the victorious & stronger parte. But whē he following his enemies, had passed a great part of his iourney, he was enformed that kyng Edward, peaceably was entered into London, & had taken, and sent kyng Henry to prison agayne. Whiche thinges depely considered, he saw that al cauillacions of necessitie, were now brought to thys ende, ỹ they must be cōmitted to thasard and chaunce of one battayl, wherfore he rested wyth his army, at the toune of sainct Albons, partly, to refresh his souldiers,
x and partly, to take counsayl what was best to do. In the erles armye were Jhon duke of Excester, Edmond Erle of Somerset, Jhon erle of Oxenford, and Jhon Marques Montacute, whom ỹ erle his brother wel knewe, not to be well mynded (but sore agaynste hys stomacke) to take part with these lordes, and therefore stode in a doubt, whether he at this tyme, might trust him or no, but the fraternal loue betwene thē, washed awaye and diminished all suspicion: But what soeuer opinion therle conceyued of him or any other, the erle as a man past al feare, determined coragiously to set on his enemies. And from saynct Albones, he remoued to a village, in the meane waye, betwene London & saynct
xi Albones called Barnet, beyng tenne myle distaunt from bothe the tou- Barnet felde
nes. This toune standeth on an hill, on whose toppe is a fayre plain, for two armyes to ioyne together: on the one part of this plain, the erle of Warwycke pytched hys feld, tarying for his enemies. The rumor of ỹ erles cōmyng, was spred in an instant in all London, whyche quyckened kyng Edward not a litle, wherfore wyth all spede be adioyned to that hoste, that he brought wyth him firste to London, a compaigny of elect, picked, and chosen persones, strōg, young, and mete for all assaies,
xxx beside other new aydes, that wer then come to him: Harnesse, weapōs horse, and all other engines, instrumētes mete for the warre, he neither forgatte, nor slackly furnished. What shall I saye more, he determyned clerely to spende all his ryches, yea, and all that he coulde ymagin vpō the chaunce of this battayl: Firmely beleuyng, that this conflict, should knit vp the knot of al his labor, and bryng him to quyetnes. So wyth a puyssant army, he marched forwarde, and to put hys people in vre, ỹ they might be the more readye to fyght, when soeuer they shoulde encoūter with their enemies, he deuided thē in foure partes. He brought wyth him also kyng Henry the syxte, of al likelihold for this entēt, that either hys aduersaries, seyng their kyng stand as a prisoner in captiuitie, should be abashed and discomfyted by hym, or elles yf the fortune of
xl the battayl should turne agaynst hym, that then kyng Henry should be to hym, both a sauegarde and a protection. On Easter euē at after none he came to Barnet, and there not farre from hys enemies, he encāped his army, and least his enemies should compell him to fight that night, he enuironed his campe, with new fortificacions and trenches: For tarying that night, was to hym a synguler profyte, and to hys enemies a

greate detriment: Conſideryng the longer he taryed, the moze people came to his ayde, the moze ſtronger was his power, and the ſtronger ỹ his power was, ſo much weaker was ỹ part of the aduerſaries, whiche was farre from al ſuccoure, and hoped of no newe reliefe noz comfoꝛte. Thus both the aꝛmies lodged that night on the plaine, but not oute of their harneſſe, foꝛ their tentes were ſo nere together, in the which that foꝛ neighing of hoꝛſes, and talkyng of menne, none of bothe the hoſtes could that night, take any reſt oꝛ quietnes. At the breakyng of the day the erle of Warwicke ſette his men in a raie, in this maner: In the right wyng, he ſet the Marques Mountacute, and the erle of Oxenfoꝛd, wt certain hoꝛſemen, and he wyth the duke of Exceter, toke the left wing, and in the middes betwene bothe, he ſet archers, & to them he appointed the duke of Somerſet to be captayn. And when he had ſet his men in an oꝛder, he encoꝛaged hys men to fyght, with many cõfoꝛtable woꝛdes, willing thẽ to ſtryke with a good and fierce toꝛage, and to remembꝛe that they fight, not onely foꝛ the libertie of the countreye, agaynſte a tiraunte, which wꝛongfullye and againſte all right, had inuaded and ſubdued thys realme, but they fyght in the querel of a true, and vndubitate king, againſt a cruell man, and a toꝛcious vſurper, in the cauſe of a Godly, and a pitiful Pꝛince, againſt an abhominable manqueller and bloudy boutcher: In the title of a gentle, liberal, and bountifull king, againſt an extreme nigard, and a coueteouſe extoꝛcioner. In which cauſe beyng ſo good, ſo godly & ſo iuſt, God of bery iuſtice muſt nedes be their ſhilde and defence. Kyng Edward lykewiſe oꝛdꝛed hys battayls. In ỹ foꝛward he ſet the duke of Glouceſter, the midle ward, he him ſelf with the duke of Clarence, hauynge wyth them kyng Henry, dyd rule & goueꝛne, the loꝛd Haſtynges led the reꝛeward, and beſides theſe thꝛe battales, he kept a company of freſhe men in ſtoꝛe, whiche dyd hym greate pleaſure, and this done, he encoꝛaged his men, ſaying: that their aduerſaryes wer only traitoꝛs to ỹ realme, ſpoylers of the pooꝛe commonaltie and people deſtitute of al grace, good foꝛtune & good liuing. Which miſcheuous perſones, if they ſhoulde pꝛeuayle thꝛoughe the fayntneſſe of your hartes, al you gentlemen and rychmẽ, wer in yeoperdy of your lyfes, all meane men in doubt of robbyng and ſpoylyng: and all inferioꝛ perſones, in haſard of perpetual bondage and ſeruitude.

When the daye began to ſpꝛyng, the trompettes blewe vp coꝛagyouſly, and the battayl fierſly began, Archers firſte ſhot, & bill nẽ theim folowed, kyng Edward hauing the greater nomber of men, valiauntly ſet on his enemies. The erle on the other ſyde, remembꝛyng his auncient fame & renoune, manfully wythſtode him. Thys battayl on both ſides was ſoꝛe fought & many ſlayn, in whoſe romes ſucceded euer freſh and freſhmen. In the meane ſeaſon whyle all men were together by ỹ eares, euer lokyng to whychway foꝛtune would encline. The Erle of Warwycke after lõg fight, wyſely did perceiue hys men to be ouerpreſſed, with the multitude of his aduerſaries: wheꝛfoꝛe he cauſed new mẽ

to

to relief theim, that fought in the forward: by reason of whiche succors, kynge Edwardes parte gaue a litle backe (whiche was the cause that some lokers on, & no fighters, galoped to London, sayinge: that therle had wonne the feld) which thyng when kyng Edward did perceiue, he with all diligence, sent freshe men to their succors.

If the battail wer fierce and dedly before, now it was crueller, more bloudy, more feruent and firie, and yet they had fought from mornyng almoste to noone, without any part gettyng auauntage of other. Kyng Edward beyng wery of so long a conflict, and willyng to se an end, caused a greate crewe of freshe men (whiche he had for this onely pollicie, kepte all daie in store) to set on their enemies, in maner being wery and fatigate: but although ỹ erle sawe these newe succors, of freshe & newe men to entre the battaill, beyng nothing afraied, but hoppyng of the victory (knowyng perfitly that there was all kyng Edwardes power) cõforted his men beyng wery, sharpely quicknyng, and earnestly desiring them with hardy stomackes, to bere out this last and finall brunt of the battaill, and that the felde was euen at an ende. But whẽ his souldiers beyng sore wounded, weried with so long a cõflict, did geue litle regard to his wordes, he beyng a manne of a mynde inuincible, rushed into the middest of his enemies, where as he (auentured so farre from his awne compaignie, to kill & slay his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was in the middes of his enemies, striken doune & slain. The marques Montacute, thynkynge to succor his brother whiche he sawe was in greate ieoperdy, & yet in hope to obtein the victory, was likewise ouerthrowen and slain. After the erle was ded, his parte fled & many were taken, but not one man of name, nor of nobilitie.

Some authors write, that this battaill was fought so nere hande, that kyng Edward was constrained to fight his awne person, & fought as sore as any man of his partie, and that the erle of Warwicke, whiche was wont euer to ride on horsebacke, from place to place, from ranke to ranke comfortyng his men, was now aduised by the Marques his brother, to relynquiche his horse, & trie the extremitie by hande strokes, which if he had been on his horsebacke, might fortune to haue escaped.

This ende had Richard Neuell erle of Warwicke, whose stoute stomacke, and inuincible corage, after so many straunge fortunes, and perilous chaunces by him escaped, caused death before he came to any old age priuilie to stele on hym, and with his darte to take from hym, all worldly and mundain affeccions: but death did one thynge, that life could not do, for by death he had rest, peace, quietnes, and tranquillitie, which his life euer abhorred, and could not suffre nor abide. On bothe partes wer slain at this battaill, more thẽ tenne. M. men. Of prisoners the nomber could not be certainly knowẽ: on the kynges partwer slain sir Humfrey Burchier, soonne to the Lord Barnes, els no man of estimacion. The occasiõ of this greate slaughter was, because that where kyng Edward was wont, after the battaill obteined, to crie; saue ỹ cõmons,

The death of therle of Warwicke.

mons,and kill the capitaines,now he spared them not,because they not onely so highly fauored therle of Warwicke, but also because thei came with the erle,against hym in battail. After this feld ended,the Duke of Somerset,with Jhon erle of Oxenford, wer in all poste hast,fliyng towarde Scotlande,but feryng the ieoperdies, that might chaunce in so long a iorney,altered their purpose,and turned into Wales, to Jasper erle of Penbroke:euery man fled whether his mynde serued him. The duke of Excester with muche difficultie, escaped into Westminster disguised,and there toke Sanctuary. Kyng Edward after this victory although he wanne it not without greate effusion of bloud,alwell on his awne parte,as the parte of his enemies, was greatly reioyled & comforted,after the maner of a victorious conqueroure,leadyng with him kyng Henry like a captiue,in moste triumphant maner, on Easter daye at after noone, made his entery solempnly,into the citie of London,& at the Churche of sainct Paule, he offered hys standerd, & rendered to almightie God,for his greate victory, moste hũble and hartie thankes. The ded bodies of the erle and the Marques,were brought to Londõ in a coffin,and before thei shoulde be buried,by the space of three dayes, thei laie open visaged,in the Cathedral Church of S. Paule,to thintẽt that al men might euidently perceiue, that thei vnfamedly were dedde least perauẽture the cõmon people hereafter, here of some dissimulyng persone,to take on hym the name of therle of Warwicke,thynkyng him to be liuyng,might stirre a newe sedicion,& excite an vnware rebellion.

The common people saied, that the kyng was not so iocounde nor so ioyous,for the destruccion of therle,but he was more sorowfull and dolorus,for the death of the Marques, whom both he knewe and it appered to other,to be inwardly his faithfull frend:For whose onely sake he caused both their bodies,to be with their auncesters, solempnly entered at the Priory of Bissam. In ỹ meane season, quene Margaret hauyng knowlege,that all thynges in Englande, were now altered and brought into trouble and broyle, by reason of kyng Edwardes late returne into the realme:gathered together no small coopaignie,of hardy and valiaunt souldiours, determined with all haste and diligence,with Prince Edwarde her soonne,to saile into Englande,but yet once again (suche was her destinie)beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wynde,& encombered with to muche rigorous tempeste, a daie after the faire,as the common prouerbe saieth,landed at the Port of Weymouth,in Dorset shire. When she had passed the sea and taken lande,it was to her declared,how that kyng Edward had gotten again the garlande, & that kyng Henry her husband,was desolately left post alone,and taken prisoner,how the Erle of Warwicke and his brother were bothe slain and ded,and all their armie destroyed, scatered or taken, and in conclusion that her parte had sustened,the moste bitter plague and scorge,cõsideryng bothe the chaunce & the tyme,that in many yeres before,had been red or sene. When she harde all these miserable chaunces and misfortunes,

nes,so sodainly one in anothers necke,to haue taken their effect,she like a woman al dismaied for feare,fell to the ground,her harte was perced withsorowe,her speache was in maner passed,all her spirites were tormented with Malencoly. The calamitie and misery of her time, she detested and abhorred,her vnstable and contrariant fortune,she stedfastly blamed and accused,her peinfull labor, her care of mynde, turned into infelicitie she muche lamented, and bewailed the euill fate and destenie of her husband, whiche iminently before her iyes, she sawe to approche she accused,reproued,and reuiled,and in conclusion, her senses were so
¶ vexed,and she so afflicted,and caste into suche an agony, that she preferred death before life,rather desiryng soner to die, then lenger to liue,¶ perauenture for this cause,that her interior iye sawe priuily, and gaue to her a secrete monicio of the greate calamities and aduersities,which then dyd hang ouer her hed,and were likely incotinent to fall ¶ succede whiche other persones,neither loked for nor regarded.

This quene Margarete might well consider and thynke,that these euill aduentures,chaunced to her for the moste parte,for the vnworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, vncle to her husbande: Of the whiche mischaunce,although she wer not the very occasion and prouo-
¶ ker,yet she greately offended in that she concented thereto,and did not saue his life,whyen she rulyng all other,might conuenientely haue staied and letted it. For surely he beyng a liue,and hauyng the moderacion ¶ gouernaunce of the cõmon wealth,kyng Henry had neuer wauered in so many hasardes,¶ ieoperdies of his life as he did. I woulde desire of God,that all men woulde in egall balance, ponder ¶ indifferen tly consider the causes,of these misfortunes and euill chaunces, the whych beyng eleuate in aucthoritie,dooe mete and measure, Justice and iniury, right and wrong,by high power,blynd aucthoritie,and vnbridled will.

But nowe to the purpose,when quene Margarete sawe, that to bid
¶¶ battail was to no purpose,and in maner in dispaire,of the wealth of her self ¶ her sonne:she with the Prince and her compaignie, departed to a Sainctuary there by,called Beaulieu in Hamshire (where was a monastary of Monkes,of the ordre of Cisterciens) ¶ registered her selfe ¶ hers,as persones there priuileged. Whē it was knowen ỹ she was landed,Edmond duke of Somerset,with lord Jhon his brother Thomas Courtney erle of Deuonshire, the which before euer toke the contrary part,whose sodain chaungyng,shortly turned to his awne cõfusiõ, Jasper erle of Penbroke, Jhon lord Wenlocke (a man made onely by kyng Edward) ¶ Jhon Lõgstrother,Prior of S. Jhones in England,came
¶ in great hast to Beaulieu,¶ presented themselfes to ỹ quene: Although that she wer almoste drouned in sorowe,¶ plunged in pein,yet whyen she sawe and beheld, these noble and princelye personages, to resort vnto her presence,she was somewhat comforted, ¶ greatlye reuiued agayn.

And firste,lest it shoulde be laied to her charge,that she had doen any thyng misauisedly:she declared ¶ shewed the cause, why she coulde not

come

come to them in time, as she gladly would haue doen, and for what purpose and intent, she had then taken the immunitie of Sanctuary: Beseechyng them all to studie, and prouide with all diligence, for the wealthe and conseruacion, of her onely iuell the Prince her sonne, and where for this tyme, she dispaired to doo any thyng by force of armes, that might bee to her profite, she thought it moste conuenient for her (if the tyme of yere and her enemies, dyd not let or stop her) to saile again into Fraũce and there to tary till God would sende her better lucke, and more pleasaunt fortune, and to bryng her long purposed busines, to a good conclusion and ende.

After that the Duke and other with comfortable wordes, somewhat had eased the dolorus harte of this vnfortunate quene: The said Duke began with a long processe, to enter communicaciõ of warre to be renewed, and with all haste possible, and extreme diligence, least their compaignie by taryng might bee diminished, and kynge Edwardes power encreased and augmented consideryng that all this time, he had no armie gathered together, for so muche, that at the laste battaill, the very strength of his chief souldiours, was weaked and appalled: And that notwithstandynge, that fortune shone on hym, in obteinynge the victory against the erle of Warwicke, yet now she might turne her saile on the otherside, causyng him to tast eger vineger, as she before had geuen hym to drynke dilicate Ypocrace, when all men se daily, that of warlike affaires at the poynt, there happeneth not seldome tyme, sodain cõmutacions and vnloked variaunce: affirmyng farther, that the more nomber of the nobilitie, bare towarde kyng Henry her husband, their good myndes and fixed hartes, & woulde help hym bothe with men and money. And of his awne free will, yf she would take vpon her, the name of capitain against her enemies, as she before that often tymes had enterprised: he offered a greate power of able men, at his awne expence and charge, promisyng that the two erles, should assure her of a farre greater nomber, of valiant & expert warriers, then she woulde esteme. And whẽ he had shewed that, the victory was now (yf thei liste) in their handes, he merily required theim all, to bee of hardy harte and good chere, and because the matter, required great expediciõ, he thought it not necessary, farther to reason the cause of battail, but determine out of hand how the battaill should be geuen and ordered.

The Quene whose mynde gaue her, that this mociõ, should come to no good conclusion, answered: that she could well allowe this sentence, if she thought that there might happen, no greater losse to some other, then the losse of her awne life. But she suspected that while thei would help thynges, that thei moste phantesied and affected, the life of prince Edward her soonne, in whom, all the whole hope of that familie stoode and remained, should be in perell and ieoperdie: and therfore, she either though it necessarie, to defer the battaill till another time, or els to conueigh her sonne into Fraunce again, there to lie sure and secrete, till the

chaunce

chaunce of the first battayle were tryed and assayed. And no marueyll although the naturall mother, much minded and studied for the sauegarde and tuicion of the lyfe of her sonne, pondering that next her husband, whome she reputed for clene vndone and vtterly caste awaye, she had nothyng more to be beloued, nothing more derer, nor nothynge to be made more of.

Thus this prudēt and politique Quene requyred the cheuetaines expert in marciall feates, that they shoulde before hande premeditate with them selfes, maturely and deliberatly these thinges by her moued
x and after that done, yf they thought it conuenient to geue battayle she woulde to their agrement with al her hart be comformable. But there was no longer disputacyon of the matter, for the duke sayd that there was no nede to waste any more woordes, for all they were determined (while their lyues lasted) stil to kepe warre against their enemies, and therfore that thinge which with greate counsayll and deliberacyon is concluded, ought to be auaunced and set forward with a whole consent and agrement.

Thus euery man together clerely bent and encouraged to ỹ battail gathered his power by him selfe. The duke thorough all hys dominix ons, raysed a chosen company of men of warre: likewise did the earle of Deuonshire. The erle of Penbroke went into Wales to his erledome to prepare his people w al diligence. The quene, at ỹ last was brought into this hope of good fortune that she sayd, well be it, & so as the Duke had aduised her, she with her company departed to Bathe, entendyng there to make her abode, tyl more of her affinitie were together assembled. But whether soeuer she went, few or none had therof knowlege, mistrustynge lest her counsayl should by some titiuille, be publyshed and opened to her aduersaries, before she came to the place prefyxed.

When kyng Edward knew that Quene Margaret was landed in
xxx England, and that the duke of Somerset with her complices had prepared a new armye, out of hand he dispatched certayn currers on light horses, into euery part to see what nomber hys enemies were, & what way they entēded to take. The explorators, according to their instruccions, serched and sought the partes by West, and made relacyon dilygently at their retorne, what they had knowen and sene. The kynge beyng in a great agony, because he knewe not what waye his enemies toke, determined, surely to encounter thē at some, one place before they came to London. And vpon this conclusion, wyth such an armye as he had gotten about London, he set forward into Oxford shire, and there
xl sekynge a place apte and mete to pitche hys tentes, was conducted to Abyndon, where he encamped hym selfe, cōmaunding all men appoynted for the warre, wyth al celeritie to folowe hym to that place. All the kynges host there beyng assembled and reduct into one company, newes were brought to hym, that hys enemies were come to Bathe, and there dyd soiorne and tary purposely to augmēt and encreace their nū-

ber of such, as dayly to them did resort, wherfore the kyng without delay remoued straight to Marleborough, being distant from Bathe.xv miles, making hast and great diligence, yf by any possibilitie he myght to geue theim battaile before they diuerted into Wales, whether he thought (as they entended in dede) that they would take their iorney to ioyne them selfe with the erle of Penbroke, whiche had gathered a great host in those parties.

When the Quene knew that kynge Edwarde was come so nere to her, she taryed not long at Bathe, but remoued in greate haste to Bristow: and sent out certayn horsemen to espie, whether she might sauely passe ouer ỹ of Riuer Seuerne by Glouceſter into Wales, whether she determined first to go to augment her armie, and then without any delay wyth spere and shylde, corragiously to set on her enemies, where soeuer they would abide. They that were sent, retorned to her again, declaryng that the toune of Glouceſter was vnder the obeysaunce of Richard, duke of Glouceſter the kynges brother, and that although they had sollicited the lord Beauchampe of Powike, whiche lay there in the Castel, and had the rule of the toune, and the Tounesmē, fyrst by rewardes, after by menacyng, either to take their parte, or peasably to suffer her to passe ouer their bridge, they were therewithal, neither once moued, nor ones wold speake cōfortably to the messengers. Whē she hard these newes, she shortly departed frō Bristow wyth her army, to a proper towne on seuerne syde, called Tewkesbury, leuyng Glouceſter vnassauted, lest peraduenture she might ther spēd her tyme wt much losse & littel gayne, but in her passage towarde Tewkesbury, the lord Beauchāpe toke from her rereward, more ordinãce then she might haue well spared, which did to her no smal preiudice. Whē the Quene was come to Tewkesbury, and knewe that kyng Edward folowed her wyth hys horsemen at the very backe, she was abashed, & wonderfullye amased & determyned in her selfe, to flye into Wales to Jasper erle of Penbroke: But the Duke of Somerset, willynge in no wyse to flye backewarde, for doughtes that he casted might chaūce by the way, determined ther to tary, to take such fortune as God shoulde sende, beynge in hys owne mynde, & so fyxed in a fayre parke, adioynyng to the toune, he pytched hys felde agaynst the wyll and consente of manye other Capitaynes, which would that he should haue drawen a syde, for a whyle til therle of Penbroke wyth his armye were wyth him associate, but his wil serued for his reason, and so the chaunce followed. The duke of Somerset entendyng to abyde the battaile lyke a politique warrior, trenched his campe round about of suche an altytude, & so strongelye that hys enemyes, by no meanes facylie, coulde make any entrye, & farther perceyuynge ỹ his part coulde neuer escape wythoute battayle, determyned there to se the fynall ende of his good or yll chaunce, wherfore he marshalled his host in this maner: he & ỹ lord Jhō of Somerset his brother led the forward: The middelward was gouerned by the prince vnder

ths

the conduite of the lorde of sainct Jhons, & lorde Wenlocke (whom king Edward had highly before preferred & promoted to the degre of a baron) The rereward was put in the rule of the erle of Deuonshire.

When al these battayles were thus ordered and placyd, the Quene & her sonne Prynce Edward rode about the felde, encouragynge their souldiers, promisinge to them (yf they did shew thẽ selfes valiãt against their enemies) greate rewardes & hyghe promocyons, innumerable gayne of the spoyle and bootie of their aduersaries, and aboue all other fame and renoune thorough the whole realme. King Edward likewise which the day before was come wythin a mile to Tewkesbury, put hys brother the duke of Gloucester in the forward, and him self in the middelward, the lord Marques & the lorde Hastynges led the reregarde. The duke of Gloucester, whiche lacked no policye, valyãtly wyth hys battayle assauted the trenche of the Quenes campe, whom the duke of Somerset wyth no lesse courage defended, the duke of Gloucester for a very politique purpose, wyth all hys men reculed backe. The Duke of Somerset, perceyuyng that: lyke a knight, more corragious then circũspect came out of hys trenche, with his whole battayl, and followed the chace, not doubtyng but the Prince and the lorde Wenlocke, wyth the middelward had folowed iust at hys backe. But whether ỹ lorde Wenlocke dissimuled the matter for kyng Edwardes sake, or whether hys harte serued hym not, styl he stode lokinge on. The duke of Gloucester takynge the auãtage that he auentured for, turned agayne face to face to the duke of Somersets battayl, which (nothinge lesse thinkynge on, then of the returne) wer wythin a smal season, shamefully dyscomfited. The duke of Somerset, seyng hys vnfortunate chaunce returned to ỹ middelward, where he seyng the lorde Wenlocke stãdyng styl, after he had reuyled hym, and called him traytor, with his axe he strake ỹ braynes out of hys hedde. The duke of Gloucester entred the trẽch, & after hym the king, where after no lõg conflict, the Quenes part wẽt almost al to wrecke, for the most part were slayne. Some fledde for succor in the thyck of the parcke, some into ỹ monastery, some into other places. The Quene was founde in her Charriot almost deade for sorowe, the prince was apprehended & kepte close by sir Rychard Croftes: ỹ duke of Somerset & the lord Prior of sainct Jhons, were by force taken prisoners, and many other also. In the felde & chace wer slayn lord Jhon of Somerset, the earle of Deuonshire, syr Jhon Delues, syr Edwarde Hampden, sir Robert Wytyngham, and syr Jhon Lewkenor, and .iij. thousand other.

The battayll of Tewkesbury.

A terrible stroke.

After the felde ended, kyng Edward made a proclamacio, that whosoeuer could bryng prince Edward to him alue or deade, shoulde haue an annuitie of an. C.l. duryng his lyfe, and the Princes life to be saued. Sir Richard Croftes, a wyse and a valiant knyght, nothyng mistrustyng the kynges former promyse, brought furth his prisoner kyng Edward, beynge a good Femenine & a wel feautered younge gentleman,

when Kyng Edward had wel aduysed, he demaunded of him, how he durst so pyesumptuously enter into his Realme with banner displayd. The pynce beynge bold of stomacke & of a good courage, answered saiynge, to recouer my fathers kyngedome & enheritage, from his father & grandfather to him, and fro hym, after him, to me lineally diuoluted. At which wordes king Edward sayd nothing, but with his hād thrust him from him (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whome incontinent, they that stode about, which wer George Duke of Clarence Richard duke of Glouceſter, Thomas Marques Dorſet, and William lord Haſtynges, ſodainly murthered, & pitiouſly manquelled. The bitternesse of whiche murder, ſome of the actors, after in their latter daies taſted and aſſayed by the very rod of Juſtyce and punishmente of God. His bodye was homely enterred with the other ſimple corſes, in the church of ỹ monaſtery of black Monkes in Tewkeſbury. Thys was ỹ laſt ciuile battayl that was fought in kyng Edwardes dayes, whyche was gotten the.iij. day of Maye, in the.x. yere of his reygne, and in ỹ yere of our Lord. M.cccc.lxxj. then beyng Satterday. And on ỹ Mōday next enſuynge was Edmond duke of Somerſet, Jhon Longſtrother, Pryor of sayncte Jhons, ſir Garuays Clyfton, Sir Thomas Treſſham, and.xij. other knyghtes and gentlemen beheddes in the market place at Tewkeſbury.

wote

Quene Margaret brought pyſoner too London.

A poore kynge

Quene Margaret lyke a pyſoner was brought to London, where ſhe remayned til kyng Reiner her father raūſomed her wt money, which ſumme (as the French writers affirme) he borowed of kyng Lewes ỹ xi. and because he was not of power nor abilitie to repaye ſo greate a dutie, he ſolde to the French kyng & his heyres, the kingdomes of Naples, and both the Sciciles, wyth the coūtie of Prouince, whiche is the very tytle that kyng Charles the.viij. made when he cōquered ỹ realme of Napels. After the raunſom payed, ſhe was conueyed into Fraunce, with ſmal honor, whych with ſo great triumphe and honorable enterteynmēt was wt pōpe aboue all pryde, receyued into this Realm. xxviij yeres before. And where in the beginning of her tyme, ſhe lyued lyke a Quene, in the middel ſhe ruled lyke an empreſſe, toward thend ſhe was vexed in troble, neuer quyete nor in peace, & in her verye extreme age ſhe paſſed her dayes in Fraunce, more lyke a death then a lyfe, languyſhyng and morning in continuall ſorowe, not ſo muche for her ſelfe and her huſbande, whoſe ages were almoſt conſumed and worne, but for ỹ loſſe of Prince Edward her ſonne (whome ſhe and her huſbād thought to leue, both ouerlyuer of their progeny, and alſo of their kyngedome) to whom in thys lyfe nothyng could be eyther more diſpleaſant or greuous.

After thys battayl, kyng Edward rendered to God his moſte humble thākes, & cauſed publicke proceſſions to be wt all deuout reuerence ſolemply kept thre dayes together in euery Towne and Paryſh. And when he had viſited the townes and places, where his enemies aſſembled

bled first together (to the payne and punishmente of no smal number) he wyth good diligence returned toward Londō, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuel, bastard sonne to Thomas lord Fauconbridg the valyant capitayne, a man of no lesse corage then audacitie (who for his euel condicios was such an apte person, that a more meter could not be chosen to set all the worlde in a broyle, & to put the estate of ỹ realme on an yl hasard) had of new begonne a great commocion. This bastard was before this tyme appoynted by the erle of Warwycke, to be Vyce-admirall of the sea, and had in charge so to kepe the passage betwene Douer and Caleys, that none which either fauored kinge Edward, or his frendes should escape, vntaken and vndrowned. And when by the death of the erle of Warwycke, he was brought into pouertie, he robbed both on the sea & the lande, aswell his enemies, as also his frendes: By reason wherof he gat together a great nauy of shippes, and spoiled in euery ship, and at the last toke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentyshmē, such as wer most mete for his purpose, and so marched toward London, where the Essex men hauinge wylde whay wormes in their heddes, ioined them with him, saiyng that their commyng and quarel was to deliuer out of captiuitie kyng Henry the vj. and to bring him to his wyfe, but what soeuer their outwarde wordes were, their inward cogitacions were onlye hope of spoyle, and desyre to robbe and pyll. For the bastarde hym selfe assaulted the drawe bridge of London, and a captayn of hys called Spilsyng scaled Algate with the Essex mē, harnesed in their wyfes Chesecloutes, which assaultes were deadly geuen and manfully resisted, in so much that on bothe partes many were slayne and hurt, but at the last the citezens then put backe the rebelles, and slew and wounded a great number of them, and draue the bastard from all his pray to his shippes, lyenge at Radcleffe, which hauing a good & prosperous wynde, made sayle with al haste, & Roued on the sea, as before he was accustomed.

This stirryng, although it were but littel to thynke on at the firste yet yf it had begonne not long afore, it had brought all kynge Edwardes busines into a doubtful difference: for kynge Edward in these hys last battailes, was twyse more thē fortunate, for that, that he at sondry and seuerall tymes (and not all at one time) was persecuted & inuaded of his enemies, for surely, at the tyme when the erle of Warwicke with his pytched army was cōmyng toward London, if quene Margarete with her company had taken land (which enterpryse she thryse in great ieoperdy coragiously attempted) Then yf she had set on behynd, whyle the erle of Warwycke gaue the ontset before both at one moment, or if Edmond duke of Somerset had not geuen battayle at Tewkesbury, before Jasper erle of Penbroke was come wyth hys train, or if bastard Fawconbridge had vexed the Londoners euen at ỹ tyme: One or ỹ other of these two thinges, should cōsequently haue folowed, that kyng Edwarde must of necessitie once agayne flye out of the Realme, or elles

with shame and rebuke yelde hym selfe, either to slaughter or captiuitie: But as in all meane chaunces and small gaynes, good lucke is desyred and prayed, so much more in battayle, is good fortune and fortunate chaunce to be most made of, and chiefly to be auaunced.

Now to returne to bastard Faucõbridge, wauering hither & thither in the doubtful surges of the sea, as sure of hys lyfe on the water, as on the lande, whiche either thinking that no man would se hym, or that all men were blynd, and could not espye hym (and especially in so secrete a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there toke land where he was not long vntaken, but shortlier behedded.

Whē Jasper erle of Penbroke was credibly asserteyned ỹ Quene Margarete had lost the battayl at Tewkesburye, and that there was no more trust of anye comforte or relefe to be had for the parte of poore kyng Henry, he with such men of warre as he was, bringing to his cõfederates, returned back out of the way to ỹ towne of Chepstow, wher he tarieng, deploryng and lamenting, that hast to much hasted, & that vnpurueyed & blynd wyl had at the finall conclusion, not only destroied and brought to nought al kyng Henries estate, riches & preheminence, but further had left al his frendes redy to tosse the waues of fortune, & to seke their liuing where they might sauely get them, began to thinke and prouyde, what way was best to take.

Kyng Edwarde at this season, not beyng out of feare of the earle of Penbroke, sente priuelye into Wales, Roger Vaughan, a man there bothe stronge of people and of frendes, to the entent by som gyle or engyne sodaynely to trap and surpryse the erle: but he hauyng intelligẽces of certayne frendes, how that watche was priuely leyd for him, sodainly in the same toune, toke Roger Vaughã, and without delay stroke of hys hed, so Roger Vaughan, by Gods prouidence, receiued ỹ deathe hym selfe, whych he by decrypt prepared for the other.

The erle in good hast departed thence to Penbroke, whome incõtinent Morgan Thomas, by king Edwardes cõmaundement so strõgly beseged hym, and so enuironed his castell with a ditche and a trenche, that he coulde not lightly flye or escape thence: but he was after eyghte dayes deliuered, and the seage rayled by his faythfull and trusty frendes Dauid Thomas, brother to the forsayd Morgan, and from thence conueyed to Tynbye, a hauen toune in Wales, where he gettyng cõuenient shippes, for to transporte hym and hys ouer the sea into Fraunce wyth his nephew Lorde Henry erle of Rychmonde, and a few of hys familiers toke ship, and by fortunes leadyng, landed in Britayn.

After his arryual, he fyrst wente to duke Fraunces of Britayn, and hym reuerently saluted, expounding to him the cause, the cace, and the necessitie of their thether commyng, committing the lyfes, the goodes and all the chaunces both of hym and hys nephew, wholy to the dukes discrecyon and ordinaunce. The duke receyued both the erles, wyth all benignitie, and shewed to thē no lesse honor, fauor and humanitie, wyth

such

suche entertainment, that if they had bene his naturall brethren, & geuyng to theim his fayth, seriously made promise that beyng wyth him, they should sustein no maner of wrong, nor no iniury should be to them by any creature offred: assuring them, that they myght within his dominions at al tymes, and in all places, go in safe and good suretie.

When kyng Edwarde had appeased, by the meanes afore rehersed his kyngdome and people, to the intent that there should insurge hereafter, no newe commocion within the realme agayn, he made a iorney into Kente, & there sat in iudgement on suche, as in the last tumulteous
x busines, toke part with bastard Faucõbridge, wher many wer (not vnworthy) streyghtly punished & raũsomed, which busines once perfourmed, to thintẽt that all men might se apparantly, that indubitate peace was come into the realme, and that all feare of extreme hostilitie, was banished and exiled for euer: Poore kyng Henry the syxte, a litle before deprsyued of hys Realm, and imperial Croune, was nowe in ỹ Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and all worldly felicitie, by Richard Duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ranne) which, to thintent that king Edward his brother, should be clere out of al secret suspicyon of sodain inuasion, murthered the sayd kyng wt a dagger. But whosoeuer was
xx the manqueller of this holy man, it shall appere, that both the murtherer and the consenter, had condygne and not vndeserued punishment, for their bloudy stroke, and butcherly act: and because they had now no enemies risen, on whom they might reuenge themself, as you shal hereafter perceyue, they exercised theyr cruelty, agaynst their owne selfes: and wyth their proper blud, embrued and polluted their owne handes and membres.

kyng Henry the sixt slayn in the tower.

The ded corps of kyng Henry, with billes and gleues pompeously, (yf you call that a funerall pompe) was conueighed from the tower, to the church of sainct Paule, and there layed on a beere, where it lay the
xxx space of an whole daye: and the next day, wythout Priestes or Clarcke, Torche or Taper, syngyng or saiyng, it was conueighed to the Monastery of Chertesey, beyng distant from London. xv. Mile, & there was buryed, but after he was remoued to Windsore, & ther in a new vawte newly intumilate. Thys kyng Henry reygned full. xxxviij. yeres, and xvij. dayes, and after that he had repossessed hys kyngdõ. vj. monethes he lyued. lij. yeres, hauing by his wyfe one onely sonne, called Edward Prince of Wales.

The descripcion of kyng Henry the. vi

kyng Henry was of stature goodly, of body slender, to which proporcion, al others members wer correspondẽt: his face beautiful in ỹ which
xl continually was resydent, the bountie of mynde, wyth whych, he was inwardly endued. He dyd abhorre of hys owne nature, al the vices, as wel of the body as of the soule, and from hys verye infancye, he was of honest conuersacion and pure integritie, no knower of euil, and a keper of all goodnes, a dispiser of al thynges, whych were wonte to cause the myndes of mortall menne to flyde, or appaire. Besyde thys, pacyence

was so radicate in his harte, that of all the iniuries to him commytted, (which were no smal nombre) he neuer asked vengeaunce nor punishement, but for that, rendered to almightie God, his creator, hartie thankes, thinking that by this trouble, and aduersitie, his sinnes wer to him forgotten and forgeuen. What shall I saye, that thys good, thys gentle, this meke, this sober, and wyseman, did declare and affirme, ỹ those mischiefes and miseries, partly, came to hym for his owne offence, and partly for the hepyng of sinne vpon sinne, wretchedly by his auncetors and forfathers: wherfore, he litle or nothing estemed, or in any wise did turment or macerate him selfe, what soeuer dignitie, what honor, what ỹ state of lyfe, what child, what frend he had lost, or missed, but if it did but sound an offence toward God, he loked on that, and not wythout repẽtaunce, both mourned and sorowed for it: these and other like offices of holynes, caused God to worke miracles for him, in his lyfe tyme (as old menne sayed) By reason whereof, king Henry the seuenth not without cause, sued to July Bishop of Rome, to haue him canonized, as other sainctes be: but the fees of canonizing of a king, wer of so great a quantitie at Rome (more then the canonisyng of a Bishoppe or a prelate, although he satte in saincte Peters Cheire) that the said king thought it more necessary, to kepe his money at home, for the profite of his realme ỹ and countrey, rather then to empouerysh his kingdom, for the gaining of a new holy day of sainct Henry: remitting to God the iudgement of his will and intent. This king Henry, was of a liberal minde, and especially to such as loued good learning, and them whome he sawe profite in any verteous science, he hartely fauored and embraced, wherfore he fyrste holp his owne young scolers, to atteyne to discipline, and for the he founded a solempne schole at Eton, a toune next vnto Windsore, in the which he had stablysshed, an honest Colege of sad Priestes, with a great nombre of chyldren whyche bee there, of hys coste frankely and frely taughte, the rudimentes and rules of Grammer. Beside thys, ỹ he edifyed a Princely Colege, in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, called ỹ kynges Colege, for the further erudicion, of such as wer brought vp in Eton, whiche, at this daye so floryssheth, in all kyndes, as well of litterature, as of toungues, that aboue all other, it is worthy to bee called the Prince of Coleges.

Canonyzing of sainctes is costly.

¶ The.xi.yere.

The.xi. yere NOwe to returne to kyng Edwarde, whyche was releued of the most part, of hys prickynge feare, and inwarde suspicion, to thintent that no print or shadowe, shoulde remayne of the ỹ aduerse faccion, in hys Realme. He dylygentlye requyred and serched out, all the fragmentes and leuynges, of hys enemyes parte, intendynge to represse, and vtterly to extynguysshe theim. And fyrst to begynne wyth all, he sent George Neuel, brother to the erle of Warwycke, and Archebyshoppe of Yorke, vnder strong conduyte, to ỹ

Calle

Castle of Guysnes, there to be kept in extreme captiuitie, wher he long continued, and at the laste, by frendship deliuered: whyche of very pensiuenes and grudge of minde, shortly after deceassed, whom, Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotheram, in the sea of Yorke, did ordinarily succede. Beside this, Jhon Erle of Oxenford, whych after Barnet feld, bothe manfully gat, and valiantly kept, sainct Mighels Mount in Cornewal: either for lacke of aide, or perswaded by his frendes, gaue vp the Mount, and yelded him self to kyng Edward, (hys life onely saued) whych to him was graunted: but to be out of all doubtfull imagi-
x nacions, king Edward sent him ouer the sea, to the Castle of Hammes, where by the space of.xij.yeres, he was in strong prison, miserably kept and diligently looked to. Many other beside these, in diuerse partes of the realme, beyng very litle or nothyng suspected: wer either cõmitted to prison, or grieuously fined and taxed. Beside this, lest his neighbors countrey, might be an harborough, or receptacle of his foes and aduersaries, he cõcluded a newe league, with James the third king of Scottes, for the terme of.xx.yeres. And yet, whatsoeuer he thought in his imaginacion, for all his besy diuises, and pollitique forecastinges: hys mynde and phantesy, wer not clere exonerate and dispatched of all fear
xx and inward trouble: For tidings wer brought to hym, that the erles of Penbroke and Richmond, were arryued in Britayne: and there of the Duke, hyghly cherysshed, wel fostered and entertayned.

The.xij.yere.



Hys thyng nipped kynge Edward hardly at the very stomacke, as though hys mind, casting some euill to come after: did signifie before, that the Erle of Richemond, should once atteyne to the croune & diademe of the realme: which mischief, when he had well digested, he secretly sent wyse
xxx and close messengers, to the duke of Brytayne, the which shoulde not sticke, to promyse the duke, great & sumpteous rewardes (knowinge ỹ mede, many thinges corrupteth) so that he would deliuer, both therles into their handes and possession. The duke gladly harde them ỹ were sent, but when he knewe, the two Erles to be a praye, of suche a greate value, he determined not to deliuer theim, but rather to entertayn thẽ with him more diligently, then thei wer accustomed. The duke answered the orators, that it stode not wyth hys honor, nor he would not deliuer the two Erles, to whom, he was bound and obliged, by hys fayth and promyse: but thys he promysed to do for the kynges pleasur, that
xl they should be kept, and with such vigilant persones, cõtynually watched, that the kyng should haue no maner of cause, once to thynke, that they could or should attenipt any thing, that myght sound, either to his displeasure or preiudice. When the messengers saw, that they could not obtein, that which thei desired, like wysemen held themselfs contented wyth that, whyche by the Duke was offred, & so returned into Englãd.

The.xii.yere.

The

The kyng wrote to the Duke of Britayne, louingly requiringe him, to accomplishe, with al spede, that, whiche he, of hys owne mocion offered, promysynge him not onely, menne and greate rewardes, but yerely to rewarde hym, with a ful hand, and a well stuffed purse. The duke perceiuyng the swete gain, which rose to him, by the abode of the two Englisch Erles, in his Countrey: least they for any cause, shoulde abandon his dominions, and seke succors in some other forrein Region, caused the one to be segregated from the other: and remoued from them such Englishmen, as wer dayly on them attendant and came wyth them into Britayn, and in their places appoynted Britõs, to be their seruitors to minister, and contynually to attend and wayte on them.

When kyng Edward had thus pollitiquely, as he thought, compassed the Duke of Britain: he thinkinking nothing lesse, then to take a damage at the duke of Burgoynes hand, yea, and such a damage, as by all similitude, was bothe lyke, continually to greue and vexe the realme of Englande: and farther to be an occasion, of a common stop, and putting backe of the commodities, growen wythin this realme, to be transported into outward partes North Eastward, was yet eftsones, brought into a newe doubte and perplexitie. For the declaracion whereof, you muste vnderstande, that Lewes ỹ Frenche kyng, had a brother called Charles, which was not the wysest, nor yet a man of the greatest experience: and of a certayn curtesie, loued better to haue other men to rule him, then he to take vpõ him to rule other. And although that the king at thys tyme, had no sonne, nor other brother, but him, hys open heire apparant: he litle fauored, and lesse loued him, nothyng geuyng hym of his good wyll, for his parte and portion, of his fathers landes, but ỹ, to the which he was cõpelled by his counsayl, and that he gaue hym thys moneth, in ỹ next moneth, he would by flatery or by thretnyng, by war or corruption of his brothers seruauntes, obtain & bring to his handes and possession agayn. For first he gaue him the Duchy of Berry, & after that whole Normandy, wherof in no long tyme, he bereft him the possession, regimẽt & title, without any cause geuẽ, on ỹ partie of yõg Charles. And when the said Charles, had afterward departed, with the cõtreyes of Brye & Chãpaygne, by a fraudulent feat: king Lewes caused hym to relinquishe the same, & to take for hys parentage, the duchie of Guyen & so was called & named the Duke of Guien. This euil entreating of the duke of Guyẽ, by the Frẽch kyng his brother, caused diuerse other Princes, of no small puyssance, to fauor, ayde, and succor the sayde Duke (of the which the chief wer, Charles duke of Burgoin, Fraunces duke of Britaine, & Lewes Earle of sent Poll, Constable of Fraunce) This duke of Guyen, by the sollicityng of his adherentes, sore labored to haue in mariage, the sole doughter and onely heire, of Charles Duke of Burgoyne, by whom he hoped to be lorde and soureygne, of al duke Charles inheritaunce. To the furtheraunce of this mariage, holp with all his power, the Duke of Britayn, as who sayed, that, it should be only

ly his acte. The Constable of Fraunce on the other parte, thought that he alone, was able able to compasse this mariage, and to haue soly the thankes, of the duke of Guyen. The French king did al that he could, to let & stoppe this mariage: for yf hys brother had obteyned the younge Lady with al her possessions, then he sawe well ynough, that the duke of Guyen, being ioyned with the Duke of Britayne, should be stronge ynough, or at the least of puissance ynoughe, to encomber the frenche kyng and his children. But kyng Edwarde of Englande, sore smoked, when he heard first tel of this mariage, and not without a cause: For he
x considered, that the frēch kyng had no heire male, but one weake boy and that the Duke of Guyen, was likely to were the croune of Fraunce after his brother or nephewe. And yf this mariage shoulde procede, all Burgoyn, Brabant, Holland, zeland, Flaunders, and al the lowe countreys, where the Englyshe men, for the most parte, made their martes, and vttered there their merchaūdise, should be vnited and annexed to the Croune of Fraunce, and in the handes of the old, and auncient enemies of the realme: For so had poore England, and litle Caleis, ben cōtinually in the daunger of their enemies, & almoste with thē enuironed rounde about. These thinges considered, kyng Edward and his coun-
xy sayl, tooke the matter in greate earnest, and seriously wrote to Duke Charles, that yf he would conclude, any mariage in Fraunce, to ỹ hurt and preiudice, of the realme of Englande: that he shoulde knowe ỹ he had, not onely broken his league and amitie, but also fynde, that he had bene better to haue dissimuled, wyth the best frēde that he had, thē priuily, wythout reason, to haue iuggeled with the realme of Englande. The duke of Burgoin made reasonable answeres, and honest excuses, the Counsayl of Englande, in no wyse would geue credite therto, euer surmysyng that the maryage should take effect. And certaynly at this season, the Englishmen had rather haue taken part, wth the French king
xxx then wyth the duke of Burgoyne: yf it had not bene onely, to empeche and stoppe this mariage, so much the Englyshemen disdayned, to haue the house of Burgoyn, conioyned and vnite, to the Croune of Fraūce. But the Duke of Burgoyne dalyed, and dissimuled wyth all parties, in thys matter, geuinge them fayre wordes, & makyng large promises, by the whiche, first he deceyued other, & in cōclusion him self. He promysed his doughter, to Nicolas duke of Calaber, with whō he had rather haue had her buried, then bedded. Duke Philbert of Sauoy, had an outward answere assuredly, whē nothyng was so minded inwardly. Maximilian Duke of Austrice, and after kynge of Romaynes, sonne to the
xl Emperor Frederycke, could neuer obtein, during the life of duke Charles, but only glosing & paynted promyses: but al wordes, wrytynges & promises, whatsoeuer they wer, clerely set a side, he was surely fixed & determined (as Argenton hys counsayler doth write) that no mariage as long as he liued, should sort to any effecte, at the least by his consent.

Now lette vs leue the Duke of Burgoyne, about his affaires for a

whyle

whyle, and returne to kyng Edward: which, in y. xiij. yere of his reigne called hys high Court of Parliament, at his Palace of Westmynster, in the whyche, al lawes, and ordinaunces, made by him before that daie were corroborated and confirmed: and suche Lawes made by hym, as kyng Henry the sixt, had caused to be abrogated and adnichilated, he again reuiued and renouated. He made farther lawes, both for the confiscacion of the goodes of the rebelles, to hys persone, as also for restoryng of suche, as fled out of the realme, for his querel and occasiō: which by his aduersaries, as traitors to the kynge and Countreye, a lytle before, were of high treason attainted, and to death cōdempned. Toward his charges of late susteyned, a competent some of money was demaūded, and frankely graunted: and in conclusion, al inward grudges and open discordes, the which had long continued, in the hartes of the nobilitie, whyche, nowe were very fewe (the more part being consumed in the warres) he clerely extirped, and brought to vnitie and concorde. Kyng Edward holpe to this agrement, as much as in hym lay: And to the intent that other men, should forget iniuries to them done, and put away al rancor and malice: followyng hys good and godly example, he clerely pardoned almoste all offences, and all men then beynge wythin the Realme, he frankely discharged, although they had taken parte wt his aduersaries agaynst hym, of all high treasons and crymes.

The.xiij.pere.

The.xiij.pere

Whyle kynge Edward was thus setting an ordre, and pacyfiynge all thynges, whyche were oute of square: Charles duke of Burgoyn, whose spirite was neuer in quiete, whose ambicious minde, was neuer satisfyed, whose haute and hyghe stomacke, coulde neuer be tamed (till death it swaged and abated) desyrynge aswell to amplifye, and enlarge his territories and dominions, lyng on the syde of the ryuer of Ryne, toward high Burgoin as also to recouer agayn Amias and other tounes, which the Frenche kyng, more by fraude, then by feates of warre, had from him wrongfully vsurped: and further aboue all thynges, couetyng to haue the Frēch kyng, to haue some great shame, losse or hynderaunce, could not inuent no one waye, so apt and mete for his imagined purpose, as to entice and perswade the kyng of England, by his ambassadors, to make warre vpon the sayd kyng and his countrey, for the recouerynge of his old right and auncient title in the same, by the French kyng & his father, agaynst al ryght and equitie, wythholden and deteygned. King Edward begā a litle to harken on that syde, not so much for to help the Duke of Burgoyne (to whome he was much bounde, for hys ayde in the tyme of his exile, as you before haue heard) as for to be reuenged of kyng Lewes whome, he reputed for his mortall enemie. Firste, for aydinge y Erle of Warwycke and hys complyces, agaynst him: secondarely, for the long mainteynynge, and fosterynge of Quene Margarete, and her sonne

Prince

prince Edward (whome for a farther affinitie, he had made Godfather to hys sone Charles the Doulphyn) within his coũtreys & Dominiõs. Whereupon, when he hadde consulted with the nobilitie and the chiefe & sage persons of the Realme (which in manner haue a certayne naturall inclination to make warre in Fraũce, either for hope of great spoyle and gayne, or of a certayne priuie canker engendered in the hartes of their forefathers, in tyme longe past, and after by lyneall succession descended in to the stomackes of their nephewes) he aũswered the Dukes messenger, that in the beginnyng of the yere, he would lande at Caleys
x with such a puissant army, that the Frenche kyng should well perceyue that he lacked neither men, nor that his men lacked stomackes, bothe for to reuẽge their soueraygnes quarell, and also to recouer his right. And for a treuth, at this season there was mortall war betwene kynge Lewes & the duke of Borgoyne. And more likely to fall betwene hym and other, for kynge Lewes, of nature was harde of speche, & chorlishe in answere, froward & vngentell aswell to his frendes as to hys foes. By reason wherof many great men within the realme of Fraunce, not content with his grosse rudenesse, and rude dissimulaciõ, began to haue intelligens, and to cleue to the duke of Borgoyn, emongest whom was
xi Lewes of Luxenborough, erle of sainct Poll, & Constable of Fraunce which beyng confedered with the duke and other noble men, determined so to vex & scorge kynge Lewes with some plague, by the whyche other he should be transformed into a man, clerely altered frõ hys olde qualities, or els shoulde be in ieopardye, bothe of losse of lyue & realme, for it was determined that Fraunce should be set on & assaulted, bothe with outward enemies, and inward dissimulers. All these thynges the duke of Borgoyne with kyng Edward, did communicate to the entent the soner to allure and prouoke him, to enterprise the warre, according to hys desyre. These thynges, as tokens of victorie, before animated
xxx kyng Edward, and enforced hym in maner to make warre on Fraunce and so with all expediciõ prepared all thynges necessarie, bothe for water and lande. And because no small summe of money was sufficient for so great a charge, and that the money the yere before to him auaunced by the realme, was consumed in his houshold, and other necessarye affayres, he conceyued a new deuice in hys imaginacion, by the which engine he might couertly perswade and entice hys ryche frendes, to geue & graunt hym some cõueniẽt summe of money, toward his inestymable charges, and incredible costes, which thing, if they did not willingly assent to, he then would impute to them greater ingratitude, & more vn-
xl kyndnes, wherupon he caused hys officers to bryng to him the moste ryche persons one after another. And to them he explaned the cause, & the purpose, & the necessitie of the warre begon, & the fayntnesse & leanesse of his treasure, and the great & importune lacke of money, hartely requyring them for their loue and affecciõ, that always they had borne to hym, beyng their natural Prince, of their awne gratuitie and frewill

to geue to hym some ayde or money, for mayntenance of his warre and army: what should I say more: This inuencion came to this effect, that some calling to their remẽbraunce, the benefites of hym receyued, some with shame, some with feare moued and entouraged, gaue to hym liberally bothe of their substaunce and treasure, which without grudge he coulde not haue otherwise obteyned. But here I wil not let passe a prety conceyt, that happened in this gathering, in the which you shall not onely note the humilitie of a kynge, but more the fantasie of a woman. Kynd Edward had called before him a wydow, muche aboundynge in substance, and no lesse growen in yeres, of whome he merely demanded & what she gladly would geue him towarde his greate charges. By my treuth quod she, for thy louely countenance thou shalt haue euen. xx. l. the kyng lokyng scace for the halfe of that summe, thanked her, and louingly kyst her, whether the sauor of his brethe did so cõfort her stommacke, or she estemed the kysse of a kynge, so precious a iuell, she swore incontinently, that he should haue. xx. l. more, whiche she with the same will payed that she offered it. The kyng willing to shew that this benefite was to hym much acceptable, and not worthy to be put in obliuion called this graunt of money a beneuolence, not withstãding that many with grudge & maleuolẽce gaue great summes toward that new foũde xx beneuolence. But the vsing of such gẽtill fashions toward them, wyth frendly prayer of their assistance in his necessitie, so tempted theim that they could none otherwise do, but frankely and freely yelde & geue hym a reasonable reward.

The .xiiij. pete.

the.xiiij.yere

When all thynges conuenient for such an enterprise were in a redynesse. Kynge Edwarde with his army remoued to Douer, where he found. v. C. shyppes and Hoyes, redy to transport hym & hys army ouer the sea: And so he hym selfe with xxx his nobilitie warlikely accompaignied, passed ouer betwene Douer and Caleys, the. iiij. daye of July, and landed at Caleys wyth great triumphe, his armye, horses & munycions of warre, scace passed ouer in. xx. dayes (whome the Frenchmen bragged would haue ben taken, if they had wel cõsidered the chaunce before, as they knew it after) When kyng Edward with all his army royall, was without any trouble landed, and in suertie, he caused euery man, accordyng to his degre, to be ordered & lodged. This armye, by the writynge of Argentõ, was the fayrest and the strongest armye that passed out of Englande into Fraunce many yeres before, for the men were so well armed, and so surely in all thynges appoynted & prouided, that the Frenche naciõ were xl not onely amased to behold them, but much more praysed them & there oder. In this army were. xv. C. men of armes wel horsed, of the which the most parte were barded & rychely trapped, after the most galiard fashion, hauyng many horses decked in one suyte. There were farther

xv.

xb. M. archers, beryng bowes & arrowes, of the whiche a great parte were on horsebacke. There were also a great nũber of fightinge men & other, aswell to set vp Tentes & Pauilons (where of the Englishemen had great plenty) as to serue their Artilarie, and to enclose their campe or otherwise to labor. And in all this army there was not one page.

The kyng of Englande was at his arryuall highly displeased wyth the duke of Burgoyn, which in the worde of a Prince, promised hym to mete hym at his landing with .ij. M. men of armes & light horsemẽ, beside a great number of Lanceknightes & Halberdes, & that he woulde x haue begonne the warre .iij. monethes before ỹ kynges transporting, the more to ver & greaue the French kyng, & to cause him seke hys wittes. The duke of Borgoyn at this season, lay at seage before ỹ stronge towne of Nuyce, with a puissant army, agaynst whome were assembled the Emperor Frederike, and almost the whole Empire for ỹ rescow of the towne, to whome the kyng of England sent the lord Scales in post, requyringe him to leaue his boyd seage before the impregnable towne of Nuyce, and to retorne in all hast with his people and armye to make warre in Fraunce, accordyng to his promise and othe, declaring farther that the tyme passed, & the Somer woulde be lost, with this charge the xx lord Scales departed in all hast toward the duke, whome we will leue, rydinge toward Nuyce for a whyle.

O Fraunce Fraũce, how much art thou bounde to laude & prayse thy Sauior for the deliueraunce, in the tyme of thy affliccio. For if God had not permitted the cãcard hart of the duke, to be indurate, nor his weke brayne to be vexed, nor yet his ambicious affection to bee enflamed, so that he with all his power had ioyned with the armye of Englande on the one syde, hauyng on their syde ỹ duke of Brytayn with his power. These thre princes had bene lyke to haue made Fraunce, either to bow or to breke, either to yelde or to suffer the chaunces of fortune, which she xx lyke a wauering Goddes, hadde prouided for her punishment. Before kyng Edward departed from Douer, he sent to the Frenche kynge an officer of armes (whome Argenton vntrewly calleth Garter borne in Normandy, for the rome of Gartier was neuer geuẽ to no estraunger) which Herault deliuered to the French kynge with all dew reuerẽce a letter of defiance, bothe for the stile & the pennyng excellently endited, which the Frenchmen would scant beleue to be framed by an Englisheman. The letter requyred the Frẽch king to rẽder to the kyng of Englande, the realme of Fraunce to him of right, & by lyneall enheritaunce aperteyning & belonging, to thentẽt ỹ he might put agayn the church, xl the nobilitie, and the commons into their aunciẽt estates, & liberties, & to disburdẽ & exonerate them of the great charges, trauayles & labors, that they now were in. And in case ỹ he did refuse so to do, then he dyd protest the harme that should ensue, in the forme & maner, that in suche a case is requisyte & accustumed to be done. Kynge Lewes red ỹ letter secretly to him selfe, & after all alone in a great study withdrew him self

into hys warderobe, & sending for the English Herault, said to hym, sir I know, & wel wot, ỹ the kyng of England your maister, is neither descended in these partes of his awne fre motion, nor yet of vs requyred, but onely entised & prouoked by the duke of Burgoyn, and somewhat enforced by the cõmons of his Realme. But now you may se that ỹ season of the yere passeth, & the duke of Burgoyn is in poore estate, returning from Nuyce all most discõforted. The Cõstable also, with whome the kyng your souereygne lord, I am sure hath some intelligẽce, for fauor that your maister hath maried his nece, is not so sure a frende as he is taken for, & if all the world knew how I haue promoted him, & what I haue done for him, they would littel thynk, that he would so vntruly handle me as he dothe, for I assure you, he is a depe dissimuler, & in continual dissimulacion, entendeth to lede his lyfe, entertayning all mẽ for his awne profit. And although ỹ kyng your maister, be vnsure of al his other promises, yet of one thing he shall be sure, that is: he shall be euer dissimuled with all, & therfore I say to you, and not to youre maister, ỹ he were better haue a peace with an old enemye, then the promises and familiaritie of a new dissimuling frẽde, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thinge that I moste do desyre. When he had sayd, he gaue to the Herault. iij. C. crounes, promisinge hym a. M. crounes, if any good apoyntement came to passe. The Herault being more coueteous of the crounes, thẽ secret, according to the duetie of his office, promised to do all thinges that in him lay, not doubting, but that the kyng his maister would be conformable to any reasonable offer, aduisinge the Frenche kyng (after kyng Edward were once lãded) to send to him an Herault, to fetche a sauecondyte & pasport, for suche as should labor & trauayle in that treatie. And that the sayd Herault should first resort to the lord Stanley, or to the lord Hayward, for the cõducting of him to the kinges presence. When the Herault should depart, the kyng gaue him a pece of Crymosen Ueluet of. xxx. yardes long, commaundinge and strayghtly chargyng, that no man should be so hardy once to cõmen with him, but to let hym passe in all gentel fashiõ. When the Herault was gone, kyng Lewes callynge to him. vij. or. viij. of his familiers, caused the letter to be red, of the whiche he was but a littell afrayd & lesse abashed, considering the English Herault had shewed him playnly, how to enter into ỹ port of the treatie, & in maner how to gayn & conquere the fortresse, of which enformacion he was not a littel ioyous, & wisely and secretly according to thesame, when he saw his tyme, he prosecuted his purpose. In this very season, the lord Scales came to the duke of Burgoyn before Nuyce, accompting to him his message, as he was commaunded. The duke of Burgoyn, beyng so sore set to cõquere ỹ towne of Nuyce, aunswered the lord Scales, that his honor was lost, and shame shoulde be spoken of him thorough all Christendom, if he shoulde rayse his feld and breke his seage, but he hoped shortly to gayne the towne, and then with triumphãt victory, to come to ayde kyng Edward with his whole

army

army:with this answere ỹ lord Scales departed,which onely answer was comen without any other augmentacion, to all such as kyng Edward sent,to haue the duke to kepe his promes. What a folye was this in duke Charles,to besege a towne impregnable,euen at thesame time when the Englishmen at his request had passed the sea,which thyng all the tyme of his regiment,he had bothe traueled in, and sore requyred, and neuer coulde compasse tyll this season, and also all thinges beynge well disposed for hys purpose, both in Brytayn and in other places,except he more regarded to conquere a new towne,then to defende al his
x olde possessions and seigniories. But shortly after by the Byshoppe of Romes authoritie,he left Nuyce vncõquered, but lesyng a great number of his people,and the rẽnaunt he sent into Lorayne and Barroys, there to lye and trouble duke Reyner of Lorayn, whiche a littel before had defied hym,lyeng before Nuyce. And he him self with a small companye,came to kyng Edward before Calays,with whom kyng Edward at the fyrst cõming, began somwhat to be greued, laiyng to his charge that at hys mocion,request and desyre,he with all hys army had passed the seas onely to the entent with mortall warre,to plague and scourge the proude realme of Fraunce. And that he leuyng all thynges (whiche
xi shoulde molest or trouble the Frenche kynge) aparte,applied hym selfe to matters of Lorayne,and externe nacions, more then to reuenge the open iniuries to him done by hys neyghbor the Frenche kynge. The duke excused hym selfe with ieopardyng the losse of hys honor,if he had returned from Nuyce,and also that of necessitie, he was compelled too leue hys armye in Lorayne,to be reuenged ouer duke Reyner, whych had hym before Nuyce with spytefull wordes and raylyng termes defied and detested:affirmyng farther,that nowe in the begynnyng with a small companye,a great enterprice might be gayned. In prose wherof he delyuered to the kynge,letters of credence,sent from the Consta
xii ble of Fraunce,which willed the king to geue credite and perfait fayeth to the duke. In makinge relacion of suche secretes as were to hym geuen in charge to declare to the kynges awne person, fyrste he shewed that all though the Constable had promised to the kyng and the duke, to render vp to them the town of sainct Quintynes,yet it had not come to so good effect,if it had bene yelded,the duke beynge in Germany,as it now shall,the kynge and the duke beynge bothe personally presente, at the deliuerance. Wherfore he exhorted the kyng to set forward, & to display hys banner,and set forth hys standard. And so by hys mocion, the kyng accompanied wyth the duke,hys armye departed out of Ca-
xi leys, & passed by Boleyne to Perone, where the Englishmen thought themselfes of the duke,more lyke enemyes thẽ frendes to be entertey-ned,for at the gates entered but a fewe that were apoynted, the remnant lodged in the feldes,better purueyed of their awne, thẽ of the dukes prouision.

The kyng of England,thinkyng surely, and fyrmely beleuyng that

the Constable ment all treuthe, and the soner enduced to that credēce because the Constable was great Uncle to the Quene his wyfe, where in very dede, he nothing lesse minded then trouthe, remoued his campe from Peron, the Duke of Bourgoyn, beynge in his armye, and marched toward saynct Quintynes: certayne Englishmen ran before the toune, agaynst whose commyng they thought that the belles should haue ben rong, and the gates set open. But whē they approched the toune, the artillarie began to shote, and they of the toune came out bothe on fote and horsbacke, and skyrmished with the Englishemen, of whiche two or thre were slayne. This welcome semed very straung to kyng Edward & ponderynge together yestardayes promise, & this dayes doynge. The Duke woulde not that the kyng should desist from hys purpose, because the toune was not yelded at the sight of a handfull of people, whyche thynge he sayed, although the Constable woulde gladly haue done, at the first, but yet he woulde haue a couler to do it, as thoughe it shoulde appere that he did it by verye conpulsion and force: and therefore, if the kynge woulde make but semblance to besege the toune, he would warrant, that incontinent it should be rendered. The kynge of Englande, perceiuyng that he was deluded in his first enterprice, thought it more surer to heare the fayre wordes of the Constable, and the duke, then to & geue credit to theyr vntrew and disceatfull doynges. The Englishemen returned to theyr campe, very yl content, as I can not blame them murmeryng agaynst the Constable, callynge hym Traytor, periured & vntrew gentelmā. Besyde this angre, ther came the next daie another corsey, that smarted a littell sorer, for Duke Charles of Bourgoyne, by whose meanes kyng Edward had taken vpon hym this warre, either perceyued that all the Constables promises were but fayre sunne shynyng, swetely spoken, and sowerly performed, or els he saw that he him selfe lacked men or money, to procede farther with king Edward in his iorney: toke hys leaue sodaynly of the kynge of Englande, saiynge that & he must nedes visite, and se hys army in Berroys, promisinge shortlye with all puissance to returne agayne to the great auantage & commoditie of them bothe, and so in hast departed.

This departyng was bothe displeasaunt and straunge to the kynge of Englande, considering that in hope to haue the duke hys continuall felow in armes, and too haue hys counsayll in the order of hys people (whiche of late had not frequented the warre of Fraunce, nor yet perfitly knewe the force, the agilitie and the maner of the Frenche nacion) had passed the seas, raysed his standard, & by ỹ dukes procurement entered into the lande of hys enemyes, and nowe to beleft alone without & guyde or leder, without ayde or succor in the middell of hys foes, he coulde no lesse thynke, but that the duke neither vsed hym lyke a prince nor yet kept hys promes lyke a trewe man, whyche vnstable and dissimulyng worckynge, caused, ye, and rather enforced kyng Edward both to thynke that he neuer thought, & to do that he neuer entēded to do.

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The Englishe men sore murmured against the Constable, and no lesse against the duke, sauyng thei determined, neuer to geue confidẽce to ỹ Constables wordes, & greatly doubted, whether thei might geue anye credite to the dukes promise. Thus laie thenglishmẽ in the feldes whẽ the cold nightes begã to waxe long, without any gain of cõquest, which caused the common people, which be not alwaies contẽt with hardnes rather to desire to returne homeward, thẽ to procede any daies iorney forward. The French kyng which was bothe wily & wittie (and especially for his awne purpose) knewe by his espials, ỹ vntrue refusall made
x by the Constable, the vnfrendly departyng of the Duke of Burgoyne, and the daily murmuryng of thenglishemen, against them bothe, wherfore he thought nowe, that it was verie expedient, to folowe the counsaill of the Englishe Herault, in sendyng for a saueconduite, for metyng of Ambassadors, to common of a treatie, yf it might be well compassed. But yet to auoyde all doubtes, he reised an armie, and the more he perceiued, the power of his enemies to encrease, ỹ more he studied, how by power to resist them, and ouer that armye he made capitain, Monsire Robert de Estoteuile a baliaunt man, whom, he sent into Artoys, to defende the Frountiers there, against the kyng of Englandes entree and
xx inuasions: and he himself taried still at Senlis. The Frenche kyng beyng thus priuilie desirous of peace, although he outwardly shewed the countenaunce of Mars: meanyng quietnes, and settyng furthe warre, caused a barlet to be suborned, in a cote armure of Fraũce (whiche for haste, was made of a trũpet banner) because kyng Lewes was not much desirous, nor greatly passed on honor, and seldome had in his Courte, either officer of Armes or Trompet; which barlet was well animated, and no lesse instructed, how to do his message (whiche was deliuered to hym in writyng) bothe with a bolde countenaunce, and a sober demeanure. This coũterfeight Herault, although he was but a berlet in dede
xxx was bothe wittie and wel spoken, and so rode in sad maner, nere to the Englishe army, and there put on his cote of Armes. The Englishe outskourers perceiuyng by his cote, that he was an officer of armes, gẽtly saluted hym, and enquired of hym, whether his iorney laie: he sadly answered, that his message was from the French king, to the kyng of Englande. Then was he conueighed to the tent, where the lord Haward, and the lord Stanley, with other wer at dinner, where he was highly entertaigned, and no lesse welcomed. And after dinner he was brought before the kynge, in whose presence, with a bolde audacitie, & no fearfull speche, he declared first his credence, because he was an officer of armes
xl (to whom, credite by the lawe of all nacions, ought to be geuen) and secondarely, he published the thynges, to hym geuen in charge and commaundement, saiyng: Right high & mightie Prince, right puyssaunt & noble kynge, if your excellent wisedõ did perfectly knowe, or your high knowlege did apparantly perceiue: what inward affeccion, and feruent desire, the kyng my Master hath alwaies had, to haue a perfecte peace,

a sure vnitie, and a fraternall concord, betwene your noble persone, and your Realme, and his honorable personage, and his Dominions, you would (and for truthes sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer Christian Prince, more thrusted for an amitie, nor yet no louer hath more sought, to attain to the fauour of his paramor, then he hath soughte, to haue with you, a perpetuall frendship, amitie, and alliance: to the intent that the subiectes of bothe the realmes, quietly liuyng vnder two princes, confederate and combined together, in an indissoluble cõfederacie & league, maie mutually embrace eche other in their hartes, maie personally haue resort, and frequent eche others princes territories & dominions, with their Merchaundises & wares: And finally, the one to liue with the other, as frende with frende, brother with brother, cõpaignion with compaignion in continuall loue, reste, and tranquilitie. And for his parte he dooth affirme and saye, that sithe he receiued firste the Croune of his kyngdome, & was anoynted with the holye Ampulle, he neuer attẽpted, nor yet once imagined, any warre or thyng preiudiciall toward your royall persone, your realme, or your people. If you peraduenture will saie, that he supported, & maintained the Earle of Warwicke, against your maiestie, he surely that dooth and will denie: For he aided hym against the Duke of Burgoyne, whom, he knewe not onely to be his extreme enemie, but also to laie in waite, bothe by sea and land either to take hym, or vtterly to destroye hym. Whiche Duke of Burgoyne, onely for his awne cause, hath excited and sollicited youre highnes, to come ouer the troubelous and tempestious seas, to the intent to cause (yea, in maner to compell) the kyng my Maister, to cõdescende to such treatie and appoyntment, as shoulde bee to his onely profite, and neither to your honor, nor yet to your gain. For if he and such other, as daily flatered hym for their peculier profites (as he had many in deede, that daily sucked at his elbowe) had once obteined the thyng, that thei breathed for, all your affaires wer put in oblition, and lefte at large for them, or their assistence, euen as thei be at this daie. Hath not the Duke of Burgoyne caused you, first to come into Fraũce: after to set forward your armie, & inconclusion, for lacke of his promise, to lese the faire season of the yere, and to lye in the feldes in Winter? Whyche warre, yf it cõtinue, shall neither be profitable to you, nor yet your nobilitie, nor yet pleasaunte, but painfull to your commonaltie: And finally to bothe the realmes, and especially to Merchaunt menne, shall bryng both misery, pouertie, and calamitie. Came the Duke of Burgoyne from Nuce to Caleis, onely to visite you? Rode he all that poste haste, onely to blynd you? Returned he backe into Lorayne again for any cause, but onely to releue you desolate, and to abandon you? Did he or the Constable kepe any one promise with you? Why do you then beleue, & yet still trust thẽ in whom, you neuer founde faithe nor fidelitie? But if God will it so ordain, that you and my master, maie ioyne in a leagues and amitie, I dare bothe saie and swere, that the fine stele neuer cleued faster to the Ada-

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mant stone, then he will sticke and claspe with you, bothe in wealth and woo, in prosperitie and aduersitie: And if it shall please you, to harken to any reasonable treatie, I beyng a poore man, shal on ieoperdie of my life (whiche is my chief treasure) vndertake, that this communicacion shall sorte, and come to suche an effect, that bothe you and youre nobilitie, shalbe glad and reioyse, and your commons, shalbe contented and pleased, and they that haue deceiued you, shalbe bothe abashed & ashamed: Moste humbly beseechyng your highnes, yf your pleasure shal encline this waye, that I maie haue a sure saufe conduyte, for one hundred
x horses, for suche personages, as the kyng my Master, shall send to you, with farther intimacion of his mynd and purpose. And if your pleasure shalbe, to haue the communicacion in anye place, indifferent betwene bothe tharmies, then I shall warraunt you, a like sauecõduite for your men, as you do sende for oures. When he had accomplished his message and instruccions, the kyng of Englande and his counsaill, highly commended his audacitie, his toungue, and his sobernes, geuyng to him in reward, a faire gylte cuppe, with a hundred angelles: deliuering him a saueconduite, accordyng to his request and demaunde, with the which he with spede departed, hauyng with him an English herault, to bryng
xx a like sauecõduite, from the Frenche kyng. After both the Princes had maturely consulted on this matter, & that the saueconduites, wer deliuered on bothe partes: The ambassadors mette, at a village beside Amias, where were sent by the kyng of Englande, the Lord Hawarde, sir Thomãs Wentliger, Doctor Morton, after Chaunceler of England. For the Frenche kyng were sent, the Bastarde of Burbon, Admirall of Fraunce, the Lorde of sainct Pierre, the Byshop of Eureux called Heberge. It maie of some be not a litle marueiled at, why the French king thus labored, and sought for peace, and did make so humble, and large offers as he did: But if thei considred in what case, the realme of Fraũce
xxx stode in, at that tyme hauyng the kyng of Englande, the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Britayne, their enemies, and all furnished to set vpon them at one instaunt: They maie saie, that the Frenche kynge was bothe wise and circumspecte, to humble hym self for auantage, or els yf God had not holpen, the realme of Fraunce had been troubled, and tossed in greate ieoperdie, & daungerous extremitie. The Ambassadors met at the place appoynted, the Englishemenne demaunded, the whole realme of Fraunce, or at the least Normandy, and whole Aquitaine, the allegacions were well proued by the Englishmen, and pollitiquely defended by the Frenche men, so that with argumẽtes, without conclusiõ
xl the daie passed, and the Commissioners departed, and made relacion to their Maisters. The Frenche kyng and his counsaill, would in no wise consent, that the kyng of England, shoulde haue any parte, or parcell of lande, within the realme of Fraũce: but rather fully determined, to put hymself & his whole realme, in hazard and aduenture, so lothe, ye more aferde, then lothe, he was to haue the Englishmẽ, to be his next neighbors.

boys. The commissioners at the next metyng, concluded & agreed certain articles, which were by bothe the Pynces, accepted and allowed. It was first couenaunted & agreed, that the Frenche kyng should paie to the kyng of England without delaie. lxxv. M. Crounes of ỹ sunne, & yerely. l. M. crounes, to be paied at London, duryng kynge Edwardes life. And farther it was agreed, ỹ Charles the Dolphin should mary the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to kyng Edward, & thei twoo to haue, for the mainteinaunce of their estates, the whole Duchie of Guyen or. els. l. M. crounes, yerely to bee persolued & paied within ỹ toure of London, by the space of. ix. yeres: & at the ende of thesaied terme. The Dolphin & his dolphines, peaceably to enioye the whole duchie of Guyē and of that charge the French kyng, against the kyng of England, then to be clerely exonerate. And further it was agreed & appointed, that ỹ ij. pynces, bothe for thencreace of loue, & for the continuaunce of amitie should enteruew eche other, in some place moste expediēt, & mete for so great a purpose: & after their meting, eche of thē to take a corporal othe in presence of thother. This peace to endure. ix. yeres betwene bothe ỹ realmes inuiolate, to obserue & kepe al thinges, cōcluded, agreed, & appoynted, & on the kyng of Englandes part, wer cōprised as allies in the league, the dukes of Burgoyn & Britain, if thei would assent. And ỹ after ỹ whole some aforsaid, was to king Edward paied: he shoulde leage in hostage the lord Haward, & sir Jhō Cheyny Maister of his horses, til he with al his army, was passed ouer the sea. This peace much reioysed the French kyng, to whō, nothing could be either more plesaūt, or more exceptable, thē to haue thenglishmē in short space (how shortly he cared not) clerely auoyded, & trāsported out of his realme: immaginyng euer that by their tariyng, thei would so like the holesome & swete aire of his fruitful country, that a great nomber would be cōtinually sicke & vexed till thei returned, & sought for their health in the same delicious climate again, wherfore, to rid thē with al hastie spede, he borowed ỹ saied some of. lxxv. M. croūes, of euery man ỹ might lend a porciō. King Edward likewise, although he was of puissance strong inough, to acheue a great enterpryse on his enemies, & farther encoraged, because he was renomed for ỹ famous actes, by him before tyme perpetrated, & brought to passe, in so many battailes: Desiryng also, rather to haue war, with the Frēch nacīō beyng ỹ old & auncient enemie, to thenglishe name & bloud, yet whē he called to his remēbraunce, ỹ the ciuill warre, had so exhausted and consumed his substaunce and treasure, that if vrgent necessitie should expostulate, he wer of scant abilitie, to conscribe and set furthe a newe armie: knowyng his treasorie at home, to bee so voyde and faint, that it was not able, long to wage his souldiers, thought it bothe reasonable and profitable, to obeye to necessitie, and to abstein from battail seyng bothe honorable offers, to him oblated and agrementes of auantage to hym mocioned. Considery ng chiefly beside all this, that neither the Duke of Burgoyne, nor the Constable of Fraunce, did, nor woulde

obserue

obserue or perfourme the promises by them made & swourne. Wherupon he and the moste of his counsaill, (and specially suche, as loued better peace thē warre, & their wifes soft beddes, better then hard harnesse, or a stony lodgyng) agreed to his conclusion and concord. But the Duke of Gloucester and other, to whom the French nacion, was more odious then a tode, whose swordes thrusted for French bloud detested, abhorred, and cried out on this peace, saiyng: that all their trauaill, pain, and expences, were to their shame loste and employed, and nothyng gained but a continuall mocke, and daily derision of the Frenche king, & all his
x minions: this immaginacion tooke effecte without delaie. For a gentle manne of the Frenche kynges chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demaunde of an Englisheman, how many battailles kyng Edward had banquished, & he answered, nyne: wherein he hymselfe, personally had been. A greate honor saied the Frenche man, but I praie you sy he, smilyng: How many hath he lost, the Englishman perceiuyng what he ment, saied: one whiche you by pollicie, and by no strength, haue caused hym to lese. Well said the Frenche manne, you may ponder in a paire of balance, the gain of the nyne gotten battailes, & the rebuke of thys one in this maner loste: for I tell you, that we haue this saiyng, the force of
xi Englande hath and doth, surmount the force of Fraunce: but the engenious witte of the Frenchemen, excell the dull brayns of Englishmen. For in al battailes you haue been the gayners, but in leagues and treaties, our wittes haue made you losers: so that you may content youre selfes, with the losse in treaties, for the spoyle that you gatte, in warres & battailes. This communication was reported to the French kynge, which priuely sent for the Englishmen to supper, & not onely made him good chere, but also gaue him a thousande Crounes, to praise the peace and to helpe to maintain thesame: yet neuertheless, he beyng not a litle moued with these bragges, declared all the communicatiō, to the Duke
xii of Gloucester, which sware, that he would neuer haue sette foote out of Englande, if he had not thought, to haue made the Frenchmen, once to assaied the strength and puyssaunce, of the Englishemen: but whatsoeuer he thought, all thinges were transmuted, into another kynde, thē he could immagin. The Duke of Burgoyne beyng enformed, that there was a peace entreatyng, betwene the two kynges: came in no smal hast from Lupenborough, onely accompaignied with sixtene horse, into the kyng of Englādes lodgyng, where of, the kyng being not a litie abashed seyng bothe his sodain commyng, and his fierse countenaunce, like one that would rather bite then whyne, demaunded of him the cause, of his
xiii so sodain cōmyng. The Duke sharply answered, to knowe whether he had, either entered into any cōmunicacion, or onely had absolutely concluded a peace, betwene the Frenche kyng and him. Kyng Edward declared, how that for sondery, and diuerse greate and bygēt causes, touchyng aswell the vniuersall publique wealth, of the whole Christianitie as their awne priuate cōmoditie, and the quietnes of their realmes he

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and the French kynge, had concluded a peace & amitie, for terme of.ix. yeres, in the whiche were compriſed, as felowes and frendes, bothe he and the Duke of Britayne, requiryng him to condiſcende, and agree to theſame. Oh Lorde, Oh ſainct George, ỹ the Duke of Burgony, haue you thus doen in deede: Haue you paſſed ỹ ſeas, entered into Fraunce and without killyng of a poore flie, or burnyng of a ſely ſhepe cote, and haue taken a ſhamefull truce: Did your noble auncеſter, kyng Edward the thirde, euer make armie into Fraunce (as he made many) in ỹ which he did not either gain victory in battaill, or profite in conquerynge, cities, tounes, and countreys. That victorious Prince, as nere kinne to ỹ me, as you to kyng Henry the fifth, I meane whoſe bloud you haue, either rightefully or wrongfully, God knoweth, erſtirpate & deſtroyed, with a ſmal puyſſaunce entered into Fraunce, cõquered whole Normãdy, & not alonely conquered it, but peaceably kept it, and neuer woulde either commen, or agree to any league, till he had the whole Realme of Fraunce offered hym, and was thereof made, Regent & heire apparant and you without any thyng dooyng, or any honor or profite gainynge, haue condiſcended to a peace, bothe as honorable, and as profitable to you, as a Peſecode, and not ſo wholeſome as a Pomegranate: thynke you that I either moued you, or once entiſed you, to take this iorney for ỹ my peculier aduauntage, or cõmoditie (whiche of my power am able, to reuẽge mine awne cauſes, without help of other) but onely to haue you recouer, your old rightes & poſſeſſiõs, which wer frõ you both tortiouſly & wrongfully with holdẽ. And to thintent that you ſhal knowe, that I haue no nede of your aide, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the Frenche kynge, till you bee paſſed the ſea, and haue been there three monethes. When duke Charles had ſaid, he furiouſly threwe doune his chayer, & would haue departed. But the kynge hym ſtaied and ſaied: Brother Charles, ſith you haue ſpoken at leaſer, what you would, you muſte and ſhall, heare again, what you would not: And ỹ firſt, as cõcernyng our entery into Fraunce, no manne liuyng knoweth that occaſion, neither ſo well, nor hath cauſe halfe ſo well, to remẽbre it as you: For if you haue not fully, put your greateſt thynges, to bee had in memorie, in your boxe of obliuion, you be not yet out of mynde, how the Frenche kyng, for all your power, tooke from you the faire toune of Amias, and the ſtrong Pile of S. Quintynes, with diuerſe other tounes, which you neither durſt, nor yet were able, either to reſcowe or defende. Sith which tyme, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your frendes, yea, of your priuie chamber, & ſecrete counſayll (by whome all youre ſecretes, bee to hym reueled and made open) you ỹ knowe or haue better cauſe to remembre, and not to forget them. And when you determined, to beſege the toune of Nuce, you thought your ſelf, in a greate doubte, whether you ſhould leaſemore at home, by your abſence, (the Frenche kyng dremyng, and waitynge like a Fore for his praie) or els gain more in Germany, by youre power and preſence, and

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to kepe the wolfe from the folde, that is the Frenche kynge, from your Castels and dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause, why you so fayre prayed me, so sore laboured and entyced me to passe ouer the Sea, promysynge mountaines of Golde, whiche turned into snowe, and wasted to water, boastynge and crackynge to sende horsemen and fotemen, and yet shewynge neither lackey nor page. If we hadde made our enterprice for oure selfe soly, and in our awne quarell, thynke you that we would haue expected your commyng? If the aduenture hadde bene for to haue recouered our tyght, imagyn you that we woulde haue passed the Sea so slenderly, as we did lookyng for your aide? Nay nay, you should haue well knowen, if we had entended a conquest, that we would haue so strongly inuaded, and set on the Realme of Fraunce, that what with sauor and butnyng of townes, and infection of the ayre, corrupted by the multitude of dead carcases of our slayne enemyes, youre countreys of Flaunders and Brabant should haue had cause inough to wonder at, trusting that, that whiche we had gotten, we woulde haue kept aswell as any of our auncetours haue done: but because the very occasion of the warre was yours, and that you wilfully (I will not saye cowardly) did not prosecute thesame, the Frenche kynge, whiche neuer
xx offended me nor my subiectes (except in mayntenynge the erle of Marwycke, for the displeasure that you bare hym agaynst me) offered me, beyng destitute of all your succour and ayde, bothe honourable and honest quettures of peace, whiche offers I was in maner enforced, by very reason to enclyne to and to accept, and so haue concluded a truce, which God willyng I will bothe kepe and obserue. God send you ioy quod the duke, & sodaynly toke his horse & rode agayn to Luxenborough. After this day the kyng and the duke, neuer loued, nor neuer sawe eche other, suche is the end of vntrustines and promisbrekyng. If the duke of Burgoyne were angry, when he harde how this peace was in communicatiō
xxx much more angry was the Constable of Fraunce, fearynge lest, that by that conclusion he might be reputed of the Frenche kyng vntrewe, as he had well deserued it. Wherfore he sent hys confessor to kynge Edwarde, with letters of credence, requiring him hartely littel to regard the Frēch kynges woordes, and lesse to trust to his promyse, affyrmynge that the Frenche kynge woulde no lenger kepe promyse, then kynge Edwarde were on that syde of the Sea: And rather then he should agree with the Frenche kynge, for a small summe of money, he offered to lende hym. L. thousand crounes, with many other fayre profers. The kynge of Englande made aunswere that the truce was concluded, and that he woulde
xl nothing chaunge concernyng the matter, and that if he had kept promise with hym, he would not haue made that appoyntement nor agrement. Then was the Constable in maner on all sydes in dispayre, but yet he wrote to the Frenche kyng by his messengers, besechyng hym to geue no credite or belefe, to any tale tolde or fayned agaynste hym, without heatyng his aunswere, affirmyng that the kynge had alwayes knowen hys

truthe and fidelitie, toward the croune of Fraunce, and so should he still fynde hym till his dyeng day, promisyng and warranting him, if that it should stand with his pleasure, that he woulde so compasse the duke of Burgoyn, that they two should vtterly destroye the kyng of Englande and his army or they returned.

The counsaillers of the French kyng made aunswere, that their Master and the kyng of Englande were toyned and confedered in a sure amitie, wherfore they would in no wise know nor condiscend to any thing that might be either preiudicial, or once sounde to ỹ detrimẽt of the Englishmen: But they sayed, that the kyng their master muche trusted their Constable, and that for his sake he would talke with them in his priuy chaumber. The Frenche kyng, before their entry into his chamber, caused the lorde of Countay seruaunt to the duke of Burgoyn, accõpanied with the lorde of Argenton, one of his priuie counsaill, to stande secretly behynde a sylyng or a hangyng in his chamber, and he hymselfe sat in a chayre, directly before that place, so that what soeuer were purposed to hym, they standing behynde the clothe, might easely se, & facily heare the same. Lewes de creuell and his felow entered into the kynges chamber of nothynge thynkyng lesse then of the spyrytes enclosed: They declared what payne their master had taken for the French kynges sake, to sende ỹ moue and entice the duke of Burgoyn to leaue, and clerely to forsake the kyng of England, whiche duke they founde in suche a rage and fury agaynst the Englishemen, that at their requeste, he was not onely vtterly determined, to forsake and refuse their amitie, but also would sende out aduẽturers and Launceknightes, to robbe and spoyle them in their retoyrnyng. And in spekyng these woordes (thinkyng surely much to please the kyng) the sayd Lewes conterfeited the fashion and gesture of the duke of Burgoyn, & began to stãpe with his fote on the groũd, and bete with his fyste on the table, swearyng by sainct George that the kyng of England was not extracted of no noble house, but was a yomans sonne, and that when he was not worth one halfpeny, he was restored to his kyngdome, and made kyng onely by his ayde, reprouyng and reuilyng hym with suche yll woordes, and so shamfull termes, that all the herers abhorred it. The Frenche kyng fainyng that he was thycke of hearyng, caused him to reiterate his saiyng again, which so conterfeited the very gesture of the dukes angry countenaunce and roryng voyce, that no man hathe sene a better coũterfaytor or player in any Commedie or Tragedie. The lord of Cõtay was sore displeased to se his master made a testyngstocke but he kepte all these thynges secret, tyll his retorne to his master.

When the pagiaunt was plated, the kyng bad the messengers of ỹ Constable, to haue hym cõmended to his brother their master, and to declare to hym that as newes rose and grew, he would therof aduertise him, and so gaue them licence to depart to their master, who thought hym selfe now to bee in greate suertye of hys estate, when in dede he was neuer so nere his falle and perdicion: Estemyng the duke of Burgoyne to be hys

assured

assured frende, whiche hated hym more then a Panym, or a Turke, accomptyng also the Frenche kyng to haue no yll suspicion in hym, which neither trusted nor yet beleued any worde, writyng or message that was either writen or sent from hym: Such ende hath all dissimulacion, such frute springeth of double dealing & crafty cõueieng: for if either the Cõstable had bene faithfull to the kyng his master, as of bounden duetie & allegeaunce he ought to be, or els had kept his promes, made to ỹ kyng of England & duke of Burgoyn, and not dalied & dissimuled with them, he had surely in his extremitie bene aided, succored & comforted of one of
x these thre at the lest, where now he was of al thre forsakẽ, & yet not forsaken, but sought for, loked for, & watched for, not for his profit or promocion, but for his vndoing and destruccion: Now let vs leaue of the Constable, and returne to the cõclusion of the peace. When all thynges were appointed, writen & established, the peace was proclaimed in bothe the cãpes, and the kyng of England, the soner to consummate the amitie by othe as it was agreed, came within halfe a leage of Ampas, where the French kyng was, which to thentent to obteine the more fauour of thenglishmen, sent into their army a. C. Cartes, loden with wyne, ỹ best that might be gotten. And farther, because the Englyshemen resorted to the
xx toune of Ampas, both for their pastime & busines, he ordeined at the very entrie of the gate of the toune two great & long tables, to be set on euery syde of the streat, where the Englishmen should passe, & euery table was abundantly furnished with all sortes of delicate biand, & especially of such as would prouoke an appetide to drynke, there lacked no wyne of no sorte, seruitours were redy to serue and minister al thinges necessary. And farther to accompany & familierly to entertayne the English naciõ at euery table were appoynted. v. or. vi. gentelmen, of the best compaignions of the whole countrey, not only to se them serued without lacking but also to drynke and make good chere, and kepe company with them,
xxx and euer as they entered into the toune, they were taken by the drydels and in maner enforced to drynke, wheresoeuer they came they payed no money, but were set scot free, whiche chere lasted. iii. or. iiii. dayes, to the French kynges cost, and in conclusion to his no small vnquieting. For one daye there entered into the toune of Ampas. ix. M. Englishmen, well armed, so that no Frẽchman durst once forbid them to entre, their occasion of enteryng into the toune was onely to refreshe them, and to bye thynges necessary for their businesses and affayres. When the Frenche kyng was therof enformed, he was somwhat vexed, & more amased, feating either the losse of his toune, or hurt of his people: He sent to Thenglishe Capitaynes, requiring them to withdrawe their souldiers to their Campe, the capitaynes performed the kynges desire, as much as in thẽ lay, but if they sent out. xx. ten came backe again and brought more company with them. The Frenche kyng sent Monsier de Guye, Marshal of Fraunce & other into the toune to se the Englishemens behaueour, they founde some drinkyng, some singing, & some slepyng, so that they myght

percepue that they ment neither disceat noz vntruthe: Yet the Frenche kyng, whiche of his nature was very suspicious, & especially toward the Englishemen, came to the gate of Ampas, strongly accõpaygned, & caused .iii. C. men of armes to be kept secretly in their capitaynes houses, & other cõpaigny he set on the poztal, where the Englishmẽ entered, a smal number God wot, to haue resisted the great company of Englishemen if they had either entended any thing toward ỹ French kyng oz his toune. The kyng of Englãd was pziuilie enfozmed of ỹ Frẽch kynges doubtfull imagination, & vntrew suspiciõ, wherfoze he sent wozde to hym that he should make a Proclamacion, that no Englishman should entre into ỹ toune vpon a peyne. The French kyng made answere, that it neither stode with his honoz, noz yet with any pzincely humanitie, that he should fozbid his frendes (as he called them) to take their pleasure in his toune but if it might please the kyng of England, to apoint certain of the youmẽ of his Croune, to stande at the gate, & to appoint, not onely who should entre, but also the nũber of theim, he thought that his moderaciõ should be both suerty and pleasure to bothe the parties. Whiche requeste the kyng of England with quicke spede, caused to be perfozmed to the great quietnes of the French kyng & his coũsaill, casting farther periles then reason then required. You, haue stil in your remẽbzaunce, how an article of the treatie was, that the two Pzinces should enteruiew, and mete in a place by bothe parties to be appoynted. The kyng of England appoynted the lozd Hayward, & syz Thomas Sentliger, & a Herault: foz ỹ Frẽch kyng were assigned the lozd Bonchace, & the lozd of Argentõ. Whẽ they had vewed the Ryuer, they agreed the most conuenient & surest place to be at Picquegnye, on the water of Some. iii. leagues fro Ampas. The toune standeth lowe, and the Ryuer passeth thozough. On that side that the French kyng should come, the countrey faire & open, and so likewise the other parte was very plesaunt: but towarde the Ryuer, there was a Cawsey of .ii. arow shot in length, whiche was enuironed with marshes & surely it was a daungerous passage to conueye a Pzince in a straunge Realme, by suche a straite, if the Frenche men had ment any fraude, but verely the kyng of England had so great trust & confidence in the honoz and pzomise of the French kyng & his nobilitie, that he would vpon their assurance aduentured farther then this, if his will might haue bene perfozmed. Then it was concluded by these .iiii. commissioners, that a large bzidge should be made ouer the Ryuer of Some, in the middel of which bzidge was made a great strong grate of tymber, like to the grate where the Lyons be kept, the holes of whiche grate did extende into no longer quantitie, then that a man might easely put thozough his arme, whiche bzidge was made and couered with bozdes, only to kepe of the wether, so that vnder the couerture, there might stand .xii persones on euery syde of the grate, whiche extended from the one syde of the bzidge, euen directly to the other, so that there was no way foz one Pzince to come to the other (as was in the grate, where Jhon duke of Burgoyn was slayn) & ouer the

the Ryuer was only one ferry bote. When the bridge and all other thynges necessary were ended & perfourmed for so great a purpose, and well & diligently vewed on bothe the sides, there were appointed.xii.noble personages, to be attendant on euery Prince to the barres, & .iiii. Englishemen were assigned to stand with the Frēch men on the bridge, to se their doyng & behauoure, & likewise.iiii. Frenchmen were limitted to the Englishmen for that same cause and policie. At the day appoynted, whiche was the.xxxi.daie of August, in the yere of Christes blessed incarnation M.cccc.lxv. eche kyng approched the Ryuers side with his army, so that eche army might se other. The Frenchemen say & write, that the army of the Englishmen, was greater and muche fayrer then their battaill, but they excuse it (in this cace as they do in all other) saiyng that the fourth parte of their army was lackyng, you may alowe their excuse if it please you. When the token of metyng by the shot of the Artilerie was knowen, the Frenche kyng with.xii. noble men entered the bridge, & came to the closure, with whome was Jhon duke of Burbon, and the Cardinall hys brother, a prelate, more mete for a Ladies carpet, then for an Ecclesiasticall pulpet and.x.other, emongest whom the lorde of Argenton was in like disguised apparel, as the French kyng ware, for so was his pleasure that daie to haue him adourned. The kyng of Englande came all alonge the causey that I haue spoken of well accompaignied, that he semed well to be a kyng, & with him was his brother the duke of Clarence the erle of Northumberland, the byshop of Elye hys Chanceler. the lord Hastynges his Chamberlain, & .viii. other lordes. Kyng Edward, and iiii. other were appareled in clothe of gold frised, hauing on his bonet of blacke veluet a floure delice of golde, set with very ryche and orient stones, he was a goodly faire and a beautyful Prince, beginning a litell to growe in flesshe, and when he approched nere the grate, he toke of hys cappe, and made a low and solempne obeysance: the French kyng made to hym an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somwhat homely.

Kyng Lewes embraced kyng Edwarde thorough the barriers saiynge: Cosin you be right hartely welcome into these parties, assuring you that there is no man in the worlde that I haue more desired to se and speake with then with you, & nowe lauded be almightie God, we be here mette together for a good and godly purpose, whereof I doubte not, but that we shall haue cause to reioyce. The kyng of England hym thanked and aunswered to his wordes so soberly, so grauely, and so princely, that the Frenchemen ther at not a litle mused.

The Chancelor of England made there a solempne oracion, in laude & prayse of peace, concluding on a prophecie, that sayed that at Pycquegny should be concluded a peace, bothe honorable and profitable to the realmes of Englād & Fraūce. Then the Chāceler opened the letters of bothe their agremētes to the treatie, demaunding of thē if they there with were cōtented, they answered ye, then eche Prince layed his right hand on the Missall, & his left hand on the holy Crosse, & toke there a solēpne othe, to

obserue and kepe the treatie of the truce for nyne yeres concluded betwene them, with all their conferates and alies comprysed, mencioned & specefied in thesame, and farther to accomplisshe the mariage of their chyldren, with all thynges theron dependyng, accordyng as it was agreed and concluded betwene their Ambassadours, when the other was taken and sworne, the Frenche kynge saied merily to kyng Edwarde, brother, if you will take peyne to come to Parys, you shalbe feasted and entertayned with Ladies, and I shall apoynt you the Cardinal of Burbon for your confessor, whiche shall gladly assoyle you of suche synnes, if any be committed. The kyng of England toke these wordes pleasantly & thankefully, for he was enformed that the Cardinall was a good compaignion, and a Chapelayn mete for such a dalyeng pastime. When this communication was merily ended, the Frenche kyng, entendyng to shew hym selfe like a Master emongest his seruauntes, made all hys compaigny to draw backe from hym, meanyng to comon with the kyng of Englande secretly, the Englyshmen withdrew them without any cõmaundement, then the two kynges commoned alone secretly, I thynke not to the profite of the Constable of Fraunce. The Frenche kyng demaunded of kyng Edward, whether the Duke of Burgoyne would accepte the treuce, kyng Edwarde aunswered that he woulde once agayne make an offer, and then vpon the refusall, he would referre and reporte the truthe to them both. Then kyng Lewes began to speake of the Duke of Brytayne, whome he would faine haue excepted out of the league. To whome the kyng of England aunswered: Brother I requyre you to moue no warre to the Duke of Britayne, for on my fidelitie, in the tyme of my nede and aduersitie, I neuer found a more frendly sure and stedfast louer then he.

Then kyng Lewes called his compaigny again, & with most lowly & amiable commendacions, toke his leue of the kyng of Englãd, speaking certayn frendly wordes to euery Englishmã. Kyng Edward doyng lykewise to the Frenchmẽ, then both at one time departed frõ the barriers and mounted on horsebacke, and departed: the French kyng to Amias, & kyng Edward to his army, to whome was sent out of the Frenche kynges house all thynges necessary for a Prince, in so muche that neither Torches nor Torchettes lacked vnsent. When the Frenche kyng was departed from Picquegny, he called to him the lorde of Argentõ saiyng, by the peace of God, the kyng of Englande is an amorous and a fayre prince, he at the first becke would gladly se Parys, where he might fortune to fynde suche plesaunt or talkatyue Dames, whiche with fayre wordes, and plesaunt pastimes myght so allure hym to their fantasies, that it might brede an occasion in him to come ouer the sea agayn, which I would not gladly se, for his progenitors haue bene to long and to often bothe in Parys and Normandye (on this syde the sea) I loue neither his sight nor his company, but when he is at home, I loue hym as my brother, and take hym as my frende.

The

The Frenche kyng after this departyng,sore desirous to make warre on the Duke of Britayne,whiche he could not do,except he were left out of the treatie,wherfore he sent the lord of Bouchage,and the lord of.S. Pierre,to the kyng of Englande, entreating hym by alwayes and mocions possible,to leaue the duke of Britayn, for his alie,and not to haue hym comprehended in the league:the kyng of England hearing them so seriously and so feruently, speake against the Duke of Britayn,with an earnest countenaunce aunswered,saiyng: My Lordes I assure you,if I were peaceable at home in my realme, yet for the defence of the Duke of
x Britayn and his countrey, I would passe the seas again, against al the that either would do him iniurie,or make warre vpon hym: the Frenche Lordes nothyng farther saiyng,muche maruciled why the kyng of Englande,so surely claue to the Duke of Britaynes partie. But they knew not (or els at the least remembred not) that Henry Erle of Richemonde, was within the power and dominion, of the Duke of Britayne, whome kyng Edwardes phantasie euer gaue hym, would make once a title too the Croune of England,and next heire to the house of Lancastre:For he knewe well, that if the Duke of Britayne, woulde transporte hym into England,where he had bothe kynsfolke and frendes,with neuer so small
xx an aide(yea,although it were but a shadow of an army)then were he enforced, newly to begin again a conquest,as though he had neuer wonne the Croune, nor obteigned the possession of the Realme, whiche was the verie cause,why he stacke so sore,on the Duke of Britaynes part. The same night the Lordes returned to Amias,and reported to their Master kyng Edwardes aunswere,which therwith,was not the best pleased,but pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedy, but to dissimule the matter.This same night also,there came the lorde Hawarde, and twoo other of the kyng of Englandes counsail, which had bene coadiutors toward the peace,to the Frenche kyng to supper. The lorde Hawarde said to the
xxx Frenche kyng, secretly in his eare, that if it stoode with his pleasure,he could perswade the kyng of Englande,to come to Amias,yea,peraduenture as farre as Parys, familierly and frendly, to solace hymselfe with hym,as his trustie frende and faithfull brother. The Frenche kyng, to whome this motion was nothyng pleasaunt, callyng for water,washed and rose without any aunswere makyng:but he laied to one of his counsaill,that he imagined in his awne conceipt, that this request would bee made:The Englyshe men began agayne,to common of that matter,the Frenche men pollitiquely brake their communicacion, saiyng: that the kyng with all celeritie,must marche forward, agaynst the duke of Bur-
xl goyn. Although this motion semed, onely for to encrease loue,and continuall amitie betwene the Princes, yet the Frenchmen hauyng, in their perfecte remembraunce, the innumerable damages and hurtes, whiche they of late daies,had susteined by the Englyshe nacion:whereby,continual hatred encreased,against them in Fraunce, thought by policy and wisdome,with faire woordes,and frendly countenaunce, to put by thys

request,and to moeton them rather,to departe homeward, then to prieke them forward to Paris,where peraduenture, they might so be entertained at this tyme,that they would at another come thether,bothe vndesired and vnwelcomed. This peace was saied to be made, onely by the holy ghoste,because that on the date of metyng, a white Doue satte on the very toppe,of the kyng of Englandes tent: whether she sat there to direct her,or came thether as a token geuen by God, I referre it to your iudgement. At this treatie & metyng, was not the Duke of Glouceſter,nor other lordes,whiche were not content with this truce,but the Duke came afterwarde to Amyas, with diuerse other Lordes of Englande, to the Frenche kyng which,bothe highly feasted them,and also presented them with plate and horses,well garnished. Kyng Lewes consyderyng, what gaine the Englyshemen had gotten, by makyng warre in Fraunce, and what miserie,what calamitie,and what pouertie, the French nacion had suffered,and many yeres susteined,by reason of thesaid warres,determined clerely, rather to pacifie and entertain the Englishe nacion,by fayre wordes, and great rewardes(although it were to his great charge)then by to muche hardines,to put hymselfe,his nobilitie and realme, in a hasard,by geuyng them battaill,as his predecessors,had vnwisely done at Poitiers,and at Agyncort,wherfore, to bye peace, he graunted to kyng Edwarde, for a yerely tribute. L. M. Crounes, to be paied at London, whiche,accoumptyng a croune at.iiii. s. amounteth to.x. M. l. And to haue the fauor and good will, of his chiefe counsailers. he gaue greate pencions,amountyng to the some of. xvi. M. Crounes a yere, that is to saie: to his Chaunceller, to the Lorde Hastynges, his chiefe Chamberlein,a man of no lesse witte then vertue,and of great authoritie with his Master,and that not without a cause:for he had aswel in tyme of aduersitie,as in the faire flatteryng worlde,well and truely serued hym,and to the Lorde Hawarde,to Sir Thomas Mountgomerie, to Sir Thomas Sentliger,to Sir Jhon Cheiney, Master of the kynges horses, to the Marques Dorset,sonne to the quene,and diuerse other,he gaue great & liberall rewardes,to thyntent to kepe hymselfe, in amitie with England while he wanne and obteined his purpose and desire in other places.

These persones had geuen to them great giftes, besyde yerely pencions: For Argenton his counsailer,affirmeth of his awne knowlege,that the lorde Haward,had in lesse then the terme of twoo yeres, for rewarde in money and plate.xxiiii. M.Crounes, and at the tyme of this metyng, he gaue to the Lorde Hastynges,the kynges chiefe Chamberlain,as the Frenchemen write,a hundred markes of siluer,made in plate, wherof euery marke is.viii.ounces sterlyng,but thenglishe writers affirme,that he gaue thesaid Lorde Hastynges.xxiiii.dooſen boulles, that is to saye, xii.dosen gilte,and.xii.dosen vngilte,euery cuppe waiyng. xvii. nobles, whiche gifte, either betokened in hym, a greate lyberall nature, or els a greate and especiall confidence, that he had in thesaid Lorde Chamberlain,Beside this,he gaue hym yerely, twoo thousand Crounes penci-

the whiche some he sent to hym, by Piers Cleret, one of the Maisters of his house, geuyng hym in charge, to receiue of hym an acquitaunce, for the receipt of the same pencion, to thintent that it should appere, in tyme to come, that the Chauncellor, Chamberlayn, Admirall, Maisters of the horses, to the kyng of Englande, and many other of his Counsaill, had bene in fe and pencionaries, of the French kyng, whose yerely acquitaū-ces (the lorde Hastynges onely except) remain of recorde to be shewed, in the Chamber of accomptes, in the palaice of Paris. When Piers Cleret had paied the pencion, to the lorde Hastynges, he gently demaunded of
x hym an acquitaunce, for his discharge, whiche request when he denied, he then onely required of hym, a letter of three lines, to bee directed to the kyng, testifyng the receipte of the pencion, to the intent that the kyng hys Maister, shoulde not thinke, the pencion to be imbesiled. The lorde Hastynges although he knew that Piers demaunded nothyng but reason, aunswered hym: Sir this gift commeth only, of the liberall pleasure of the kyng your Maister, and not of my request: if it be his determinate will, that I shall haue it, then putte you it into my sleue, and if not, I praie you render to hym his gifte again: For neither he nor you, shall haue either letter, acquitaunce, or scrowe, sygned with my hande, of the
xx receipte of any pencion, to thintent to bragge another day, that the kynges Chamberlain of Englande, hath bene pencionary, with the Frenche kyng, and shewe his acquitaunce, in the Chamber of accomptes, to hys dishonor. Piers left his money behynd, and made relacion of all thynges to his Maister, which, although that he had not his will, yet he much more praysed the wisdome, and pollicie of the Lorde Haltynges, then of the other pencionaries, commaunding hym yerely to be paied, without any discharge demaundyng.

When the kyng of Englande, had receiued his tribute, and his nobilitie their rewardes, of the Frenche kyng: He trussed vp his tentes, and
xxx laded all his bagage, and departed toward Calcis, but or he came there, he remembring the craftie dissimulacion, and the vntrue dealyng, of Lewes Erle of sainct Pole, high Constable of Fraunce, entending to declare hym, to the Frenche kyng, in very true likenes and portrature: Sent vnto hym twoo letters of credence, written by thesaied Constable, with the true report, of all suche woordes and messages, as had bene to hym sent, and declared by thesaied Constable and his Ambassadours, whiche letters, the Frenche kyng gladly receiued, and thankfully accepted, as the chief instrument, to bryng the Constable to his death: whiche he escaped no long season after, suche is the ende of dissimulers.

xl When kyng Edward was come to Calcis, and had set all thynges in an ordre, he toke shippe, and sayled with a prosperous wynde, into Englande, and was receiued by the Maior of London, and the Magistrates clad in scarlet, and .v.C. cōmoners, appareled in Murrey, the .xxviii. daie of Septembre, in the .xiiii. yere of his reigne, vpon Blacke Heathe, and so conueighed with great triumphe, through the citie of Westmyn-

ster,

ster, where after his long labour, he reposed hymselfe a while: euery date almoste, talkyng with the Quene his wife, of the mariage of his daughter, whom, he caused to be called Dolpheneſſe: thynkyng nothyng surer, then that mariage to take effecte, accordyng to the treatie. The hope of whiche mariage, caused hym to dissimule, and do thynges, whiche afterward chaūsed, greatly to the Frenche kynges profite, and finally to his.

When kyng Edwarde was arriued in Englande, the Frenche kyng thynkyng by no meane possible, to haue his will on the Constable, but onely by the Duke of Burgoyne, determined to conclude a truce. for. ix. yeres, vpon couenaunt, euery man to haue his awne: but the Ambassa- x
dours, would not haue the truce proclaimed, thynkyng therby, to saue the Duke from periurie, whiche had sworne, neuer to conclude a peace, till the kyng of Englande had bene three monethes in his realme, after his retourne from Caleys. The kyng of Englande, was of all these doo-
ynges, asserteined by his frendes: wherfore, in all hast, he sent syr Thomas Mountgomerie, a wise and a sage knight, to the Frenche kyng, beyng then at Vernyns, concludyng with the duke of Burgoyns Ambassadours, requiring him to take none other truce, with Duke Charles, then that, whiche was by theim concluded, delityng hym farther, in no wise to departe with sainct Quintines to the duke: Offeryng that if he xx
would, any longer continue the warre, against the saied Duke that he would for his pleasure, and the dukes displeasure, passe the seas agayn, the nexte Sommer: so that the Frenche kyng, should paie to hym fiftie thousand crounes, for the losse whiche he should sustein, in his Custome by reason that the wolles at Caleys, because of the warre, could haue no vent, nor be vttred, and also pay halfe the charges, and halfe the wages of his souldiers, and men of warre.

The Frenche kyng, moste hartely thanked, the kyng of England, of his kinde offre, and faithfull frendshippe, excusyng hym, that the peace was al ready assented to: how be it, it was the verie same peace, that was xxi
betwene theim concluded, sauyng onely, that the duke would bee, a contractor in the league, and not comprehēded in the same, as an other princes alie. This matter was thus answered, and faintly excused, and with the same, sir Thomas Mountgomerie dispatched, which was with plate conueniently rewarded: and with hym returned, the lorde Hayward, and sir Jhon Chetney, which were hostages with the Frenche kyng, til kyng Edwarde were returned into Englande. The Frenche kyng marueiled not a litle, at kyng Edwardes offres. and thought it perilous to cause the Englishemen to passe the Sea againe, and to ioyne with the French men, whom they neuer loued: conecturyng farther, that the Englyshe xl
men and the Burgonyons, woulde sone agree, by reason of their old acquaintaunce and familiaritie, and by chaunce, bothe become enemies to the Frenchemen: wherfore, in auoydyng of all ambiguites, he determined to conclude the truce.

When

When kyng Edwarde had after this maner establyshed, as well his affayres of outwarde warres, as his pryuate and perticuler busines at home, notwithstandyng, that he beyng the moost valiaunt, and fortunate victor, of such, and so many terryble and bloudy battayles, myght thynke to leade his life, in perfect quietnes, and sure sauetie: Yet considerying, that Henry the young erle of Richemond, one of the offsprynges, of the bloud of kyng Henry the fyrste, was yet lyuyng and in good health, he iudged himselfe, to be farre from his purpose, and that that onely thyng dyd so vexe and trouble his ioye and felicitie, that he thought himselfe, neuer to bee in a sure estate, voyde of trouble or feare. Wherfore he determined yet once again, to solicitie and moue Fraunces Duke of Britayn, either for giftes, promises or prayers, to deliuer the erle into his handes, whom he supposed (after the faction and bande, of kyng Henries parte, by him extyncted, and clearely defeated) to bryng to his lure, and to rule at his awne mynde and pleasure. Wherfore, he sent Doctor Stillyngton, and twoo other, his Ambassadours, well laden with no small some of golde, with all hast to the Duke of Britayn: And to the intent that their desyre should appere more honest, in the open face of the worlde, he willed them to declare to the Duke, that their request, to haue the Erle deliuered to them, was onely for this purpose, to ioyne with hym aliance by mariage and so to extirpate and plucke vp, all the degrees and leuynges of the aduerse parte, and contrary faccion. Whiche enterprise (whatsoeuer they saied) was not onely by affinitie, but by the onely death, of the innocent erle Henry to be acheued and brought to passe. The Duke gently heard the Orators, and firste he began to deny, & after to excuse, why he might nor ought not agree to their request, but in conclusion, what with prayers requiring, and monyes soliciting, the Duke beyng wered and ouercome, deliuered the erle to the Ambassadours, whom, in his letters he highly commended, to kyng Edwarde, not thynkyng that he deliuered, the shepe to the wolfe, but the sonne to the father, beleuyng surely without scruple or doubt, that kyng Edward would geue in mariage to hym lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, whom in deede he maried, after her fathers death, as you hereafter shall heare. When thambassadors had y praie, that they so muche desyred, they departed to the toune of. S. Wallo, standing on the sea syde, where, they reken ed to haue taken shipping, and so to haue sayled into Englande. The erle of Rychemond knowing, that he was goyng toward his death, for very penfiuenes, and inwarde thought, fell into a feruent & a sore agewe. In this very season, one Jhon Cheulet, so estemed emong the Princes of Britayne, as fewe were in all the countrey, and in muche credite, and well accepted with the duke, was when these thynges were thus concluded, for his solace in the countrey, but beyng thereof certified, beyng chafed with the abhomination of the fact: resorted to the Courte, and familierly came to the Dukes presence, and there stode so sadly, and so paly, without any worde speakyng, that

the

the Duke was muche abashed, and sodaynly marueyled, at his sad and frownyng coũtenaunce, & demaunded of hym what should signifie, that dumpishenes of mynde, and inward sighyng, the whiche by his countenaunce, manifestly appered and was euident: He modestly aunswered, moste noble and redoubted lorde, this palenes of visage, and dedly loke doth prognosticate the tyme of my death, to approche and be at hande, which if it had chaũced to me, before this day, I assure you, it had much lesse hurted me. For then had I not bene preserued, to sele the dolorous panges and sorowful sighynges: which a fact by you done (that I thought impossible to be obteined) hath imprinted in my stomacke, and in my hart depely grauen. So that I well perceiue, that either I shall lese my life, or els liue in perpetuall distresse and continuall mysery. For you my synguler good lord, by your verteous actes, and noble feates haue gotten to you, in maner an immortall fame: whiche in euery mans mouth, is extolled and eleuated, aboue the hygh Cloudes, but alas me semeth (I pray you pardon me my rudenes) that now that you haue obteined, so hygh a laude and glory, you nothyng lesse regarde then to kepe and preserue the same inuiolate, considering that you forgettyng your faith and faithfull promyse, made to Henry Erle of Richemond, hath deliuered the moost innocent young gentleman, to the cruel tormenters, to bee afflicted, rente in peces, and slayn: wherfore, all suche as loue you, of the whiche nomber I am one, cannot chose but lament and be sory, whē they se openly, the fame and glory, of your moost renoumed name, by suche a disloialtie, and vntruthe against promise, to be bothe blotted and stained with a perpetuall note, of slaunder and infamie. Peace myne awne good Jhon, q the Duke, I praie thee, beleue me, there is no suche thyng lyke to happen to therle of Richemond: for kyng Edward hath sent for hym, to make of hym, beyng his suspect enemie, his good & faire sõne in lawe. Well, well, q Jhon, my redoubted lorde, geue credence to me: therle Hery is at the very brynke to perishe, whom, if you permitte once to set but one foote, out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able hereafter, to deliuer hym from death. The duke beyng moued, with the perswasion of Jhon Cheynet, whiche either litle beleued, or smally suspected kyng Edward, to desyre the erle, for any fraude or deceipte, or els seduced by blynd auarice and loue of money, more then honestie, fydelitie, or wisdome would requite, did not consider, what he vnaduisedly did, or what he aduisedly, should haue done. Wherfore, with all diligence, he sent furthe Peter Landoyse, his chiefe Threasorer, commaundyng hym to intercept and slaie, the Erle of Richemond, in all hast possible. Peter not sluggyng, nor dreamyng his busines: Came to the Englyshe Ambassadors to. S. Malos, there abidyng the wynde. And first he inuented a cause of his comming, and kepte with theim a long communication, to protracte the tyme, tyll his men in the meane season, had conueighed therle (almoste halfe ded) into a sure Sanctuary, within the toune, whiche in nowise might bee violated: where he beyng delyuered,

from the continual feare of dredful death, recouered hys health, and in good plight was brought to the duke.

Here a man may euidently perceyue the olde Greke prouerbe to bee very trew, whiche is that a man, to a man shall sometyme be as a God, for the yong erle Henry without desert deliuered to his death, sodaynly by the labor of Jhon Cheulet, and the fauor of the good Prince, was preserued, saued and deliuered. God graunt that such examples may be a doctrine and myrror to such as be rulers aboue other, lackyng counsaylers to monish & warne them of their duetie and office. That thei remembryng thys good acte, may learne to take into the counsayl and familie, such as will well and truly admonishe and warne them. and they likewise with good mynde and glad entent to be folowers of thesame.

The Englishe oratours complayned and murmured that they were both spoyled of their monye & marchandise, requyryng peter Landoise that they in no wise should returne, so deluded without pray or penney. The Treasorer effectuously promised them, that the Erle either should be surely kept in the Sanctuary, into the which he escaped (by their negligence as he layed to their charge) or els should be again in the dukes house put in prison, so that they shoulde not nede no more to feare hym then hys shadow. And so the kyng of England for hys money, purchased the keping of his enemye by the space of.iii. dayes, and no more.

Kyng Edward in the meane season, sore longyng to know what effect hys Ambassade toke with the duke of Britayne, and therefore was euery houre troubled and vnquieted with harkenyng & lokynge, was at the last certefied from thence, howe the erle of Rychemond was deliuered, and at a poynt to be brought home to hym as a prisoner in captiuitie, but that he escaped. Firste, he lamented his purpose, not to haue more prosperously succeded, but after beyng somwhat molified and apeased, when he hard that he should be sauely kept in prison, determined clerely hereafter to banische that care out of hys mynd and fantasye, and to employe all hys whole study and diligence for the keppynge of hys house, after a more bountyful fashion and liberall proporcion, thé before was accustomed. And when he had sufficiently stored hys cheste with treasure, remembryng his honor, leste, he peraduenture should be noted with the spot of Nygardshyp, he shewed him selfe lyke a liberall and benefectiall Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and a profitable kynge to the cõmon wealth, & the poore people of hys Realme and dominion.

¶ The.xvi.yere.

The xvi.yere

EVen as kyng Edward sought, inuented and studied dayly and howerly to bryng hym selfe to quietnesse & rest, and hys Realme to a continual amitie, and a perpetual peace, lykewyse at thesame tyme Charles, duke of Burgoyn, whose wit neuer loued peace, nor yet was wery or abhorred troble, whose intollerable paynes in warres were to hym pleasure, and especially

 where

where he thought any new seignorie to obteine, or els to be reuẽged of auncient enemyes, for olde greues and displeasures to him done: So ỹ desyre of rule mixt with hatred, and malice cõbined with auarice, kyndeled, prouoked and excited so hys courage thys yere (whose braggyng audacitie had more nede of a bridell to be refrayned, then of a spurre to be pricked forward) that he partly to be reuenged of ỹ duke of Lorayne and ỹ Swytchers, and partly for ỹ couetous desyre that he had to certayn lãdes lyeng betwene his lowe countreys of Brabant & Flaũders and hys Duchie of haut Burgoyn, assembled a great army & a mighty puyssance, and beseged a towne called Granson in Lorayn, which when he had receyued, without mercy, lyke a tyrant he caused all the Inhabitãtes cruelly to be put to death, wherof heryng the Switchers mãfully encoũtered with hym, and discomfited hys whole army, where the duke lost bothe honor, prayse, and such abundaunce of ryches, that few Princes in hys tyme were able to shew suche Juels, and so many, & of suche high price and value. And after not cõtent with these chaũces, but euer in hope of reuéging he fought with the Switchers agayne at Morrat, wherof. xviij. M. good mẽ of warre, he lost. x. M. besyde them that were wounded and hurt: yet this fierce & couragious Capitayne, more corragious then circũspect, gathered agayn a new army, and contrary to the mindes of his whole counsail, in the depth of Wynter, beseged ỹ toune of Nancy, belongyng to the duke of Lorayn, where he was encoũtered with the sayd duke and the Switchers, and there by thẽ agayne ouercome, discomfited, and slayne.

Thus in one yere he lost. iii. great battayles, the fyrste at Granson, where he lost honor, and all hys ryches: The second at Morrat, where he lost honor, & almost all hys men: The thyrd at Nancy, where he loste lyfe, honor, ryches, men, and all worldely felicitie, on the Vigile of the Epiphany, in the yere of our lord, after some writers. M. cccc. lxxvi. and after other. M. cccc lxxviij.

This ende had the valiant hart, and stout courage of duke Charles of Burgoyn, who in hys tyme could neuer agre with peace and cõcord, tyll death, more puyssant then lyfe maye resiste, broughte hys bodye to quietnes and perpetual tranquilite, which bodi is entered in ỹ Church of saunct George in Nancy, leuyng behynd him one sole doughter, lawfully begotten to be his heyre, whiche afterward was maryed to Maximiliaen Archeduke of Austrice.

At this battayl were taken Anthony and Bauldwyn, bastarde bretherne to duke Charles, whom the French kyng bought of the duke of Lorayne to the entent that they shoulde not withstande hys pretensed purpose in Flaunders. Yf any man wer sory of the duke of Burgoyns death, you may be sure that he was not so inwardly sory, as the French kyng was in hart ioyous and glad: For now hauyng peace with Englande, he knew no creature that was able to matche with him in earnest or in game, & because he would lese no tyme, he vnder couler that wolde

be

be not able to enioy any thyng, that is or hath ben, apertaynyng to the Croune of Fraunce, toke of the yong Damosel of Burgoyn the tounes of Houndedier, Perone, Abbeuyle, Monstreul, Roy, and al the tounes on the ryuer of Some: Beside thys, he wyth no great payne obteyned Hesdyng, Arras, and the toune of Bulleyn, wyth the countye of Bullonoys, wyche kyng Charles hys father had before engaged, and empledged to duke Philip of Burgoyn, as before is mencioned. But this wyly and wytty kyng Lewes, comyng to the toune of Bulleyn, perceyued that if it wer fortefied with a garrison, it should not onely be an yl neighbor to the tounes of Caleys and Guysnes, but also a port necessarie and conuenient for all hys subiectes, when they should be, either by enemies assayled, or by stormy tempestious wether driuē on the narowe seas, wherfore to cast a sure Ancker, knowyng the lorde Bartrame de la Toure, erle of Aulueric, to be the very trew and vndubytate heyre of ỹ sayd toune and countie: He first obteyned of hym hys right and title in thesame, rewarding him with a greater summe, & a more yereli value of reuenewes, in the countye of Forest, and other places. And after to the entent to haue a port euer open vpō Englād, he annexed thesame toune of Bulleyne, & the countie of Bullonoys, wyth the partes adiacent, to the croune and regalitie of Fraunce. And because, the forenamed towne and countye were holden of the erledom of Artoys, he chaunged the tenure, and solemply auowed to holde thesame toune & coūtie of our Lady of Bulleyn, and therof did homage to the Image in ỹ great Church called our Lady church in Bulleyn, offring ther a hart of gold, weiyng ii.M. Crounes, ordeinyng farther that all his heyres and successors, at their entrie into the estate and dignitie royal, by them self, or their deputie should offer a hart of lyke weight and value, as a releue & homage done, or made for thesame toune and countie. You maye be sure that the kyng of England would not haue suffered the French kīg to haue edefied such a couert nest, so nere his toune of Caleis, and the territories of thesame, except his leage had bound hym, or that he had to much affyance in the Frenche kyng, whose hart was doble, & whose wit euer inconstant, but surely the hope of the preferment of his daughter, bothe brought him to blyndnes and dotage. Let these doynges ouer passe and se how politikely the French kyng wrought for his aduantage. Duryng these gaynes in the lowe partes, he caused the duke of Lorayn to enter into high Burgoyn with a greate armye, whiche by policie & promises brought the whole Duchie vnder obedience of the French kyng, whiche then claymed to haue the order and mariage of the yonge lady, as a pupille, ward and orphane, apertayning to the croune of Fraunce, for the which title after rose no smal mischief, and trouble in Flaunders, and ỹ countreys thereabout. Let vs leaue a whyle to speke of outward busines, and retourne to our awne.

¶ The.xvii. yere.

The.xvii. yere.

IN ỹ.xvii.yere of king Edward, there fel a sparcle of priuy malice, betwene the king & his brother the duke of Clarẽce whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were newly kyndeled and set a fire by the Quene or her blonde which were euer mistrusting and priuely barkinge at thee kynges lignage, or were he desirous to reigne after his brother: to men that haue thereof made large inquisition, of suche as were of no small authoritie in those dates, the certayntie therof was hyd, and coulde not truely be disclosed, but by coniectures, whiche as often deceiue the imaginacions, of fantastical folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusion. The same was that the king or the Quene, or bothe, sore troubled with a folysh Prophesye, and by reason therof begã to stomacke & greuously to grudge against the duke. The effect of which was, after king Edward shouide reigne, one whose first letter of his name shoulde be a G. and because the deuell is wonte with suche wytchcraftes, to wrap & illaqueat the myndes of men, which delyte in such deuely she fantasyes, thei sayd afterwarde that that Prophesy lost not hys effecte, when after kyng Edward, Glocester vsurped his kingdome.

Other allege this to be the cause of his death: That of late, ỹ olde rancor betwene thẽ beyng newly reuiued (The which betwene no creatures can be more vehement then betwene bretherne, especially when it is firmely radicate) the duke beyng destitute of a wife, by the meanes of lady Margaret duches of Burgoyn, hys sister, procured to haue the lady Mary, doughter and heyre to Duke Charles her Husband, to bee geuen to hym in matrimony: which mariage kinge Edwarde (enuieng the felicitie of his brother) bothe agayne saied and disturbed. Thys priuy displeasure was openly appeased, but not inwardly forgottẽ nor outwardly forgeuen, for that not withstandyng a seruaunte of the Dukes was sodainly accused (I cannot say of treuth, or vntruely suspected by the Dukes enemies) of poysonyng, sorcery, or inchauntment, & therof condempned, and put to taste the paynes of death. The duke, whiche myght not suffer the wrongfull condemnacion of his man (as he in his conscience adiudged) nor yet forbere, nor pacientely suffer the vniust hãdelyng of hys trusty seruaunt, dayly did oppugne, and with yll woordes murmur at the doyng therof. The kyng much greued and troubled with hys brothers dayly querimonye, and continuall exclamacion, caused hym to be apprehended, and cast into the Towre, wher he beyng was adiudged for a Traytor, and was priuily drowned in a But of Malueseye.

George duke of Clarence, drowned in a But of Malueseye in the Towre

But sure it is that although kyng Edward were consentyng to his death and destruccion, yet he much dyd bothe lamente his infortunate chaunce, and repent hys sodayn execution. In as muche, that when any person sued to hym for Pardon or Remission, of any malefactor condempned to the punishment of death, he would accustomably say and openly speake, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would

woulde make intercession, openly spekyng, and apparauntly meanyng that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie, he was circumuented, and brought to hys confusion.

Thys duke left behynd hym two younge infantes, engendred of the body of the daughter of Richard, late erle of Warwicke, whyche chylderne by destenye, or by their awne merites, folowinge the steppes of theyr aunce tours, succeded them in like misfortune, and semblable yll chaūce. For Edward hys heyre, whome kyng Edward had created erle of Warwicke, was thyree and twentye yeres after in the tyme of kynge
r Henry the.vii attaynted of treason, and on Towre hyl behedded. Margarete his sole daughter was maried to sir Rychard Pole knighte, beyng muche bounde to Kynge Henry the.vii. for her auauncemente in mariage, besyde manifolde benefites, by her of hym receiued: But most of all obliged to that excellent prince kynge Henry the eyghte, for restoryng her aswell to the name and title of countesse of Salisbury, as to the possessions of the same: she forgetting ȳ miserable chaunce of her father, and lesse remembryng the kyndnes and kyndred of her sayd souereygne lord, committed agaynst hys Maiestye, and hys Realme, abhominable and detestable treason, for the whiche she was in open Parliament, adiudged and attaynted, and two and sixty yeres after her father
rr was put to death in the Towre, she on the grene within thesame place, with an Axe suffered execucion. In whose person died the very surname of Plantagenet, whiche from Geofrey plātagenet so longe in the bloud Royall of this realme, had florished and contynued. After the death of thys duke, by reason of great hete and vntemperate ayer, happened so fierce and so quyck a Pestilence, that.xv.yeris watre paste, consumed not the thyrd parte of the people, that onely foure monethes miserably and pitifully dispatched, and brought to their sepulture.

¶ The.xviii.yere

YOU haue harde not longe before, how the Frenche kynge not onely claymed the rule, gouernaunce, and mariage of the ponge Princes and Damosell of Burgoyne, but also how he, what wyth policie, and what with force had plucked from her the fayrest feathers of her tayle, that is too meane, whole haut Burgoyne, and the strouge counes of Pycardye which in tyme to come myght (as they were very lyke) happen to proue yll neyghbouts to the English nacion. All these thynges were politikely pondered, & matutely digested by the wise coūsaylers of England whiche first consydered the olde amitie, betwene the house of Englande and Flaunders, and the quotidiane entercourse, traffycke and commutacion, whiche no smal season had ben practised, frequented & exercised mutually and frendly betwene the subiectes, and all nacions hauynge

The.xv iij. yere.

resort to either of the sayd countreys, saw it open before their eyes, that if the Frenche kynge, either by force or by communccion of mariage to Charles erle of Angulesme (to whome he promised hys good wyll, for the obteynyng of the yonge Princes) should get the vpper hande of the Damosel or of her seignories and dommions, that then damage might ensue to the whole Realme of Englande, bothe for vtterynge of their commodities in those partes, and also for the impedyment or stoppe of their course and recourse, beside new imposicions and gabels, to be set within the sayde countreys, vpon the Marchauntes, their goodes and wares. Wherfore the whole nobilitie and sage fathers made humble re- p
quest, to kyng Edwarde to helpe, and ayed the yonge ladye and Prynces of Burgoyne, allegynge that as farre as they coulde perceyue, the mariage of hys doughter with the Dolphyne, was but dissimuled and fayned, for in ỹ treaty cõcluded at Pycquegnye, betwene him and kyng Lewes, it was appoynted, agreed, and openly sworne, that the Frenche kynge, within a yere folowynge, shoulde sende for the ladye Elizabeth, entituled Dolphynesse of Uyen, to be conueyed into Fraũce, which yere with foure more wer passed and gone, without any worde speking of her sendyng for, or goyng into Fraunce.

The Quene of Englande also had wryten in this season too the pp
lady Margaret, Ducheſſe of Burgoyne, for the preferrente of her brother Anthony erle Ryuers, to the mariage of the yonge Damsell, but the counsayll of Flaunders, consyderinge that he was but a Erle of a meane estate, and she the greatest enherritrice of all Christendom at that tyme, gaue but deafe hearynge to soo vnmete a requeſt: the whyche desyre if the Fleminges had but geuen good eare to, or wyth gentell wordes delayed the suyte, she had bothe bene succored and defended with a good number, and not sustayned soo greate losse as she dyd. Whether kynge Edwarde were not content wyth thys refusall, or that he trusted more the Frenche kynges promyse, then all hys counsayll coulde see ppp
cause, or that he was lothe to lese hys yerely tribute of fifty thousande Crounes, he woulde in no wyse consent to sende any armye into Flaunders, agaynst the Frenche kynge: But he sent Ambassadours to kynge Lewes wyth louynge and gentle letters, requyrynge hym to conclude some reasonable peace, or els at the least to take a certayne truce wyth her at hys requeſt.

The Ambassadors of England, wer highly receiued, bountefully feſted, and liberally rewarded: But answere to their desire, had they none, but ỹ shortly the Frenche kyng would sende Ambassadors, hostages, F pledges, to the kyng of England, their Master, for the concludyng and rr perfourmaunce of al thynges, dependyng betwene theim twoo: So that their souereigne lorde and thei should haue good cause, to be contented and pleased. All these faire wordes, wer onely delaies to protracte time, and in the meane season, to wynne tounes and coũtreys, from the damosell, or any aide or succor could be to her administred.

And

And beside thys, to staie kyng Edward, from takyng parte with her. He wrote to hym, that if he would ioyne with him in aide, or personally make warre, in any parte of the Ladyes territories, or dominions: that then kyng Edward, should haue and enioye, to hym and his heires, the whole Countie and Countrey of Flaunders, discharged of all homage, superiozitie, and resorte to be claimed by the French kyng, and his heyres and successors: and farther, he should haue ỹ whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the Frenche kynge offered, at his awne charge and coste, to conquere foure, the chief and strongest tounes, wythin thesaied Duchie, and theim in quiet possession, to deliuer to the kyng of Englande, grauntyng farther to paie to hym, tenne thousande Angels, toward his charges: besides munitions of warre and artilerie, whiche he promised to lende hym, with men and cariage, for the conueighaunce of thesame.

A greate offer made by the French kyng to kyng Edward the, iiij.

The kyng of Englande answered, that the tounes of Flanders, wer of no smal strengthe, nor of no litle quãtitye, verie vneasie to bee kepte, when thei wer conquered: and of no lesse force was the Duchie of Brabant, with whom, his subiectes were bothe lothe, and not verie willyng to haue warre there, considering, that thether was one of their cõmon trafficques and ventes, of all their Merchaundice: But if the Frenche kyng would make hym partener, of his conquest in Picardy, tendering to hym parte of the tounes, all ready gotten and gained, as Boleigne Mounstrell, and Abbeuile, then he would surely take his parte, and aide hym with men, at hys awne costes and charges. While this matter was in answeryng, and replyng again, the Frenche kynge spoyled the yong Princes, of tounes, and Regions, and of the best Capitaines that her father lefte, as the Lorde Cordes and other: wherfore for pure necessitie of aide and strengthe, she maried wyth Maximilian, sonne to Frederike the Emperor, whyche to hys power, fore resisted the Frenche kyng, for makyng any inuasions into Flaunders, or other hys wyfes landes and seigniories. This Princes conceiued of her husband, in the first yere of her mariage, a faire lady called Margaret, whom king Lewes so phantesied, either to haue a publique peace, wyth Maximiliã her father, by the whyche, he might staie al warre, and hostilitie betwene thẽ and so by that meane, peaceably to enioy the countryes and tounes, by hym stollen and faintly conquered, or els imagenyng by that onely damosell, in conclusion to conioyne, the whole countrey of Flaunders, and the other dominions, therunto apperteinyng, to the croune of Fraunce, (as he had no fewe times, before attempted and assaied). That he clerely forgettyng, his promes made, written, and sworne to the kyng of Englande, for the mariage of his daughter, solicited priuily the Lordes of Flanders, to haue thesaied lady Margaret, to bee conioyned in matrimonie, with the Dolphin his sonne, writynge and sendyng to the kyng of Englande, faire promises and flatterynge letters, when hys purpose was clerely vanished out of Englande, and fixed in Flanders, as you shall hereafter well vnderstande.

¶ The.xix.yere.

The.xix.yere.

YNG Edward in the .xix.yere of his reigne forgettyng aswell all exteriour inuasions, as ciuill warre, and intestine trouble: whiche before that tyme, he had abundantly tasted, and more then he was willyng, had bothe felte, and had in continuall experience, beganne firste more then he was before accustomed, to serche out the penall offences, aswell of the chief of his nobilitie, as of other gentlemen, beyng proprietaries of great possessions, or aboundantly furnished in goodes, beside merchauntes, and other inferiour persones. By the reason wherof, it was of all men adiudged, more then doubted, consideryng his newe fame of riches, & his greedy appetite of money and treasure, that he would proue hereafter, a sore and an extreme Prince, emongest his subiectes, and thys imaginacion in especial, wandred through the heddes of al men, that after his brother ỹ Duke of Clarence, was put to death, he should saie, that al men should stande, and liue in feare of him, & he to be vnbrideled, and in doubte of no man. But his newe inuented practise, & auaricious inuencion, what for other forein and outward affaires, & what for the abbreuiatyng of his daies, in this transitorie world (whiche were within two yeres after consumed) toke some, but no greate effecte. Howbeit experience teacheth, that prosperitie ofte tymes is as greate a trouble, as a greate mischief, and as vnquiet a profite, to the possessioners of riches, & such as haue the fruicion of thesame: as pouertie and aduersitie, are profitable and laudable, in other persones whiche can, with pacient stomacke, and meke harte, beare and suffre the stormes and surges, of euill fortune, end peruerse mischaunce.

¶ The.xx yere.

The.xx.yere.

After thys, kyng Edwarde hauynge all thynges brought to that effect, whiche he had long desired, except the marriage of hys daughter, wyth Charles the dolphyn, muche studied and no lesse desired to haue this affinitie, accordyng to the appoyntment made and concluded, to be accõplished and solempnized, and therfore, not onely wrote, but sent diuerse messengers to the Frenche kyng, for the performaunce of thesame. The Frenche kyng whiche neuer intended, to haue that mariage take effecte, considery̆ng that the Dolphyn, was muche younger, then the lady Elizabeth, and for other causes, sent Ambassadors to the kyng of England with faire woordes, and friuolous delaies, makyng hys excuse, that he had not sent for the kynges daughter to be maried to his sonne the dolphin, accordyng to the league and treatie concluded, by the occasion of his great troubles, and busy warres, enterprised in high Burgoin, and the lowe countreys, so that he was disgarnished, aswell of his nobilitie, as of other menne of honor, to receiue her into his realme, accordyng to her estate and degree: promising faithfully, shortly to sende for her, and to

to conueigh her with ſuche a pompe and royal traine, that it ſhould be to bothe their honors and laudes, and to the high contentacion, of the Kyng of Englande and his Quene, whiche, no leſſe then her huſbande deſired, & ſore longed to ſe the concluſiõ, of theſaid mariage take effect.

These Ambaſſadors were wel feaſted, and like wiſe rewarded, and ſo toke their leaue: And within a conuenient ſeaſon after, he ſent other Orators, whiche, were neuer in Englande before, to the intent that if their predeceſſors beyng Ambaſſadors, had ſaied or concluded any thyng, (al though thei wer authoriſed ſo to do) yet if it might turne to the French
r kinges preiudice or damage, thei might without blame, excuſe themſelfes by ignorance, of that matter: affirmyng that thei had no cõmiſſion to common, or els once to enterpriſe, to medle with that matter. Or if he perceiued that any thyng was like to be concluded, whych ſounded not to his pleaſure or profite, he would ſende for his Ambaſſador, in greate haſt, and after ſende another wyth newe inſtruccions, nothynge depen-dyng on the olde.

Thys faſhion kyng Lewes, vſed with all Princes, to whome he ſent any Ambaſſadors, by the whiche he cõpaſſed many thynges, to his purpoſe, and to their loſſe: But moſte of all, he thus dalied wyth the kynge
rr of England, concernyng this mariage, onely to the intent, to kepe him ſtil in amitie, aboue all other Princes. And for a truthe the Kyng of Englande, beyng of no ſuſpicious nature, ſo muche truſted, and gaue to hym ſo much confidence, that he thought the Sunne, would ſoner haue fallen from his circle, then that kyng Lewes, either would haue diſſimuled, or broken his promiſe with hym.

But who ſoner breketh promes, then he that is moſte truſted, or who ſoner deceiueth, then he to whom moſte credence is attributed. And on the other part, who is ſo ſone begiled, as he that leaſt miſtruſteth, and who ſoner falleth, then he that caſteth no peril, but as in nothyng, mi-
rrr ſtruſtyng, is no ſmall lightnes, ſo into muche truſtyng is to much foly: wherefore, if kyng Edward had either not to muche truſted, or miſtruſted the Frenche Kynges faire promiſes (as I would he had dooen in dede) the croune of Fraunce, had not ſo increaſed in poſſeſſions and dominions, to the great glory, and ſtrength of the realme: nor the Princes of Burgoyne, had not ſo been plucked, haryed, and ſpoyled, of her faire tounes and Caſtles as ſhe was, whiche chaunce, ſhe beyng deſtitute of frendes, and without comforte of defenders, by pacience perforce, was compelled to ſuffre and ſuſtein.

This is the profite that all nacions get, by the faire promiſes, of the
rl Frẽchmen. Thus is the league made with Lewes the Frẽch kyng fraudulently gloſed and diſſimuled. Thus is the othe made, & ſworne vpon the holy Euangeliſtes violated, and contrary to the worde, and honor of a Prince, broken and falſefied: by which vntrue dealyng, and couert diſſimulyng, with his eſpeciall and truſtie frend, all men maye facilie ſe, and more apparauntly then in a myrror perceiue, that the verie natural

condicion

condicion of the Frenche nacion, is pleasauntly to flatter, plentifully to reward, and gloriously to glose, til thei haue once obteined their pretensed purpose, and haue their ambicious desire accomplished & satisfied and that gain once gotten on their side, neither othe holdeth, nor frendship continueth, nor yet humanitie and kyndnes before shewed, is once regarded, or of them remembred: wherefore, myne aduise is, let all men trust them, as thei fynde them.

¶ The. xxi yere.

The xxi. yere.

IN this verie season, James the. iii. of that name, kyng of Scottes, sent into Englād a solempne Ambassade, for to haue the Lady Cicile, kyng Edwardes. ii. daughter, to be maried to his eldest sonne, James Prince of Scotlande. Duke of Rothesai, & erle of Caricke. King Edward & his counsaill, thinkyng that this affinitie, should bee aswel honorable, as profitable to the realme, did not only graunt, to his desire and demaūd but also before hande disbursed, certain sommes of money, to the onely intent, that the mariage should herafter, neither be interrupted nor broken, vpon this condicion, ỹ if thesaied Matrimony, by any accidentall meane, should in tyme to come, take no successe nor perfeccion: or that kyng Edward would notifie, to the kyng of Scottes, or his counsail, that his pleasure was determined, to haue thesaid mariage, to be infringed and dissolued: Then the Prouost and merchauntes, of the toune of Edenborough, should bee bounde for the repaiment, of thesaied some again. Al which thynges wer, wyth great deliberaciō concluded & sealed, in hope of cōtinual peace, and infrangible amitie. But this king Jaines beyng a man of a sharpe wit, more wedded to his awne opiniō thē reason would scace here, would neyther here nor geue credite to theim, that spake contrary to his awne phantesie, or this imagined opinion: And to thintēt that no man should find fault, with his doynges, or reprehēd his actes, he promoted and made counsailers, menne of base lignage, and lowe bloud, and in especiall, Cochrane and his compaignie, by whose euill aduise, and mischeuous instigacion, he so punished and greued hys nobilitie, bothe with emprisonment, exaccions, and death, that some of their voluntarie will, went into Exile, and other fainyng cause to departe, fled into other landes, and straunge countreys. For the Duke of Albanie, called Alexander, brother to kyng James, was exiled into Fraunce, but passyng through England, he taried with kyng Edward as you shall heare. Therle of Mar, a wise pollitique counsailer, was in Edenborough beehedded: And beside this, he forgettyng his othe, promise, and affinitie concluded with kyng Edward, caused armies to bee made, into England, spoylyng burnyng, and killyng, the kynges faithfull subiectes: at the whiche vnprincely dooyng, the kyng of Englande beyng, not a litle moued and chafed, determined to be reuenged on him by battaill, and dent of sworde. Yet notwithstandyng, because kyng Jaimes

mes craftely excusyng himself, alleging the mischief late cõmitted, to be attempted, doen, & perpetrated, without his consent, knowlege, or counsail, this matter had been lightly pacified, and blowen ouer, if the Duke of Albanie, beyng with kyng Edward, had not incẽsed, entised, and prouoked hym, to make warre on the Scottishe kyng, his brother, bothe to reuenge the iniuries of late, to thesaid king doen contrary to all lawes of armes, and Princely demeanure, and also, to help to restore thesaied duke, to his possessiõs, and dominions again: out of the whiche, he was by the kyng his brother, dispossessed, and reiected, promisyng to kyng Edwarde, greate aide and assistence, when his armie was once entered, into the confines of Scotlande,

Kyng Edward beyng thus perswaded by the Duke, and trustyng on his aide, was somwhat agreable to this, but the inward remembraunce how that kyng James, had supported against hym, with men and money, hys olde enemie kyng Henry the sixt: and also trustyng, that if Alexander duke of Albanie, by his aide should banyshe his brother, and obtain the croune of Scotland, he would be alwaies to hym, sure, faithfull, & trustie: whiche did so enflame his corage, & set his harte so on fire, that he determined with al diligence, with an army royall, to inuade the countrey of Scotlande, and make the kyng to knowe, that he had nether honorably, nor truly kept his league and promise. Wherfore, al the winter season, he mustred his souldiers, prepared his ordinance, rigged his shippes, and left nothyng apperteignyng to the warre, vnputueyed or vnloked for: so that in the beginnyng of the yere, al thynges were prepared, and nothyng was missed.

¶ The.xxii.yere.

The xxii.yere

When all thynges apperteignyng, to the furniture of suche an enterprise, wer put in a readines, and ready to bee sette forward: kyng Edward appoynted, to be cheuetain of his hoost, and Lieuetenaunt generall, his brother Richarde Duke of Gloucester, and to him associated, Henry, the.iiij Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, Lorde Steward of his household, the lorde Louell, and the lorde Greystocke, and diuerse other noble men and knightes. These valiaũt capitaines, set forward in Maie, and made suche diligence, with politique cõueighaunce of their souldiers: beside the troubelous cariage, of their ordinaunce, that they came to the toune of Alnewike, in Northumberlande, aboute the beginnyng of July, where they first encamped themselfes, and Marshailed their hoste. The forward was led, by therle of Northumberland, vnder whose standerd were, the lorde Scrope of Bolton, sir Jhon Middelto, sir Jhon Dichfeld, and diuerse other Knightes, Esquiers & souldiers to the nombre of sixe thousand, and seuen. C. men. In the middell ward was the Duke of Gloucester, and wyth hym the Duke of Albanye, the lorde Louell, the lorde Greystocke, sir Edwarde Woduile and other, to the nombre of fiue thousande, and eight. C. men. The Lorde Neuell

was

was appoynted to folowe, accompaigned wyth.iii.M.men The lorde Stanley,led the wyng on the right hande, of the Dukes battaill,wyth iiii.M.men,of Lancaſhire and Cheſſhire: The lefte wyng was guyded by the lorde Fitz Hewe, ſir Willyam a Parre, ſir James Harryngton, with the nombre of.ii.M.men,and beſide al theſe,there was a thouſād men appoynted,to geue attendance on the ordinaunce. This royall armie,not intendyng to ſlepe, but to geue the Scottes knowlege,of their arriual in thoſe parties,came ſodainly by the water ſide, to the toune of Berwicke, and there,what with force, and what with feare of ſo greate an army,toke and entered the toune:but therle Bothwell, beyng Captain of the Caſtle,would in nowiſe deliuer it neither for flattering wordes,nor for manacyng bragges, wherefore, the capitaines deliberately conſultyng together, planted a ſtrong ſiege,and enuironed it rounde about. When this ſiege was thus laied,the twoo Dukes,and all the other ſouldiers,except the lord Stanley, ſir Jhon Eltyngton,threaſorer of the kynges houſe, ſir Willyam a Parre, and.iiii.M.men, that were lefte behinde, to kepe the ſiege before the Caſtle, departed from Berwicke, toward Edenborough: And in marchyng thetherward,he brent and deſtroyed,theſe tounes folowyng.

Edryngton.
Parton.Fiſhewike.
Brandike.
Hooton.
Heton Hall.
Mordyngton and the Baſtile.
Plome Horne and the toune.
Browelhed and the Steple.
Brome hill and the Baſtile.
Edram.
Eltruſbet.
Blakater and the Banke won
Kallow,and Kamorgan.
Whitſonelawes.
Brynlenyn and Ryſelaw.
Elbanke.
Hockas.
Betroſide
Erneſſaw and the Baſtill won.
Hilton and Whitſome.
Wykyll Swynton and the Baſtile.
Litle Swynton and the baſtill.
Somprone and Harden.
Croſſirge and Whitſide

Edyngham.Whitmere.
Newtowne.
During whych tyme,the erle of Northūberland,brēt theſe tounes Yatham,and Yatham.
Brymſed and the Baſtell.
Low houſes and the baſtell.
Cheritrees and Hoyepe.
Cliffton,Coto, and Hawmon.
Hawmon Grawnge and Hawdon
Warbotell and the baſtile.
Lynton with the Baſtile.
Part of Cawarden brent.
Chedworthe and Craylam & the Baſtill.
Neſkot, Neſkett,and olde Rokeſborough.
Ednam,and the baſtill wonne.
Ednam iſle, Benlaw.
Duſnam, Long Puolo deliuered.
Croke,Aſhewes, Wydrropes and the Baſtill.
Coſſemaynes and the baſtell won.
Weddon and the baſtell.

While theſe thynges were in doyng,kyng James of Scotlande,hauyng ſmall cōfidence in his cōmonaltie, and leſſe truſt in hys nobilitie,

did

did voluntarely incarcerate & enclose hym selfe in the strong Castell of Maydens in Edenborough, perfitly trustyng there to be out of all doubtes & daunger, except famyn or treason, caused hym violently to ope the portes or gates, wherof the duke of Glocester entered into the toun and at the especial request & desire of the duke of Albany, saued ỹ toune and thenhabitantes of thesame, from fier, bloud & spoyle, takynge onely such presētes as the merchantes gentelly offered him & his capitaines, Causing Gartier, principal kyng at armes, to make a publique Proclamacion at the hygh Crosse in the market place of Edenborroughe, in the
xx whych he warned & admonished, James kyng of Scottes, to kepe, obserue & performe all such promises, cōpactes, couenantes & agrementes as he had concluded & sealed to, wyth the high and mighty Prince Edward, by the grace of God kyng of England. &c. And also to make condigne and sufficient recompence to his subiectes, for the great tirannye spoyle and crueltye, that he and his people had perpetrate & committed cōtrary to his league, within the marches and territories of his realm of Englande, before the firste daye of August nexte ensuynge.
And farther without delay to restore the high and mighty prince Alexander, duke of Albanie, his naturall brother to hys estate, & all his offi-
xx ces, possessions and authorities, in as ample and liberall maner, as he before occupied and enioyed thesame: or the high and valiaunte prince Rychard duke of Glocester, leuetenaunt generall, and chiefetayne for ỹ kyng of England, was redy at hand to destroy him, his people and cōtrey wyth slaughter, flame & famyn.

Kyng James would make no aunswere, neither by woorde nor by writing, knowing that his powey now fayled, either to performe the request demaunded, or to defend his countrey with such a puissant army inuaded. The lordes of Scotlande, lyeng at Hadyngton with a great puyssaunce, hearyng the kynge of Englandes reasonable desyre, de-
xxx termyned fyrste to practyse with the Duke of Glocester for a peace, and so to haue the Castell of Berwycke to their part, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albanye, from the English amitie, & vpon this mocion, the.ij. daye of August they wrote to the duke of Glocester, that the mariage betwene the prince of England shoulde be accomplisshed in all poyntes, according to the couenantes agreed, and the instrumētes therof engrosed, requiring farther that a peace from thensfurth might be louyngly concluded betwene bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester wisely and circumspectly certefied thē agayn, that as touching the article of mariage, to take effect betwene their prince and the
xl lady Cicile of England, he knew not the determinat pleasure of ỹ king his master and brother, either for the affirmaunce or deniāce of thesam but he desired full restitucyon of all suche summes of money, as for the sayd mariage before time had ben disbursed, or prested out in lone. And where the sayd lordes desyred to haue a peace, concluded from thensfurth, betwene both the sayd realmes. He first required to haue the Ca-

stell of Barwyke to him deliuered, or at the lest, if he did agree to ỹ sayd peace, that then his siege, lyeng about the sayd Castel, should be hereafter in any wise, neither troubled, vexed, nor molested nor ỹ king of Scottes, nor none of hys subiectes, nor any other by hys procurement or prouokyng, should ayde, comfort or assist with victayle, ordinaũce or otherwise the Capitayne, Constable, or souldiers of the sayd Castel, duryng the siege.

The Lordes, Prelates, Barons, and estates of the realme of Scotlande, perceyuing & wel pondering, both the answer & the demaũdes of the duke of Glocester, sent to him sufficiently enstructed wyth these conclusions, the reuerẽd father Andrew, elect of Murray, and the lord Jhon Dernele, which thus answered, that where the said duke desired repayment of ỹ summes of money, deliuered in part of payment, for the contract of mariage, to be made betwene the prince of Scotland and ỹ kynges daughter of England: the tyme of lawfull contract of mariage is not yet come, because of the minoritie of the sayd prince and princesse. And the faut hereof is, that no day was appoynted for the money, to be payed before the contract began. And yf the kyng your brother woulde demaunde farther assurance, either for ỹ contract to be made, or for ỹ payment of the money, they promised therunto, accordinge to reason to agre. Secondarely, as touching the Castel of Berwike, they sayd al we know wel ynough, that it is the olde enheritance of the croune of Scotlande, of many hundred yeres past, and that our souereigne lorde hath right thereunto. And if it be alleged, that it belonged to the realme of England by conquest, it is well knowen that it standeth in Scotland, & ouer the Scottish ground. The duke not withstandinge their saiynges, would cõdiscend to no peace, without the Castel of Barwyke were rendered to the kyng of England, and so ỹ messengers departed, and on thesame day the Archebishop of sainct Andrewes, the bishop of Dũkelle Colyn, erle of Argyle, lord Cambel and lorde Andrew, lord Auandale, & Chaunceler of Scotlande, wrote vnto the duke of Albanye a solempne and autenticall instrument, signed and sealed with their seales, binding their bodies, landes and goodes to the said duke, that if he would hereafter be obedient to the kyng of Scottes, and kepe & obserue his faith and promise to be made to the sayd lordes, that he shoulde not onely be restored to all his landes, hereditamentes, offices & possessions, whiche he enioyed at the day of his departure out of Scocland, but also should haue and enioy to him, & his seruauntes & familie a free and a generall Pardon, which restitucion and pardon, thei likewise promised to be ratefied & approued by the kyng and the .iii. estates assembled at the nexte Parliament. The duke beyng glad to be restored agayne to his olde estate & possessions, & especially in his awne natiue countrey, receyued their offer, which was truly performed, & so toke his leue of the duke of Glocester, thankyng hym (as he was no lesse bounde) for the greate labour, traueyll & peyne, that he had taken in hys awne person for his restitucion.

stitucion. And promised bothe by word & by writing of his awne hande to do & perfourme all such thinges, as he before that tyme had sworne & promised to kyng Edwarde, notwithstanding any agrement, now made or to be made with the lordes of Scotland: and for the performance of theffect of thesayde Scedule, he agayne toke a corporall othe before the duke of Glocester, and sealed the writyng the thyrd day of August in the English Cãpe at Leuingtong, besydes Hadington, anno. M.cccc.lxxxii. and departed to hys awne possessions. After he was thus restored & reconciled, the lordes of Scotland proclaymed hym great lieuetenaunt of
x Scotland, & in the kynges name made Proclamaciõ, that al mẽ shoulde be redy, vpon peyne of death within.viij.dayes at Craushaues, both to rayse the siege before the Castell, and for the recouerynge agayne of the towne of Barwyke. The duke of Albanye wrote all this prepataciõ to the duke of Glocester, hũbly requiring hym to haue no mistrust in hym promising to kepe his othe & promyse, made to kyng Edward & to hym. The duke of Glocester wrote to hym agayne, that it shoulde neither be honorable nor commendable in hym, too helpe, to reise the siege, at the layeng whereof he was counsayler & partener, nor yet to reward ỹ king of England, with such a displeasure for hys kyndnes costes and expẽses
xx to hym in hys extreme necessitie, louingly shewed and liberally exhibited. But he assured hym in the woord of a Prince, that if he & all the power of Scotland attempted to come to rayse the siege, planted before ỹ Castell of Barwyke, that he hym selfe with hys armye woulde defende the besegiers, or els dye in the quarell.

The counsayl of Scotlande sagely & poletiquely sawe before, that if they shoulde come to reyse the siege, that the duke of Glocester woulde with them shortly encoũter, & then yf they lost the felde, both the strength of the Realme was brought to an imbecilitie, the nobles sore mintshed, and the castell lost and taken. And on the other side, yf they obtayned
xxx victorie, nothyng was gotten but the pore towne of Barwyke, and they were likely sone to be inuaded with a greater power shortly again, wherfore they sent Lyon kyng at Armes to the duke of Glocester, offering to hym as they thought, two offers very reasonable, the one was, that if he would promyse on his honor to subuerte and cast doune the toune walles of Barwyke, they would likewise race, and clerely deface the walles Towres and portes of the Castell, or els the duke of Glocester to put in a capitayn and a garrison of men of warre into the towne, and the duke of Albanye, likewyse to do with the Castel, for the Tuycion of thesame. And farther the foresayd Lyon desired an abstinẽce of warre to be. takẽ,
xl tyll the two dukes might haue cõmunication of grauous matters, concernyng the welthes of bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester refused bothe the offers saiyng, that he had long mainteined the siege before the Castell of barwyke, to no small waste and exhaustyng of hys brothers treasure and riches, and to the great trauayle and payne of the Lordes, Gentelmen, and men of warre, that continuallye made there

abode and dayly residens at the sayd seige: wherfore he sayd, that he in this poynt was fermely resolued, not to departe till the Castel were yelded by apoyntement, or taken by force, or els hys siege were by the power of Scotland reysed, or he and hys armye vanquished: wherfore he would by no meane harken to the petition of the Scottishe lordes, concernyng the abstinence of warre, tyll he were either vanquished or possessed of the Castell of Barwyke. With whiche answere the Herault departed, and thereof made relacion to the lordes and counseyll of Scotland. Whē the dukes answere was of them well digested, they euidētly perceyuing that the Castel of Barwyke was the onely maker of ỹ peace, and that the not deliuery of the same, should be the norice and continuer of warre and hostilitie: considerynge farther, that the nobilitie nor commons of Scotland, dyd not draw together by one lyne, nor were sorted in one leuell, electyng and chosyng the better parte, and reiectinge and auoydynge the worse, a greed and determined to deliuer the Castell of Barwyke to the English partie, so that there shoulde be truce or abstinence of warre taken and concluded for a determinate season. And therpō they sent to the duke of Glocester a league indēted, which was dated the.xxiiij.day of August, in the yere of our lorde a.M.cccc.lxxxij. in the which it was contracted and agreed betwene the duke of Glocester, lieuetenaūt generall for the kyng of Englande, and Alexander duke of Albanye, lieuetenaūt for James kyng of Scottes, that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept and obserued betwixte the Realmes of England and Scotland, and the people of the same, aswell by sea as by lāde, to begyn the.viij.day of September next ensuyng, and to endure tyll the.iiii.day of Nouember next folowyng. And in the meane season, the towne and castel of Barwyke, to be occupyed, and be in the reall possession of suche as by the kyng of Englandes deputie, should be appointed and assigned with all and singuler such boundes, limites and territorres as the English nacion, last vsed and possessed, when the castell towne were in the subiection of the Englishmen. And all other marches and boundes, beyng in difference betwene the sayd Realmes, to stande and to be holden in lyke case and condicion, as they were before the last truce concluded. The duke of Glocester, whiche well percepued that the Scottes more graunted to his demaundes, for relieue of their awne necessitie, then to gratifie hym or the kyng hys brother in any poynt: lyke a wyse counseyler, toke hys aduantage when it was offered, and especially because these thynges made for hys longe desyred purpose.

Fyrst the deliuerey of the Castell of Barwyke, he voluntarely without counsayl (as a praye preuely gotten) both accepted and alowed, and for that onely cause he dyd not refuse the abstinence of warre, but too that gently agreed. As touchyng the possession, to be kept in the landes dependyng in variance betwene the Realmes (cōmenly called the bataible grounde) he woulde not, nor durst not conclude with the duke of Albanye, without hauyng farther intelligence of the kyng hys souereigne

lordes

lordes pleasure and counsaill, meanynge thereby euer to kepe theim as
sueters to him, & he no farther to seke on theim, and in the meane season
to let that matter be in suspence. Whā he had sealed to the first two Ar-
ticles, and that they were sent agayne to the lordes of Scotlande, they
them gladly receyued, and with good will embraced, and likewise truly
performed the same: for the castell of Barwyke was incontinent deliue-
red to the lorde Stanley, and other thereto appoynted, whiche therein
put bothe Englishe men and artilerie, sufficiente for the defence of all
Scotland for.vi. monethes. By thys meanes as you haue harde, the
x Englishmen reposssessed agayn the towne & castell of Barwyke, whyche
xxi.yeres before by kyng Hēry the.vi. was to the Scottes as you haue
hard geuen vp and deliuered. And lest peraduenture the duke of Glocē-
ster might thynke that the duke of Albanye dyd not in all thynges set
forward, prefer, and auaūce hys fyrst requestes and demaundes, made
and requyred of the lordes of Scotland, and in especial one which was
for the assurance to be made for the repayment to the kyng of England,
of all suche summes of money, as he had beforehand prested & disbur-
sed to the kyng of Scottes for the mariage to be solempnised and con-
summate betwene their chyldern, as before is reherced: Therfore ỹ said
xx duke of Albanye, caused the Prouost and Burgesses of Edenborough
to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie, to kynge Edward, for the
trew satisfaccion and contentaciō of the same money, whiche he also sent
by the saied Prouost to the Duke of Glocester to Alnewyke: The very
Copy hereafter foloweth.

Be it knowen to all men by these present letters, vs Walter Bartra- "
ham, Prouost of the towne of Edēborough in Scotlād, and the whole "
felowship, marchaūtes, burgesses, and commonaltye of the same towne, "
to be bounde and oblyshed by ther presentes, vnto the most excellent & "
most mighty prince Edward, by the grace of God kynge of Englande. "
xxx That where it was commoned and agreed, betwene hys excellencie on "
the to parte, and the right high and mighty prince our souereigne lord, "
James king of Scottes on the other parte, that mariage and matrimo- "
nie should haue ben solempnised, and had betwixt a mightye and excel- "
lent, prynce, James the first begotten sonne and heyre apparant to our "
soueraigne lord foresayd, and the right noble princes Cicile daughter, "
to the sayd Edward kyng of Englād, and for the sayd mariage to haue "
ben performed certayne and diuers great summes of money ben payed "
and contented by the most excellent prince, vnto oure soueraigne lorde "
forsayd, as by certayn wrytynges betwixt the sayde princes, thereupon "
xl made more at large playnly apperes: That yf it be the pleasure of the "
sayd Edward kyng of Englād, to haue the sayd mariage to be perfor- "
med and completed, accordynge to the said communicacion in writing, "
that then it shall be well and truely, wythout fraude, disceyte or collu- "
sion, obserued, keped, and accomplished on the partie of our souereigne "
lord foresayd, and the nobles spirituall and temporall of the Realme of. "

„ Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of thesayd excellent prince Ed-
„ ward kyng of England, to haue thesayd mariage perfozmed and com-
„ pleted: That then we Walter Prouost, burgesses, marchauntes, and cō-
„ mons of the abouenamed towne of Edenbozoughe, oz any of vs, shall
„ pay and content to the kyng of Englande fozesayde, all the summes of
„ money that was payed foz thesayd mariage, at syke lyke termes and
„ dayes, immediatly ensuen, after the refusall of the sayd mariage and in
„ syke lyke maner and fozme, as thesayde summes were afoze deliuered,
„ contented and payed, that than this obligacion and bond to be voyd, &
„ of no strēgth. Prouided alwaies that thesayd Edward kynge of Eng- p
„ land, shall geue knowlege of his pleasure and election in the premisses
„ in taking oz refusing of thesaid mariage, oz of repaymēt of thesaid sum-
„ mes of money, to ouz said souereigne lozd, oz lozdes of his counsayll,
„ oz to vs the sayd Prouost, merchauntes, oz any of vs, within the realme
„ of Scotland, beyng foz the tyme, betwixt this and the feastes of Alhalo-
„ wes next to come. To the whiche payment well and truly to be made, we
„ bynde and oblisshe vs, and euery of vs, our heyzes, succession, executozs
„ and all our goodes, marchaundises, and thinges whatsoeuer they bee,
„ where so euer, oz in what place, by water oz by lande, on this syde the sea
„ oz beyond, we shall happen to be founden, any leage, truse oz sauegard rr
„ made oz to be made, notwithstandyng. In wytnes wherof to this oure
„ present wzityng, & letters of bonde. We thesayde Prouost, Burgesses,
„ Merchauntes and commontye, haue set out common seale of thesayde
„ towne of Edenbozough, the fourth daye of August, the yere of God. M
„ cccc.xxij. Geuen in the presence of the tyght mighty Prince Richarde
„ duke of Glouceste, Alexander duke of Albanye, a reuerende father in
„ God James bishop of Dunkeld, and the right noble lozd Henry erle
„ of Nozthumberlande, Colyn Erle of Argile, Thomas lozde Stanley,
„ Master Alexander English and other. &c.

„ When the duke of Glocester had thus obteyned hys purpose, and rrr
receyued wzitynges sygned and sealed foz the perfozmance of thesame,
he sent the instrumentes to kyng Edward hys bzother, whiche muche
cōmended bothe his valyaunt manhode, and also his pzudent pollicie,
in conueyng hys busines, bothe to hys awne purpose, and also to the
pzofit of the Realme. Kyng Edward not a littel mused, and much moze
debated wyth his counsayll whether it were moze pzofitable and hono-
rable to hym and hys Realme, to suffer the sayde mencioned mariage,
to take effect, and pzocede to a conclusion, oz els to requyze a repayment,
and tedelyuery of the summes of money, appzompted and layde out foz
thesame purpose. After long consultacion had and it was considered in pl
what case the realme & ỹ kyng of Scottes stode in, foz it was well kno-
wen that he and hys nobilitie were at great discozd as you befoze haue
hearde: it was considered farther, that yf the nobilitie pzeuayled, and
gat the souerayntie, the lyne and succession of James the thyzde, were
likely to be totally extirpate, & disinherited foz euer: it was also alleged

that

that the prince of Scotlande, neuer condiscended nor as he hym selfe sayd, woulde agre to thys mocioned mariage. These thynges thus debated, the kyng by great aduice, refused and reuoked all thynges to be done, for the more forwardnes of thesayde mattimony, and elected and chose the repayment of all suche summes of money, as for the occasion of thesayde betrusted mariage was payed, and before hand contented & deliuered. And accordinge to the woordes of the obligacion, made by the towne of Edenborough, he sent Gartier, hys principall kyng of Armes and Northumberland Herault, to declare and intimate to the Prouost
x and burgesses of Edenborough, the determinate refusall of the future mattimony and the election and choyse of the repayment of the money and ducty. And for the farther ouerture of the whole conclusion. Gartier was instructed by writyng, what he should saye and declare: and so by conuenient iorneys came to the towne of Edenborough.viii.dayes before the feast of all sayntes, where he openly sayde as followeth:

I gartier kynge of armes seruaunt, proctour and messenger vnto the most hygh and mighty prince, my most dread soueraygne lord Edward by the grace of God, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, and lorde of
xx Irelande, by vertue of certayn letters of procuracie here redy to be shewed to me, by my sayd souereygne lord made and geuen, make notyce and geue knowlege vnto you Prouost, Burgesses, marchauntes and communaltie of the towne of Edenborough in Scotlande, that where as it was sometyme commoned and agreed, betwene my sayde soueraygne lorde on the one partie, and the righte high and mighty prince James king of Scottes, on the other partie, that mariage & mattimony should haue been solempnised, and had betwene James the first begotten sonne of thesayd kyng of Scottes, and lady Cicilie, daughter to my sayd soucreigne lord the kyng of Englande. And for thesayde matiage to haue been perfourmed, certayne and diuers greate summes of money,
xxx ben payed and contented by my sayde soueraigne lord, whiche summes of money, in cace of refusall of the sayde mariage, by my sayde souereygne lorde to be made and declared, ye thesayd Prouost, Burgesses, marchauntes and communaltie, and euery one of you are bounde and obliged by your letters vnder youre comon seale of your toune of Edeborough to repaye vnto his hyghnes vnder lyke forme, and at suche termes as they were fyrst payed. So that the kyng my souereigne lorde woulde make notice and knowlege of his pleasure, and election in takyng or refusynge of thesayde mariage, of the repayment of thesayde summes of money, before the feast of Alhalowes nexte to come, lyke as
xl in your saide letters, bearynge date at Edenborowghe in the forthe day of August last past, it was conteyned all at large. The pleasure and election of my sayd souereygne lord, for dyuers causes and considerations hym mouynge, is to refuse the accomplishement of the sayde mariage, and to haue the repayment of all suche summes of money, as by occasion of thesayde betrusted mariage, hys hyghnes had payed, The sayd

repaymente to be had of yow Prouoste, Burgesses, merchauntes and communaltie, and euery of you, youre heyres and successors, accordinge to youre bonde and obligacion afore reherſed. And therfore I geue you notice and knowlege, by this writinge, whiche I deliuer to you, within the terme in your sayde letters lymited and expressed to all ententes and effectes, which therof maye ensue.

When Gattier had thus declared all thinges, geuen to hym in charge, the Prouost or other Burgesses made aunswere, that they now knowynge the kynges determinate pleasure, woulde accordynge to theyr bonde, prepare for the repayment of the sayde summes, and gentelly entertaynyng Gattier conueyghed him to Barwyke, from whēce he departed to new Castell, to the duke of Glocester, makyng relacion to hym of all his doynges, whiche duke with all spede returned too Sheryuthton, and there a bode. Shortly after Gattiers departynge, the duke of Albanye, thinkyng to obteyne agayne the hygh fauoure of the kynge hys brother, deliuered hym out of captiuitie and prison, wheryn he had a certayne space continued (not without the dukes assente whiche besieged hym in the Castell of Edenborough a littell before) & set him at large, of whome outwardly he receiued great thankes, when inwardly nothynge but reuengyng and confusion was in the kynges stomacke incorporate, so that shortly after in the kynges presence, he was in ieopardye of hys lyfe, and all improuyded for dread of death, coacted to take a small balynger, and to sayle into Frauuce, where shortly after rydynge by the men of armes, whiche encountered at the tylt, by Lewes then duke of Orliaunce, after Frenche kyng, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortunes peuerce countenaunce pytyfullye slayne and brought to death, leauyng after hym one onely sonne, named Jhon, whiche beynge banished Scotland, enhabited and maried in Fraunce, and there dyed. How dolorous, how sorowfull is it to wryte, and muche more pencifull to remember the chaunces, and infortunites that happened within twoo yere in Englande and Scotlande, betwene naturall bretherne. For kyng Edward set on by suche as enuyed the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgettyng nature, and fraternall amytie, consented to the deathe of hys sayde brother. James kynge of Scottes, puttynge in oblyuion that Alexander hys brother was the onely Organe and instrument, by whome he obteyned libertie and fredome, seduced and led by Vyle and malicious persons, whiche maligned at the glorie and indifferent iustice of the duke of Albanye, imagined and compassed hys deathe, and exiled hym for euer. What a pernicious serpēt, what a venemous tode, what a pestiferous Scorpion is that deueliſhe whelpe called, priuye enuye? Agaynst it no fortres can defend, no caue can hyde, no wood can shadow, no foule can escape, nor no beaste can auoyde, her poyson is so stronge, that neuer man in aucthoritie coulde escape from the bytyng of her tethe, scratchyng of her pawes, blastyng of her breath, defoulynge of her tayle.

Wherfore

Wherefore,let euery indifferent persone,serche Histories, rede Chro-
nicles,looke on aucthores,aswell holy as prophane, and they shall ap-
parauntly perceyue,that neither open warre, daily famine, or accusto-
med mortalitie, is not so muche an enemye,nor so greate a malle to de-
stroye, and suppeditate high power and nobilitie, as is roted malyce,
inwarde grudge,and dissimuled hatred. Although that kyng Edwarde
wer glad and ioyous,of all the prosperous successe,of all enterprises in
the realme of Scotlande,yet euen now his Feuer tercian, of the whiche
he had languished sore, sithe his voyage royall into Fraunce, was so-
x dainly turned into a vncurable quarteyn: For where he was before tos-
sed,betwene hope and dispaire, sometyme hote,sometyme colde, that the
Matrimonie of his daughter, and Charles the dolphin, should come to
the solempnizacion,according to the leage, betwene hym and the Frēche
kyng,concluded at Picquegneie: Now was he cast into an indissoluble
Melancoly,and a continuall cold: For the lorde Hawarde whiche was
returned out of Fraūce,with many fayre wordes,and painted promises
but without tribute,or conclusiō of the mariage,certified the kyng of his
awne knowlege:how that he being present,sawe the lady Margarete of
Austrice,daughter to Duke Maximilian,sonne to the Emperor Frede-
xx ricke,receiued into Fraunce, with pompe more then Emperiall, by the
Duke of Burbon,the lorde Dalbret,and many other lordes and magi-
strates of the realme,and so with greate triumphe, conueighed to Am-
boyse,where the Dolphin laye,and there was to hym contracted and es-
poused. Kyng Edwarde now beyng certain,how the Frenche kyng had
with pleasaunt language, and colourable answeres,foded hym furthe,
and allured hym to geue credence,to hys dissimulyng woordes, neither
meanyng as he sayed,nor shewyng what he meante: Determined with
hym self, no longer to suffre so apparaunt wrong,nor so intollerable an
iniurie. Wherfore,he called his nobilitie together,and declared to them
xxx the manifold wrong, whiche he had receiued of late at the handes of the
Frenche kyng,and how he vntruly,and vnprincely,had broken the lea-
gue and amitie,bothe in denyng the paiment of the tribute, as also, in
refusing the accomplishmēt of the mariage of his daughter, accordyng
as in the treatie was concluded. Requiryng them therfore to study, how
to reuenge and punyshe,so greate a shame,and so opprobrious a taunt,
offered to their natyue Countrey. The nobilitie not a litle glad of this
mocion,answered: that their whole desire was,to fight with the Frenche
men,whom they so oftē times had vanquished,& prosligated in battaill,
and that for the dignitie,and fame of their Countrey,they would let no-
xl thyng be vnatempted,offeryng him in an instant,to be ready in harnes
to fulfill his mynde and desire. When the knewe the toward myndes of
his subiectes, of the Temporalltie,he moued the Spiritualtie (because
by the Ecclesiasticall lawes,they be prohibited to weare armure)to aide
hym with money,for maintenaunce of his warres, and suppressyng of
his enemyes.

The.xxiii. ye.

Eholde, while he was intentiue, and employed his whole labor, diligence, and industrie, to furnisshe and setforward this warre, whiche he newly had attempted and begonne: whether it was with the melencoly, and anger that he toke with the Frenche kyng, for his vntruthe and vnkyndnes, or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the whiche he was muche geuen) he sodaunly fell sicke, and was with a greuous maledy taken, yea, so greuously taken, that his vitall spirites, began to fayle and waxe feble, whiche debilitie when he perceiued, he called together all his nobles, whiche, that tyme wer aboute London, vpon one daye (as he did diuerse tymes commen with them) and thus in effect, to theim saied: My welbeloued, and no lesse bettrusted frendes, counsaylers, and alies, if wee mortall men would dayly and hourely, with our self reuolue, and intētiuely in our hartes engraue, or in our myndes grauously pōder, the fraile and fadyng imbecilitie, of our humayn nature, and the caduke fragilitie of thesame: wee should apparauntly percepue, that we beyng called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament, compared and ioyned with Angelles, bee more worthy to be nuncupate, and demed persones vnreasonable, and rather to be associate in that name with brute beastes, called vnreasonable (of whose life and death, no creature speaketh) rather then in that poynt, to be resembled to the Angelicall societie, and reasonable compaignie. For while health in vs florisheth, or prosperitie abundeth, or the glosyng worlde laugheth, whiche is he, so reasonable of vs all that can saye (if he will not erre from the truthe) that he once in a weke remēbreth his fatall ende, or the prescribed terme of his enduring: or once prouydeth by labor, study, or otherwyse, to set a stedfast and sure ordre for the securitie, and perfight continuaūce either of his possessions and dominions, or of his sequele and posteritie, whiche after hym shall naturally succede: suche is the blyndnes of oure frayle and fragile nature, euer geuen to carnall concupiscence, and mundain delectacion, daily obfuscate and seduced, with that lethargious, and deceuable serpent, called hope of long life, that all we put in obliuion, our duetie present, and lesse remembre the pollitique purueighaunce, for thynges to come: For blyndly we walke in this fraile life, till we fall grouelyng with our yes, sodainly vpon death. The vanities of this worlde, bee to vs so agreable, that when we begin to liue, wee esteme our life, a whole worlde, whiche once ouerpassed, it sheweth no better but dust, or ayen a way with a puffe of wynde: I speake this to you of my self, and for your selfes to you, sore lamenting, and inwardly bewailyng, that I did not perfourme and finally cōsummate, such pollitique diuises, and good and Godly ordinaunces, in my long lyfe and pacifique prosperitie, whiche, then I fully determined to haue begonne, set forward, and completly to haue finished. Whiche, now for the extreme paines, and tortures of my angrie maladie, and for the small terme of my naturall life, I can neither per-

foꝛme neyther yet lyue to see, either to take effect oꝛ to soꝛt to any
conclusion. Foꝛ God I call to recoꝛd, my harte was fully sette, and my
mynde deliberatly dertermined:so to haue decoꝛated this realme, with
wholesome Lawes, statutes, and oꝛdinauntes, so to haue educated and
bꝛought bp myne enfantes and chylꝛen, in vertue, learnyng, actiuitie,
and pollicie. That, what with their ꝛoyall puissaunce, and your frendly
assistence, the pꝛoudest Pꝛince of Europe, durste not once attempte, to
moue any hostilitie, againste them, you, oꝛ this realme: But oh Loꝛde, all
thynges that I of long tyme, haue in my mynde reuolued, and immagi-
x ned, that stelyng thief death, goeth about to subuerte, and in the momẽt
of an houre clerely to suppeditate, wherfoꝛe (as men saie) I now being
dꝛiuen to the verie hard wall: hauyng perfect confidence, and sure hope
in the appꝛobate fidelitie, and constaunt integritie, whiche I haue euer
experimented, and knowen to be radicate and planted, in the hartes of
your louyng bodies, toward me and myne. So that I maie saie and ad-
uowe, that neuer Pꝛince bearyng scepter and Croune, ouer realmes and
regions, hath found oꝛ pꝛoued, moꝛe faithfuller counsailers, noꝛ trewer
subiectes, then I haue doen of you, noꝛ neuer Potentate noꝛ gouernoꝛ,
put moꝛe affiaunce and truste, in his vassals and seruauntes, then I, sith
xx the adepcion of the Croune, fermely haue fixed, in your circumspect wi-
sedomes, and sober discresions. And now of verie foꝛce compelled, lyng
in a dubious hope, betwene liuyng and diyng, betwene remembꝛaunce
and oblиuion, do require you and instauntly moue you, that as I haue
found you, faithfull, obediẽt, and to all my requestes and desires (while
I was here in healthe, conuersant with you) diligent and intentiue: So
after my death, my hope is with a sure anchoꝛ grounded, and myne in-
warde conceipte vndubitatly resolued, that the especiall confidence, and
inwarde fidelitie, whiche so long hath continued betwene vs, beyng to
gether liuyng shall not totally by my death, bee extincte and vanished
xxx like smoke. Foꝛ what auayleth frendshyppe in life, when trust deceiueth
after death? What pꝛofiteth amitie in apparaunt pꝛesence, when confi-
dence is fraudulẽtly begutled in absence? What loue groweth, by con-
tunction of Matrimonie, yf the offspꝛyng after dooe not agree and con-
coꝛde? Oꝛ what pꝛofiteh Pꝛinces, to auaunce and pꝛomote their subie-
ctes, if after their death, the bountifulnes by theim shewed, be of the re-
ceiuers of thesame and their sequele neither regarded noꝛ yet remembe-
red? The parẽtes make the mariage, foꝛ an indissoluble amitie, Pꝛinces
pꝛomote sometyme foꝛ fauoure, sometyme foꝛ deserte, and sometyme foꝛ
pleasure: yet (if you will consider) the verie pꝛicke, to the whiche all gif-
xl tes of pꝛomocions, do finally tend, it is to haue loue, fauoꝛ, faithful coũ-
saill, and diligent seruice, of suche as be by them, pꝛomoted and exalted,
not onely in their awne lifes, beyng but bꝛief and transitoꝛie: But also,
that thei and their pꝛogeny, callyng to remembꝛaunce, the fauoꝛ, estima-
ctõ, and auauncement, whiche they of so liberal and munificent a pꝛince
had receiued and obteined: should with spere and shylde, tongue and

wit

wit,hande & penne, continually studie to defende, counsaill and prefer not onely hym duryng his life,but also to serue,assist,and maintein hys sequele,and lineall succession,as the verie Images,and carnall protratures,of his stirpe,line,and stemme,naturally discẽded. In this case am I,whom you knowe,not without meffable trouble,and moste daungetous warr,to haue obteined the scepter,and diademe of this realme and Empire, duryng whiche reigne, I haue had either litle peace, or small tranquilitie: And now when I thought my self, sure of a quiet life,and worldly rest, death hath blowen his terrible trompet,calling and somonyng me(as I truste) to perpetuall tranquilitie,and eternall quietnes: therefore now for the perfecte,and vnmoueable confidence,that I haue euer had in you,and for the vnfained loue, that you haue euer shewed vnto me, I cõmende and deliuer into your gouernaunce,bothe this noble realme,and my naturall children,and your kynsmen. My children by your diligent ouersight, and pollitique prouision to bee taught,enformed,and instructed,not onely in the scièces liberall, vertues moral and good literature:but also to be practised in trickes of marciall actiuitie,and diligent exercise of prudent pollicie:For I haue hard clarkes saye, although I am vnlettered, that fortunate is that Realme, where Philosophiers reigne,or where kynges bee Philosophiers, and louers of wisedome. In this tendre age,you maie wythe and turne theim, into euery forme and fashiõ: If you bryng them vp in vertue,you shal haue verteous Princes:if you set them to learnyng,your gouernors shalbee men of knowlege,if you teache them actiuitie,you shall haue valiannte capitaines,if thei practice pollicie, you shall haue bothe pollitique,and prudent rulers. On ther other side,if by your negligence,thei fal to vice (as youth is toall euill,prone and ready) not onely their honor, but also your honestie,shalbe spotted and appalled: If thei bee slogardes and geuẽ to slothe,the publique wealth of this realme,must shortly decaye. If thei be vnlearned,thei maye by flattery sone bee blinded,& by adulacion often deceiued. If thei lacke actiuitie,euery creature be he neuer so base of birthe, shall foyle and ouerthrowe theim, like domme beastes and beastly dastardes. Therfore I desire you,and in Goddes name adiure you,rather to studie to make theim riche, in Godly knowlege, and verteous qualities,then to take pain to glorifie theim,with abundance of worldely treasure,and mundain superfluitie. And certainly,whẽ thei come to maturitie of age,and shal peraduenture consider,that by your omission and negligent educaciõ,thei haue not suche graces,nor are endued with suche notable qualities, as thei might haue been, if you had performed the truste to you,by me committed: Thei shall not onely deplore,and lament their vngarnished estate, and naked condiciõ,but also it maye fortune, that thei shall conceiue inwardly against you, suche a negligent vntruthe,that the sequele thereof,maye rather turne to displeasure then thanke,and soner to an vngratitude,then to a rewarde.

My kyngdom also,I leue in your gouernaunce, duryng the minoritie

tie of my chyldren, chargyng you on your honors, othes, and fidelitie, made and sworne to me, so indifferently to ordre and gouerne, the subiectes of thesame, bothe with iustice and mercie, that the willes of maiefactors, haue not to large a scope, nor the hartes of the good people, by to muche extremitie, bee neither sorofully daunted, nor vnkyndly kept vnder: Oh I am so sicke, that I muste make an ende, and now before you all I commende my soule to almightie God, my sauior and redemer: my body to the wormes of the yearth, my kyngdom to the Prince my sonne, and to you my louyng frendes my harte, my trust, and my whole confi-
x dence. And euen with that, he fell on slepe: After diuerse suche charitable monicions and exhortacions (as the pangues and fittes of his sickenes would permit hym) sometyme to his nobilitie, sometyme to his familier frendes, made and declared: His maladie sodainly encreased, and grewe to so painfull an extremitie, that short death was soner of him required, then longer life desired, wishyng rather departyng out of this worlde, then to abyde the paynfull smatte, of hys dolorous pangues. Wherfore Attrapos hauing compassion, of his continuall languishyng, and daily agony, dirupted and brake the threde, of his naturall lyfe, the.ix. daye of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde. M.CCCC.lxxxiii. and in the fiftie
xx yere of his bodily age, when he had reigned ouer thys Realme, more in trouble then perfecte quietnes. xxii. yeres, one monethe and eight daies: whose corps was with funerall pompe, according to the royall estate of a kyng, conueighed to the Colege of Winsore, to the which, he had been a greate benefactor and there on the right hand, of the high aulter, princely enterred and intumilate, whose death was asmuche lamented of his subiectes, as his lyfe desired. He begat of the Quene Elizabeth his wife, tenne children, whereof he left liuyng twoo soonnes Edward Prince of Wales, and Richard duke of Yorke, and a bastard sonne called Arthur, whiche, after was Vicount Lisle, and came to good proffe: beside these he
xxx left fiue daughters, Elizabeth, Cicilie, Anne, Katherine, and Brigot: all these wer maried, except lady Brigot, whiche was a Nonne professed.

This kyng Edward was a manne, of a goodly personage, of stature high, and excedyng all other in countenaunce, welfauored and comly, of eye quycke and pleasaunt, brode brested, and well set, all other members doune to his fete, kept iust proporcion with the bulke of his body: of wit he was quicke and pregnant, of stomacke stoute and bold, of courage haute and high, of memorie moste perfecte, and especially of suche thynges, as he had trauailed in greate affaires and weightie causes quicke and diligent, in perelles and aduentures bolde and hardie, against his
xl enemies, fierce and terrible, to his frendes and to straungers bountifull and liberall, hauyng in warres moste prosperous lucke, and happie successe: From the pleasure of the body, to the whiche he was prone, & much geuen, he did muche abstein and forbere, for whiche cause, and also for the greate humanitie and lowlines, that in hym was by nature moste abundantly engendered, he vsed himself emong meane persones, more

familier

familier,then his degree,dignitie, or maiestie required, whiche was the cause that some suspected hym ,to haue died of poyson.And it was sayd, he that all the daies of his life,had muche vsed liberalitie, was towarde his latter ende, geuen to auarice and loue of money. And although he founde his kyngdome,greatly impouerished, and almoste emptie, bothe of men of warre and money, yet after that he had pacified,and finished the ciuill discencion, he left his realme, of all thynges riche and abundaunt. The spirituall promocions,he gaue euer to the moste famous and excellent Clerkes, and men of the best liuing: Other of meane qualities, whom he muche fauored, he did not preferre to greate dignitie and high promocions but with money rewarded theim, whiche thyng many Princes (regardyng not their honors) do not consider nor obserue: with all whiche notable vertues,he ioyned to hym so surely the hartes of his people,that after hys death,his life again was daily wished,and affecteously emong hys Subiectes desyred,but wishyng serued not, nor,yet their desyre tooke none effecte.

(.*.)

¶ The ende of the prosperous reigne of Kyng Edward the fourthe.

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Kyng Edward the fourth.

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ffINIS.

¶ The pitifull lyfe of Kyng Edwarde the fyft.



HE eternall God callyng to his mercye the noble prince Kynge Edward the.iiij. of that name: Edward, his eldeste sonne (prince of wales) begane his reygne the ninthe daye of Apryll, in the yere of our Lord a thousande foure hundred fourscore & thre, and in the.xxiij. yere of Lewes the leuenthe then Frenche Kynge: Whiche younge prince reigned a small space & litle season ouer this realme, either in pleasure or libertie. For his vncle Richard duke of Gloucester, within thre monethes depryued hym not onely of his croune and regalitee, but also vnnaturally bereft hym of his naturall life: and for the declaracion by what craftie engine he firste attempted his vngracioulse purpose, & by what false coulourable and vntrue allegacions he set furth openly hys pretensed enterprise, and finally by what shamefull, cruell and detestable act he perfourmed thesame: Ye muste first considre of whom he and his brother dessended, their natures, condicions and inclinacions, and then you shall easely perceiue, that there coulde not bee a more crueller tiraunt apointed to a cheue a more abhominable entrepryse.

This kinges tyme wyth some parte of Kinge Richard .iij. as shal apere by a note made at ỹ place, was written by sr Thomas More.

Their father was Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, whiche began not by warre, but by lawe to calenge the crowne of Englande putting his claime in the parliament holdē the thirty yere of kyng Henry the sixt, where either for right or for fauoure, hys cause was so set furthe and auaunced that the bloude of thesaied kynge Henry, although he had a goodly sonne, was clerely abiected, & the crowne of ỹ Realme (by auctoritie of parliamente) entayled to the duke of Yorke and his heires after the decease of thesayed Kynge Henry the syxte. But the duke not entendyng so longe to tary, but mindyng vnder the pretexte of discencion growen and arisen within the realme, and of couenauntes made in the Parliament, not kepte, but broken, to preuent the time and to take vpon hym, the gouernaunce in Kynge Henries life, was by to muche hardinesse slaine at the battaill of Wakefelde, leuinge behinde hym three sonnes, Edwarde, George and Richarde. All these three as thei were greate estates of birthe, so were they greate & stately of stomacke, gredy of promocions, and impaciente parteners of rule and autorite.

Richard plantagenet duk of Yorke.

The.iij. sonnes of Richard duke of Yorke, described.

Thys Edward reuenged hys fathers death & deposed King Henry

the sixt, and attained the crowne and scepter of the realme.

George duke of Clarence was a goodly and wel feautered prince, in all thynges fortunate, yf either his owne ambicion had not set hym against his brother, or thenuy of his enemies had not set hys brother against hym: for were it by the quene or the nobles of her blud, whiche highly maligned the kynges kynred (as women comenly, not of malice but of nature, hate suche as their husbandes loue) or wer it a proud appetite of the duke hym selfe, entendynge to bee kyng, at the leaste wise, heinous treason was laied to his charge, and finally were he in faulte or were he fautlesse, attainted was he by Parliament and iudged to death, and there vpon hastely drowned in a butte of malmesey within the towre of London. Whose death kyng Edwarde (although he commaunded it) when he wiste it was dooen, piteously he bewayled and sorowfully repented it.

George duke of Clarence drowned in a but of Malmesey.

Richard duke of Gloucester the third sonne (of whych I must moste entreate) was in witte and courage egall with the other, but in beaute & liniamentes of nature far vnderneth bothe, for he was litle of stature euill featured of limmes, croke backed, the left shulder muche higher then the righte, harde fauoured of vysage, suche as in estates is called a warlike vysage, and emonge commen persones a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrothfull and enuious, and as it is reported, his mother the duches had muche adooe in her trauaill, that she coulde not bee deliuered of hym vncut, and that he came into the world the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde, and as the fame ranne, not vntothed: whether that menne of hatred reported aboue the truthe, or that nature chaunged his course in his beginnynge, whyche in hys life many thynges vnnaturally committed, thys I leue to God hys iudgemente. He was none euill capitain in warre, as to the whyche, his disposicion was more enclined too, then too peace. Sondrye victories he had and some ouerthrowes, but neuer for defaute of hys owne persone, either for lacke of hardinesse or politique order. Free he was of his dispences and somwhat aboue his power liberall, with large giftes he gatte hym vnstedfaste frendshippe: for whiche cause he was fain to borowe, pyll and extort in other places, whyche gat hym stedfaste hatred. He was close and secrete, a depe dissimuler, lowlye of countenaunce, arrogante of herte, outwardely familier where he inwardely hated, not lettynge to kisse whom he thoughte to kill, dispiteous & cruell, not alwaie for euill will, but after for ambicion and too serue his purpose, frende and fooe were all indifferent, where hys auauntage grewe, he spared no mannes deathe whose lyfe withstode hys purpose. He slewe in the towre kynge Henry the sixt, saiynge: now is there no heire male of kynge Edwarde the thirde, but wee of the house of Yorke: whyche murder was doen without kyng Edward his assente, which would haue appointed that bocherly office too some other, rather then to hys owne brother. Some wise menne also wene, that hys drifte lacked not in helpynge furth

Kyng Henry the.vi. slayn in the towar by Richard the.iij.

furth his owne brother of Clarence to his death, which thyng in all apparaunce he resisted, although he inwardly mynded it. And the cause hereof was, as men notynge his doynges & procedynges dyd marke (because that he longe in kyng Edwarde his tyme thought to obtaine the crowne in case that the kynge his brother, whose life he loked that euil diet woulde sone shorten) shoulde happen to diseace, as he dyd in dede, his childrē beynge younge. And then if the duke of Clarence had liued, his pretensed purpose had been far hyndered: For yf the duke of Clarence had kepte hym selfe trewe to his nephewe the young king, or
x woulde haue taken vpon hym to bee kynge, euery one of these castes had been a troumpe in the duke of Glouceſters waye: but when he was sure that his brother of Clarence was ded, thē he knewe that he might worke without that ieoperdy. But of these poinctes there is no certentie, & whosoeuer diuineth or cōiectureth, may as well shote to fer as to shorte, but this coniecture afterwarde toke place (as fewe dooe) as you shall perceiue hereafter.

But afore I declare to you howe this Richarde duke of Glouceſter began his mischeuous imagined & pretenced enterprice as apparantly shalbe opened, I muste a litle put you in remembraunce of a louyng &
xx charitable acte, no lesse profitable then amicable to the whole cōminaltie, if it had been so inwardely thought as it was outwardly dissimuled which kynge Edwarde dyd, lyng on his death bedde not longe before he died. For in his life, although that the diuision emongest his frendes somewhat greued and irked hym, yet in his helthe he lesse regarded & toke hede to it, by reason that he thoughte that he was hable in al thinges to rule both parties, wer thei neuer so obstinate: But in his last sickenes (whyche continued longer then false and fantasticall tales haue vntruely and falsely surmised, as I my selfe that wrote this pamphlet truly knewe) when he perceiued his naturall strengthy was gone, & ho-
xxx ped litle of recouery by the artes of all his phicisians whiche he perceiued onely to prolong his life. Then he began to consider the youthe of his childrē, howe be it, he nothynge lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet he wisely forseyng & consideryng that many harmes might ensue by the debate of his nobles while the youth of his childrē shoulde lacke discrecion and good counsayll of their frendes, for he knewe well that euery parte woulde worke for their owne commodite, and rather by plesaunte aduise to wynne theim selues fauour, then by profitable aduertisment to doe the childrē good: wherefore lynge on hys dethe bed at Westminster, he called to hym suche lordes as then were aboute
xl hym, whome he knewe to bee at variaunce, in especiall the Lord Marques Dorset sonne to the Quene, and the Lorde Hastynges, agaynste whom the quene especially grudged for the fauoure that the king bare hym, & also she thoughte hym familier with the kynge in wanton compaignie: her kynne bare hym sore aswel for that the kyng made him capitain of Caleis, which office the lord Riuers brother to the quene clai-

med of the kyng hys former promise, as of diuerse other giftes whyche he receyued that they loked for. And when these lordes wyth diuerse other of bothe parties were come vnto the kynge his presence, he caused hym selfe to bee raised vp with pillowes, as I can gesse, saied thus or muche like in sentence to theim.

An exhortation of kyng Edward .v. iiij. in hys deathe bedde

My lordes, my dere kynsmen and alies, in what plight I now lye you se, and I perfightly fele, by the whyche I loke the lesse while to liue with you, therefore the more depely I am moued to care in what case I leaue you, for suche as I leaue you, suche are my chyldren like to finde you, whych yf they should find at variaunce (as God forbid) they theim selfes might hap to fal at warre or their discrecion woulde serue to set you at peace: you se their youthe, of whiche I reken the onely surety to reste in youre concorde. For it suffiseth not all you too loue theim, yf eche of you hate other: yf they were men your faithfulnesse might hap to suffice, but childhod muste bee maintained by mennes autoritie, and slipper youthe vnderprompted with elder counsaill, which they can neuer haue excepte you geue it, nor you geue it, excepte you agree, for where eche laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatered eche impugneth others counsaill, there muste nedes bee a longe tracte or any good conclusion canne forewarde. And farther, while eache partie laboureth too bee chiefeflatterer, adulacion shall then haue more place, then plaine and faithefull aduise, of whiche muste nedes ensue the eiuill bryngynge vp of the prince whose mynde in tender youth infecte shall redely fall to mischiefe and riote and drawe downe this noble realme to ruine: But yf grace turne hym to wisedome (whyche God send hym) then they whiche by eiuill meanes pleased hym beste, shall after fall fardest out of fauoure, so that at the lengthe eiuill driftes dryue to naught, and good plain waies prospere and florishe. Greate variaunce hath been betwene you, not alwayes for great causes: Some tyme a thynge righte well entended and miscõstured hath been turned to the worse, or a small displeasure doen to you, either by your owne affectiõ, either by instigacion of euill tongues hath been sore aggrauate. But this I wote well, you had neuer so greate cause of hatred as you haue of loue, because we bee all menne and that we bee all Christen menne. This I will leaue to preachers to tell you, and yet I wote not whether any prechers woordes ought more to moue you, then I that is goyng by and by to the place that they all preche of. But this shal I desire you to remembre, that the one parte of you beyng of my bloud, the other of my alies, and eche of you with other either of kynred or affinite whiche is the very spirituall affinitee and kinred in Christe, as all partakers of the sacramentes of Christe his churche. The weighte of which consanguinite yf we did beare as woulde to god we did, then shoulde we more bee moued to spirituall charite then to fleshelye consanguinitee. Our Lorde forbid that you loue the worse together for the selfe same cause that you ought to loue the better, and yet that often happeneth, for no

where finde we so dedly debate as emongest theim whyche by nature and lawe moste ought to agree together. Suche a serpente is ambicio and desire of vainglory & souereingtie, whiche emongest estates when he is once entred he crepith furth so far, till with deuision and variaūce he turneth all to mischiefe. Firste longynge to be next to the beste, after warde egal with the beste, and at the laste chief and aboue the beste. Of which inmoderate appetite of worship and the debate and discencion that grewe there by, what losse, what sorowe, what trouble hath within these fewe yeres growē within this realme, I pray God as well to forget as we well remembre, which thyng if I coulde as well haue forsene as I haue with my more paine thē pleasure proued, by God his blessed lady (that was his cōmon othe) I would neuer haue won the curtesies of mennes knees with the losse of so manye heddes. But sith thynges passed cannot bee called agayne, muche more ought wee to be ware, by what occasion wee haue taken so greate hurte before, that we eftsones fall not into that occasion again. Now bee these greues passed and al is quiet, thanked bee God, and likely well to prospere in welthfull peace, vnder your cosins my children, yf God sende theim life, and you loue and concorde. Of whiche two thynges, the lesse losse were they by whō
xx although God did his pleasure, yet shoulde this realme alwayes fynde kynges, and paraduenture as good kynges as they. But yf you emongest your selfes in a chyldes reigne fall at debate, many a good manne shall innocently perishe, and happely he and you also, or this land finde peace and quiet agayne: wherefore in these laste woordes that euer I looke to speake to you, I exhorte and require you all, for the loue that you haue borne to me, and for the loue that I haue borne to you, and for the loue that oure Lorde beareth to vs all: From thys tyme forward all greues forgotten, eche of you loue other which I verely trust you will, yf you any thynge regarde God or your kynges affinitee or
xxx kynrede, this realme, your owne coūtre, or your owne surete & wealth. And there with all, the kyng for fayntenesse no longer endurynge too sitte vp, layed him downe on his righte side, his face toward them. And there was none presente that coulde forbeare wepynge, but the lordes confortyng hym with as good wordes as thei coulde, and answerynge for the tyme, as they thoughte shoulde stande with hys pleasure. And there in his presence (as by their wordes appeared) eche forgaue other and ioyned their handes together, when as it after appeared by their dedes their hartes were far a sunder. And so within a fewe daies, this noble prince diseased at Westminster the nynth daye of Apryll, in the
xl yere of our Lord. M.cccc.lxxxiij. after that he had reigned. xxij. yeres one moneth and eight daies, and was with great funerall pompe conueighed to Windsore, leuynge behynde hym two sonnes, Edward the prince (of whom this story entreateth) a chylde of. xiij. yeres of age, Richard duke of Yorke two yeres younger then the prince, & fiue daughters, Elizabeth, whiche by God his grace was maried to kyng Henry

the seuenthe and mother to Kynge Henry the eighte, Cicile not so fortunate as faire, firste wedded to the vicounte Welles, after to one Kyne and liued not in greate wealthe, Bridget professed her selfe a close Nonne at Sion, Anne was maried to lorde Thomas Hauwarde after erle of Surrey and duke of Northfolke, Katherine the youngest daughter was maried to lorde William Courtney, sonne to therle of Deuonshire, whyche long tyme tossed in ether fortune, somtyme in wealth, after in aduersite, till the benignite of her nephewe Kyng Henry the eighte brought her into a sure estate accordynge to her degre and progeny.

The discription of kyng Edward the iiij.

Thys Kynge Edwarde was suche a prince of gouernaunce and behaueoure in the tyme of peace (for in the tyme of warre eche muste bee others enemye) that there was neuer any Kynge in this realme attaynge the croune by warre and battayll, so hertely beloued wyth the more substaunce of hys people, nor he hym selfe so specially fauoured in any parte of hys life, as at the tyme of hys deathe: whyche fauoure and affection yet after hys deathe, by the crueltee, mischiefe and trouble of the tempestious world that folowed, highlye towardes hym more encreased. At suche tyme as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for Kynge Henry the sixte sake (whome he deposed) was well assuaged and in effecte quenched within the space of .xxii. yeres, whych is a greate parte of a mannes lyfe, and some were reconsiled & growen into hys fauoure, of the which he was neuer straung, whē it was wyth true herte demaunded. He was goodly of personage & princelye to beholde, of harte courageous, politique in counsaill, and in aduersitee nothynge abashed, in prosperite rather ioyfull then proude, in peace iuste and mercifull, in warre sharpe and fearce, in the felde bolde and hardy, and yet neuertheless no ferther, then reason & policye woulde aduenture, whose warres who soeuer circumspectelye and aduisedly considereth he shall no lesse commend hys wisedome and policie where he auoided them, then hys manhod where he vanquished them. He was of visage full faced and louely, of body mightie, strong and cleane made: wyth ouer liberall and wanton diet, he waxed somewhat corpulent & bourly, but neuertheless not vncomelye. He was in youth greately geuen to fleshely wantonnes, from the whych healthe of body in great prosperitee and fortune without an especial grace hardely refraineth. Thys fault litle greued hys people, for neither coulde any one mannes pleasure stretche or extend to the displeasure of verymany, nor a multitude bee greued by a priuate mannes fantesye or volupteousnesse, whē it was dooen wythoute violence. And in hys latter dayes he lefte all wylde daliaunce, and fell to grauitee, so that he brought hys realme into a wealthie and prosperous estate, all feare of outwarde enemies were clerly extinguished, & no warre was in hande nor none towarde, but suche as no manne looked for. The people were towarde their prince not in a constrained feare, but in a true louyng and wylful obe-

dience

dience emongeste theim selfe, and the commons were in good peace. The lordes whom he knewe at variaunce, he in hys deathe bedde (as he thought) brought too good concorde, loue and amitte. And a litle before hys deathe, he had left gatherynge of money of hys subiectes, whyche is the onely thynge that draweth the hartes of Englishe men from their kynges and princes: nor nothyng he either enterprised nor toke in hande, by the whiche he shoulde bee driuen there vnto. For hys tribute out of Fraunce he had a litle before recouered and obteyned. And the yere before he died, he recouered agayn the towne of Berwike
x agaynst the kynge of Scottes. And albeit that all the tyme of hys reigne, he was so benigne, courteous and familier, that no parte of hys vertues was estemed more then those highe humilitees: Yet that condicion in the ende of hys laste dayes decaied not, in the whyche manye princes by a longe continued soueraingtee, decline to a proud porte and behaueour from their condicions accustomed at their begynnynge. Yet lowlinesse and gentlenesse so far furth in hym encreased that the sommer before he died, he beeynge at the hauerynge at the bower, sente for the Maire and Aldermen of London thether onely to hunte and make pastyme, where he made theim not so hertye, but so familiare
xx and frendly there, and sent also to their wiues suche plenty of benison, that no one thyng in many daies before gatte hym either mo hartes or more hertie fauour emongest the common people, whyche often tymes more esteme & take for greate kyndenesse a litie courtesie, then a greate profite or benefite.

And so this noble Prince deceassed, as you haue heard in that tyme when hys lyfe was moste desired, and when hys people moste desired to kepe hym: Whyche loue of hys people and their entiere affection towarde hym, had been to hys noble chyldren (hauynge in theim selues also as many giftes of nature, as many princely vertues,
xxx as much good towardenesse as their age coulde receyue) a meruellous fortresse and a sure armoure, yf the diuision and dissencion of their frendes had not vnarmed theim and left theim destitute, and the execrable desire of soueraingtie prouoked hym to their destruction, whyche yf either kynde or kyndnesse hadde holden place muste nedes haue been their chiefe defence. For Richard duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncle, by office their protectoure, to their father greatly beholden and to theim by othe and allegeaunce bounden, all the bandes broken and violated whyche bynde man and man together, wythout any respecte of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contriued to bereue them not onely
xl of their dignitee and preheminence, but also of their naturall liues and worldely felicitee.

And first to shewe you, that by coniecture he pretended this thyng in his brothers life, ye shall vnderstande for a truth that the same nighte that kynge Edwarde died, one called Mistelbrooke, longe ere the daye spr̃g, came to ỹ house of one Pottier dwelling in Redcrosse strete with-

out Creple gate of London, & when he was with hasty rappyng quickely let in, the saied Mistlebroke shewed vnto Pottier ỹ kyng Edward was that night deceased: by my truth quod Pottier, thē will my master the duke of Gloucester be kyng and that I warrant the. What cause he had so to thynke, harde it is to saye, whether he beeyng hys seruaunte knewe any such thyng pretēsed or other wise had any ynkelyng thereof but of all likelihod he spake it not of naught.

But now to returne to the trewe history, wer it that the duke of Gloucester had of old sore practised this conclusion, or was before tyme moued there vnto & putte in hope by the tender age of the young princes his nephewes, as opportunite and likely of spede putteth a manne in courage of that that he neuer entended. Certain it is, that he beeyng in the Northe parties for the good gouernaunce of the countrye, beynge aduertised of his brothers deathe contriued the destruction of his nephewes with the blurpacion of the royall dignitee and croune. And for asmuche as he well wiste, and had holpe to maintain, a longe continued grudge and harte burning betwene the quenes kynred & the Kynges bloud, either parte enuiyng others autorite, he now thought, as it was in deede, a furtherly beginnynge to the pursute of his entēte, and a sure grounde and situacion of hys vnnaturall buyldynge, yf he might vnder the pretence of reuēgyng of olde displeasures, abuse the ignorauce and anger of the one partie to the destruction of the other, and then to wyn to his purpose as many as he coulde: and suche as coulde not bee wonne, might bee loste or they loked therefore. But of one thynge he was certain, that if his entēt were once perceiued, he should haue made peace betwene bothe parties with his owne bloud: but al his entēte he kept secrete till he knewe his frendes, of the whiche Henry the duke of Buckyngham was the firste that sente to him after his brothers death a trusty seruaunte of his called Persiuall to the citie of Yorke, where the duke of Gloucester kepte the kynge hys brothers funeralles. This Persiuall came to Jhon Warde a secrete chamberer to the duke of Gloucester, desiryng that he in close and couerte maner might speake with the duke his master: where vpon in the ded of the nighte, the duke sente for Persiuall (all other beeynge auoyded) whiche shewed to the duke of Gloucester that the duke of Buckyngham hys master in thys newe worlde woulde take suche parte as he woulde, and woulde farther wayte vpon hym with a thousande good felowes yf nede were. The duke sente backe the messanger with greate thankes and diuerse priuey instructions by mouthe, whiche Persiuall dyd somuche by hys trauaill that he came to the duke of Buckyngham his master into the marches of Wales, and eftsones with newe instructions met with the duke of Gloucester at Notyngham, whiche was come out of the Northecountree with many knightes and gentlemen to the numbre of fyue hundred horse and more, in his iourney, towarde London. And after secrete metynge and communicacion had betwene hym and the duke

of Glou

of Glouceſter, he returned with ſuch ſpede that he brought the duke of Buckyngham his maſter to mete with the duke of Glouceſter not far from Northampton with thre hundred horſſes, and ſo they twoo came together to Northampton were thei firſt began their vnhappy enterprice, and ſo the duke of Buckyngham contynued ſtill wyth the duke of glouceſter til he was crouned king, as ye ſhal plainly perceiue herafter.

The younge kynge at the deathe of his father kepte houſhoulde at Ludlowe, for his father had ſente hym thether for Juſtice to be dooen in the Marches of Wales, to the ende that by the auctorite of hys preſente, the wilde Welſhemenne and eiuell diſpoſed perſonnes ſhould refrain from their accuſtomed murthers & outrages. The gouernaunce of this younge Prince was committed to Lord Antony Wooduile erle Ryuers and lorde Scales, brother to the quene, a wiſe, hardy and honourable perſonage, as valiaunte of handes as politique of counſayll, and with hym were aſſociate other of theſame partie, & in effect euery one as he was nerer of kynne vnto the quene, ſo was he planted nexte aboute the prince. That drift by the quene ſemed to be diuiſed, whereby her bloude mighte of righte in tender youthe bee ſo planted in the princes fauoure, that afterwarde it ſhoulde hardely bee eradicated out
xx of theſame.

The duke of Glouceſter turned all this to their diſtruction, & vpon that grounde ſet the foundacion of his vnhappy buyldyng: For whom ſoeuer he perceiued to bee at variaunce with theim, or to beare toward hym ſelfe any fauoure, he brake vnto theim, ſome by mouthe, ſome by writynge and ſecrete meſſengers, that it was neither reaſon nor yet to be ſuffered that the younge kynge their maſter and kynſman ſhoulde bee in the handes and cuſtody of hys mothers kynrede, ſequeſtered in maner from their compaignie and attendaunce, of whyche euery one oughte hym as faithefull ſeruice as they, and manye of theim of farre
xxx more honorable parte of kinne, thē his mothers ſide, whoſe bloud, quod the duke of Glouceſter ſauing the kyng his pleaſure, was farre vnmete to bee matched with his, which now to bee remoued from the kynge & the leaſte noble to bee lefte aboute hym, is quod he, neither honourable to his maieſtie nor too vs, and alſo too hym leſſe ſuretie, to haue the nobles and mightieſt of hys frendes from hym, & to vs all no litle ieopardie to ſuffre, and ſpecially our well proued euyll willers to growe into greate auctoritee with the kynge in youthe, namely whych is lighte of belefe and ſoone perſuaded.

Ye remēbre that kyng Edward hym ſelf, albeit he was bothe of age
xl and diſcrecion, yet was he ruled in many thynges by that bende, more then ſtode either with his honour or our profite, or wyth the cōmodite of anye man els, excepte onely the immoderate auauncement of theim ſelues, which whether they thirſted ſore after their owne weale or no, it were harde I thynke to geſſe. And yf ſome folkes frendeſhip had not holden better place with the kynge then any reſpecte of kynrede,

they

thei might, paraduenture, easely haue trapped and brought to confu-
sion some of vs or this: and why not as easely as thei haue dooen other
or this as nere of the blud royall, but our lord hath wrought his wyll,
and thanked bee his grace that perell is paste: howe beit as greate is
growyng if we suffer this young kyng in his enemies handes, whyche
without his wittyng might abuse the name of his commaundement to
any of our vndoyng, whiche thinges god and good prouision forbid, of
whiche good prouision none of vs hath any thinge the lesse nede for the
late attonemẽte made, in which ỹ kyng his pleasure had more place thẽ
the parties hertes or willes, nor none of vs is so vnwise or so muche x
ouersene as to trust a newe frend made of an olde foo, or to thinke that
any onely kindenesse so sodenly cõtracted in an houre, cõtinued scantlye
yet a fourtnight, should bee deper set in our stomackes, then a longe ac-
customed malice many yeres rooted.

With these perswasions and writinges, the duke of Glouc ester sette
a fire theim whiche were easie to kyndle, and in especiall twain, Henry
duke of Buckyngham, and Willyam Lorde Hastynges, & lorde Cham-
berlain, bothe menne of honoure and of greate power, the one by longe
succession from his aunceters, thother by hys offices and the kyng his
fauoure. These two not bearyng eache to other so muchloue, as hatred xx
both to the quenes bloud, accorded together with the duke of Glouce-
ster that thei woulde remoue from the kyng all hys mothers frendes,
vnder the name of their enemies.

Where vpon the duke of Gloucester beynge aduertised that the lor-
des aboute the kynge entended to bryng hym to London to his coro-
nacion, accompaigned wyth suche a number of their frendes that it
shoulde bee harde for hym to bryng his purpose to passe without the
assemblyng and gatheryng of people & in maner of open warre, wherof
the ende he wyst was doubtful, and in the which the kyng beyng on the
other syde his parte shoulde haue the name and face of rebellion. xxx

He secretely therefore by diuerse meanes caused the quene to be per-
suaded that it was neither nede & should also be ieopardeous for ỹ king
to come vp so strong, for as now, euery lorde loued other & none other
thyng studied for, but the triumphe of his coronation & honoure of the
kyng. And the lordes about the kyng, should assemble in the kinges na-
mes muche people, thei should geue ỹ lordes betwixt whom & thẽ ther
had bene some tyme debate, an occasion to feare and suspecte least they
should gather this people, not for the kynges saue gard, whom no man
impugned, but for their destruction hauyng more regarde to their olde
variaunce then to their new attonement, for the which cause they on ỹ xl
other parte might assemble mẽ also for their defence, whose powres she
wyst wel farre stretched, and thus should all the realme fal in a roare, &
of the mischiefe that thereof should ensue) whych was likely to be not a
lytle) ỹ most harme was like to fal where she least woulde, & then all the
world would put her & her kynred in ỹ blame, saiyng that they had vn-
wysely

wyfely and vntruely broken the amytie and peace which the kyng her husband had so prudently made betwene her kynred and hys, whiche amyte hys kynne had alwayes obserued.

The quene beyng thus persuaded, sent worde to the kynge & to her brother, that there was noc ause nor nede to assemble any people, & also the duke of Gloucester & other lordes of his bend, wrote vnto ỹ kynge so reuerently & to the quenes frendes there so louyngly, that they nothynge yearthly mistrustyng, brought the young kyng towarde London with a sober cõpaignie in great haste (but not in good spede) till he
x came to Northampton, & from thence he remoued to Stony stratford. On whiche day, the two dukes and their bende came to Northamptõ, fainyng that Stony stratford could not lodge thẽ al, where they found the erle Riuers, entendynge the nexte mornynge to haue folowed the kyng, and to be with him earely in the mornyng. So that night, the dukes made to the erle Ryuers frendly chere, but assone as they were departed very familier with greate curtesie in opẽ sight & therle Ryuers lodged: the two dukes with a fewe of their priuy frendes sel to councel, wherin they spent a great parte of the night, & in the dawnynge of the daye they sent aboute priuely to their seruaũtes in their lodgynges to
xx haste to horseback for their lordes were in maner redy to ryde, wher vpõ all their seruauntes were ready or the lorde Ryuers seruauntes were awake. Nowe had the dukes taken the keyes of the ynne into their possession, so that none shoulde yssue out withoute their consent. And ouer this in the high way toward Stony stratford, they set certaine of their folkes that should cause and cõpell to retourne againe all persons that were passyng from Northamptõ to Stony stratforde, sayng that the dukes them selfs would be the fyrst that should come to the kyng from Northampton: thus they bare folkes in hand. But whẽ the earle Ryuers vnderstode the gates closed & the wayes on euery syde beset, nei-
xx ther his seruauntes, neither him selfe suffered to go out, perceyuing so great a thynge without his knowlege, not begon for noughte, comparynge this present doyng with ỹ laste nightes chere, in so fewe houres so greate a chaunge, marueilously myslyked it. Howbeit, syth he coulde not get awaye, he determined not to kepe him selfe close, least he should seme to hyde him selfe for some secret feare of his owne faute, wherof he saw no such cause in him selfe, wherfore on the suretie of his owne conscience he determined to goo to them and to inquire what this matter might meane: Whom assone as they sawe, they beganne to quarel with him, affirmyng that he pretended to set distaunce betwene the kyng &
xl them to bryng them to confusion, whiche should not lye in his powre, and when he beganne as he was an eloquente and wel spoken manne in goodly wyse to excuse him selfe, they woulde not heare his aunswere but toke hym by force and put him in warde. And thẽ they mounted on horsbacke & came in haste to Stony stratforde, where the kynge was

goynge

goyng to horsebacke, because he would leaue the lodgyng for them, for it was to straight for bothe the cõpaignies. And when thei came to his presence, they alighted and their compaignie aboute them, and on their knees saluted hym, and he them gentely receiued, nothing yerthly knowyng ner mistrustyng as yet. The duke of Buckyngham said aloude, on afore gentlemen, and yomen kepe your roumes, and therwith in the kinges presence they picked a quarel to the lord Richard Grey the quenes sonne, & brother to the lord Marques & halfe brother to the kyng saiyng, that he and the Marques his brother and the lord Ryuers his vncle had compassed to rule the kyng and the realme and set variaunce & betwene thestates, & to subdue & destroy the noble bloud of the realme. And towarde thaccomplishement of the same, they sayde, the Lorde Marques had entred into the towre of London, and thence had taken out treasure and sent men to the sea, which thinges these dukes knewe well were done for a good purpose & as very necessary, appointed by the whole counsaill at Londõ, but some what they muste saye: vnto the whiche wordes the kynge answered, what my brother Marques hath done I cannot saye, but in good faythe I dare well answere for mine vncle Riuers and my brother here, that they be innocente of such matters. Yee my liege quod the duke of Buckynham, they haue kept the xxi dealyng of these matters farre from the knowlege of your good grace. And furthwith they arrested the lorde Rychard and sir Thomas Vaugham & sir Richard Hawte knyghtes, in ỹ kynges presence, & brought the kyng and all back to Northampton, where they toke further counsaill in their affaires. And there they sent from the kyng whom it pleased theim, & set aboute him suche seruauntes as better pleased thẽ then him. At which dealyng he wepte and was not cõtent, but it booted not. And at dynner, the duke of Gloucester sent a dyshe from his owne table to the lord Ryuers, praiyng him to bee of good chere and all shoulde be wel, he thanked him & prayed the messenger to beare it to his nephiewe xxii the lord Richard with like wordes, whom he knewe to haue nede of cõfort, as one to whom such aduersitie was straunge, but he hym selfe had bene all his daies enured therwith, & therfore could beare it the better. But for al this message, the duke of Gloucester sent ỹ lord Ryuers, the lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaugham and sir Richarde Hawte into the Northparties into diuerse prisons, but at last, al came to Poũfret where they all foure were beheaded without iudgement.

In this maner as you haue hard, the duke of Gloucester toke on him the gouernaunce of the yonge kyng, whõ with much reuerence he conueied towardes Londõ. These tidynges came hastely to the quene before mydnighte, by a very sore reporte that the kyng her sonne was taxl ken and that her brother and her other sonne & other her frendes were arested and sent, no man wyste whether. With this heauy tidynges the quene bewayled her chyldes ruyne, her frendes mischaunce, and her owne infortune, cursyng ỹ tyme that euer she was persuaded to leaue

the

the gatherynge of people to bryng vp the kynge with a great powre, but that was passed, and therfore nowe she toke her younger sonne the duke of Yorke and her doughters, and went out of the palays of Westminster into the sanctuary, and there lodged in the abbotes place, and she and al her chyldren and compaigny were regestred for sanctuarye persons. The same night there came to doctor Rotheram Archebishop of Yorke, and lorde Chauncelour, a messenger from the lord Chamberlayne to Yorke place besyde Westminster: the messenger was brought to the bishoppes bedsyde, & declared to hym that the dukes were gone
& backe wyth the young king to Northãpton, and declared further, that the lord Hastynges his maister sent him worde that he should feare nothyng, for al should be well. (Wel quod the Archebishop) be it as wel as it wyl, it wyl be neuer so wel as we haue sene it, and then the messenger departed. Wherupon the bishop called vp all his seruauntes and toke with hym the great seale and came before day to the quene, about whō he founde much heuinesse, rumble, haste, busyneſſe, conueyghaunce and cariage of her stuffe into sanctuary, euery man was busy to cary, beare and conueygh stuffe, chestes and fardelles, no man was vnoccupyed, and some caryed more then they were commaunded to another place.
&& The quene sat alone belowe on the rushes al desolate & dismayde, whō the Archebishoppe conforted in the best maner that he coulde, shewyng her that the matter was nothing so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was putte in good hope, and out of feare by the message sente to hym from the lorde Hastinges. A wo worth him quod the quene, for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my bloud. Madame quod he be of good comforte and I assure you, yf they crowne any other kynge then your sonne whō they nowe haue, we shal on the morow croune his brother whom you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in lykewyse as your noble husband deliuered it to me, so deliuer I it to
&&& you to the vse of your sonne, & therwith deliuered her the great seale, & departed home in the dawning of ỹ day. And when he opened his windowes, and loked on the Temys, he might see the riuer ful of boates, of the duke of Gloucester his seruauntes watching, that no person should go to sanctuary, ner none shoulde passe vnserched.

Then was there great rumoure, and commotion in the citie and in other places, the people diuersely diuined vpon this dealynge. And diuerse lordes, knightes and gentilmen, either for fauour of the quene or for feare of them selfes, assembled compaignies and wente flockyng together in harneies. And manye also, for that they recompted thys demeanour attempted, not so specyally agaynst other lordes as against ỹ
¶ kynge hym selfe in the dysturbaunce of hys coronatyon, therfore they assembled by and by together to common of thys matter at London. The Archebyshoppe of Yorke fearynge that it woulde be ascribed (as it was in dede) to ouermuch lyghtnes, ỹ he so sodeinly had yelded vp ỹ great seale to ỹ quene, to whō the custody therof nothing apperteigned

wythout especyall commaundement of the kynge, secretely sent for the seale agayne and brought it with him after the accustomed maner to mete with the lordes.

At this metynge, the lorde Hastynges, whose trueth towarde the kyng no man doubted, nor neded not to doubte, persuaded the lordes to beleue, that the duke of Gloucester was faythful and sure towardes his prince, and that the lord Riuers, the lord Richard and other knightes apprehẽded, were for matters attẽpted by them against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckyngham put vnder arest, for their suretie, and not for the kings yeopardie, and that they were also in sauegard there to remayne, tyll the matter were (not by the dukes onely) but also by all the other lordes of the kynges councel indifferently examined, and by their discrecions ordred and either iudged or appesed. And one thinge he aduysed them to beware of, that they iudged not the matter to farre furthe or they knewe the trueth, nor turnynge their priuate grudges into the common hurte, irrytynge and prouokynge men vnto angre, and disturbyng the kynges coronacion, toward which the dukes were commynge, for that, then myghte paraduenture bryng the matter so farre out of pointe, that it shoulde neuer be broughte in frame agayne, whiche yf it should happe as it were likely to come to a felde, though al parties were in all other thynges equall, yet shoulde the authoritie be on that syde, where the kynge is himself, with these persuasions of the lorde Hastynges, whereof parte he him selfe beleued, and of parte he wyst wel the cõtrary, these cõmocions were some what appeased. But in especyal, because the dukes of Buckyngham and Gloucester were so nere and came on so shortely wyth the kynge, in none other maner, nor none other boyce or semblaunce thẽ to his coronacion, causing ỹ faine to be blowen about that such persons as were apprehended, had contriued the destruccyon of the dukes of Gloucester and of Buckynghã and other of the noble bloude of this realme, to the entent that they alone woulde rule and gouerne the kynge. And for the coloure therof, suche of the dukes seruauntes as rode wyth the cartes of their stuffe, which were taken, among the whiche stuffe no marueyll though some were harneyes which at the breakinge vp of suche an housholde muste be broughte awaye, or caste awaye, they shewed to the people, and as they went, said: lo, here be the barelles of harneies that these traitours had priuelye conueighed in their cariages to destroye the noble lordes wythal. This diuerse, (although it made the matter to wise men more vnlykely) wel perceiuing that thentendours of suche a purpose would rather hauehad their harneieson their backes, then to haue bound thẽ vp in barrelles, yet muche part of the common people were therewith ryght wel satisfyed.

Edmonde Shawmaper of London.

When the kynge approched nere the citie, Edmonde Shawe Goldesmythe then Mayre of the citie wyth the Aldermenne and shiues in skarlet, and fyue hundreth commoners in murraye receyued his

his grace reuerently at Harnesay Parke, and so conueighed him to the citie, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the fyrst & laste yere of his reygne, and was lodged in the bishoppe of Londons Palaice: but ỹ duke of Glouceſter bare him in open ſyght ſo reuerẽtly, ſaying to al mẽ as he rode, behold your prince and ſouereigne lord, and made ſuch ſembleaunce of lowlynes to his prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in ſo late before he was ſodenly fallen in ſo great truſt that at the councell next aſſembled, he was made the onely chiefe ruler, & thought moſt mete to be protectoure of the king and his realme: ſo that, were it
x deſteny, or were it foly, the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kepe. At whiche councel the Archebiſhop of Yorke was ſore blamed for deliuering the great ſeale to the quene, and the ſeale takẽ from him and deliuered to doctor Jhon Ruſſell byſhop of Lyncolne, a wyſe mã & a good & of much experyence, and diuerſe lordes and knightes were appointed to diuerſe roumes, the lord Chamberlayne and ſom other kept the roumes that they were in before, but not many.

Now were it ſo that the protectour (which alwayes you muſt take for the duke of Glouceſter) ſore thriſted for the acheuing of his pretenſed enterpryſe and thought euery day a yeare tyl it were perfourmed,
xx yet durſt he no further attempt as long as he had but half his pray in his hand, well witting that yf he depoſed the one brother, al the realme would fall to the other, yf he remayned eyther in ſanctuary or ſhoulde happely be ſhortly conueighed to his fathers libertie. Wherfore incontinent at the next meting of the lordes in councel, he purpoſed to them that it was a heynous thyng of the quene, and procedyng of great malice toward the kynges councelers, that ſhe ſhould kepe the kings brother in ſanctuary from hym whoſe ſpecyall pleaſure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to bryng al the lordes in an obloquy and murmoure of the
xxx people, as though they were not to be truſted with the kinges brother which lordes were by the whole aſſent of the nobles of the realme appointed as the kynges nere frendes to ỹ tuicyon of hys royal perſon, the proſperitie wherof (quod he) ſtandeth not alonely in kepinge from enemies and euil diate, but partely alſo in recreacion & moderat pleaſure, which he cannot take in hys tẽdre youth in the compaignie of olde and auncient perſons, but in the familiare conuerſacion of thoſe that be not farre vnder nor far aboue his age, and neuertheleſſe, of eſtate cõuenient to accompany his maieſtie, wherfore with whom rather thẽ with his owne brother: and yf any man thynke this conſideracion lighte (I
xl thynke no man ſo thynketh that loueth the king) let him conſider that ſomtyme without ſmal thinges, greater cannot ſtand, and verely it redouneth greatly to the diſhonour of the kynges hyghnes and of all vs that be about hys grace to haue it come in any mans mouth, not in this reaime onely, but alſo in other landes (as euil wordes walke far) that ỹ kings brother ſhould be fayn to kepe ſanctuary. For euery man wyll

iudge that no man wil so do for nought, and such opinions fastened in mens hartes be harde to be wrested oute, and may grow to more griefe then any man here can diuine. Wherfore me thinketh it were not the worst to send to the quene som honourable & trustie personage, such as tẽdreth the kings weale and the honour of his coũcel, and is also in credite and fauour with her: for which considerations none semeth more metely to me, then the reuerend father my lord Cardinal archebishop of Cauntorbury, who may in this matter do most good of al men, yf it please hũm to take the payne, which I doubt not of his goodnes he wyl not refuse for the kynges sake and ours and wealth of the young duke r him selfe the kings most honourable brother, and for the comfort of my soueregne lord hym self my most deareste nephiewe, considering that therby shalbe ceased the slaunderous rumore and obloquy now goyng abrode, and the hurtes auoyded that therof might ensue, and thẽ must rest and quietnesse growe to all the realme. And yf she percase be so obstinate and so precisely set in her own will and opinion, that neither his wyse and faythful aduertisement can moue her, nor any mans reason satisfie her, then shal we by myne aduyce by the kinges authoritie fetch hym out of that pryson and bryng him to his noble presence, in whose contynuall compaygnie he shalbe so well cherysshed and so honourably rr intreated that all the worlde shall to our honour and her reproche perceyue, that it was onely malyce, frowardnesse and foly, that caused her to kepe him there. This is my mind for this time, except ỹ anye of you my lordes any thyng perceiue to the contrary, for neuer shal I by gods grace so wed my self vnto mine owne wil, but I shalbe ready to chaũge it vpon your better aduices.

When the Protectour had sayde, all the councell affirmed that the mocion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother honourable, and a thyng that should ceasse great murmour in the realm, yf the mother might by good meanes be induced to deliuer him: rrr whych thing the Archebyshop of Cauntorbury, whom they all agreed also to be most conuenient therunto, toke vpon hym to moue her, and therto to do his vttermost endeuoure. Howbeit, yf she could in no wise be intreated wyth her good wyl to delyuer hym, then thought he and suche of the spiritualtie as were present, that it were not in anye wyse too bee attempted to take hym out agaynst her wyll, for it woulde be a thyng that should turne to the grudge of all men and hygh displeasure of God, yf the priuilege of that place should be broken which had so many yeres bene kept, whiche bothe Kynges and Popes had graunted rl and confirmed, whiche ground was sanctifyed by Saynt Peter hym selfe, more then fyue hundreth yeres agone. And syth that tyme was neuer so vndeuoute a kyng, that euer enterprysed ỹ sacred priuilege to violate, nor so holy a byshop that durste presume the church of thesame to consecrate: and therfore, quod the Archebishop, God forbid that any manne shoulde for any yearthely enterpryse breake the immunite and

libertie

libertie of that sacred sanctuary that hath bene the safegard of so many a good mans lyfe, but I trust, quod he, we shall not nede it, but for anye maner of nede I would we shuld not do it, I trust that she with reason shalbe contented, and all thing in good maner obteyned. And yf it hap that I bryng it not to passe, yet shal I further it to my best power, so that you all shal perceyue my good wyl, dylygence, and indeuour: But the mothers dreade and womannish feare shalbe the let yf any be.

Nay womannyshe frowardnesse, quod the duke of Buckyngh̄, for I dare take it on my solle that she wel knoweth that she nedeth no such
x thyng to feare, either for her sonne or for her self. For as for her, here is no man that wil be at warre with women, would God some men of her kynne were women to, and then should al be sone in rest. Howbeit ther is none of her kynne the lesse loued for that they be of her kinne, but for their owne euyll deseruynge. And put the case that we neither loued her nor her kynne, yet ther were no cause why we should hate ỹ kings noble brother to whose grace we oure selues be kynne, whose honor yf she desired as our dishonour, and as much regard toke to hys wealth as to her owne will, she could be as loth to suffre him to be absent from the kyng as any of vs, yf she had any wytte, as would God she had as
xx good wyl as she hath frowarde witte. For she thinketh her self no wyser then som that are here, of whose faythful mindes she nothing doubteth, but verely beleueth and knowelegeth that they would be as sory of his harme as her owne self, and yet they would haue hym from her yf she abyde there.

And we al I thynke be content that bothe her chyldren be with her if she came from thence and abyde in such place wher they may be with their honour. Now yf she refuse in the delyueraunce of him to folowe the wysdome of them, whose wysdome she knoweth, whose approbate fidelitie she well trusteth: it is easye to perceyue that frowardnesse letxxx teth her, and not fear. But go to, suppose that she feareth (as who may let her to feare her owne shadowe) the more we ought to fear to leaue hym in her handes, for yf she cast such fond doubtes that she feare hys hurte, then wyll she feare that he shall be fet thence, for she wyll soone thynke that yf men were set (which God forbyd on so great a mischief) the sanctuary wyl lytle let them, which sanctuary good mē as me thynketh myght wythout synne, somwhat lesse regarde then they do. Now then, yf she doubt least he might he fetched from her, is it not likely that she wyll send him somwhere out of the realme: verely I loke for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore myndeth it, as we mynde
xl the let therof. And yf she myght hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were not great maistery to do, we letting her alone, al ỹ world would say that we were a sorte of wyse coūsailers about a king to let hys brothere be cast away vnder oure noses. And therfore I ensure you faithfully, for my mynde, I wyl rather maugre her stomacke fetche hym awaye, then leaue him there til her feare or fond frowarde feare conuey

him away, and yet wyll I breake no sanctuary, for verely sith the priui-
Of sanctua- lege of that place and other of that sort haue so lōg continued, I would
ry. not go about to breake it, but yf they were nowe to beginne I woulde
not be he that should make them: yet wyl not I say nay, but it is a dede
of pitie that such men as the chaūce of the sea, or their euil debters haue
brought into pouertie, should haue some place of refuge to kepe in their
bodies out of the daunger of their cruel creditours. And if it fortune ỹ
croune to come in question as it hath done before this tyme while eche
part taketh other for traytours, I thynke it necessarye to haue a place
of refuge for both. But as for theues and murtherers wherof these pla-
ces be full, and which neuer falle from their crafte after they once falle
therunto, it is pitie, that euer sanctuary shoulde serue them, and in es-
pecyall wylful murtherers, whom God commaundeth to be takē from
the aulter & to be put to death. And wher it is otherwyse then in these
cases, there is no nede of sanctuaries, appointed by God in the old law.
For yf necessitie of hys owne defence or myssortune driued hym to that
dede, then a pardon serueth him, which either is graunted of course, or
ỹ kyng of pitie and compassion geueth. Now loke how few sanctuary
men there be whome necessitie or misfortune compelleth to go thether.
And then se on the other syde, what a sort there bee commonly therin
of such, whom wylfull vnthriftynes hath brought to naught: what a
rable of theues, murtherers and malicious heynous traitours be, and
that in two places specially, the one at the elbow of the citie, & the other
in the very bowels. I dare well a bowe it, yf you way the good ỹ they
do, with the hurte that commeth of them, ye shal fynd it muche better
to lese both, then to haue both. And this I say, although thei were not
abused (as they now be and so longe haue bene) that I feare me euer
they wyl be whyle men be afeard to set to their handes to the amēde-
ment, as though God and Saynt Peter were the patrons of vngra-
cious lyuing. Now vnthriftes riote and ronne in debte vpon boldnes
of these places, yea, and ryche menne ronne thyther wyth poore mens
goodes, there they buylde, there they spend and byd their creditours
goo whystle. Mens wyues ronne thither wyth their husbands plate,
and say they dare not abyde with their husbandes for beatyng, theues
bring thither stollen goodes and lyue theron. There deuyse they new
robberies nightely and steale out and robbe, ryue, and kyll menne and
come agayn into those places, as thoughe those places gaue them not
onely a sauegard for the harme that they haue done but a licence also
to do more mischief: howbeit, much of this great abusyon, (yf wyse mē
woulde sette their handes there vnto) myght be amended, with great
thankes of God, and no breche of the priuilege. The conclusyon is,
syth it is so longe a goo I wote not what pope and what Prince, more
piteous then politique, hath graunted it, and other men sence of a re-
ligious feare haue not broken it, lette vs take a payne with it, and lette
it stande a Goddes name in his force, as farre furthe as reason wyll,

whyche

which is not so farfurth as may serue too lette vs of the fetching furth of this noble manne to his honour and wealthe out of that place in the whyche he neyther is nor can bee a sanctuarye or pryuileged man. A sanctuary euer serueth too defende the body of that manne that standeth in daunger abroad, not of great hurte onely, but of lawful hurte: for against vnlawfull hurtes and harmes no pope ner kynge entended to priuilege any one place wherein it is lawefull for one manne to doo another manne wronge. That no manne vnlawefully take hurte that libertie the kynge, the lawe and very nature forbyddeth in euery
x place, and maketh to that regarde for euery manne euery place a sanctuary, but where a manne is by lawfull meanes in perell, there nedeth he the tuicion of some specyal priuilege, whiche is the onely ground of all sanctuaryes, from whych necessitie thys noble Prince is far, whose loue to hys kynge nature and kynred prioueth, whose innocencye to all the world, hys tender youth affirmeth, and so sanctuarye as for hym is not necessary, ner none he can haue. Wenne come not too sanctuary as they come to baptisme to requyre it by hys Godfathers, he muste aske it hym selfe that muste haue it, and reason, sythe no manne hathe cause too haue it, but whose conscience of hys owne faute maketh hym
xx haue nede to require it. What will then hathe younder babe, whyche yf he had discrecyon to require it yf nede were, I dare say woulde be now right angry with them that kepe him there. And I would thinke wythout any scruple of conscience, without any breche of priuilege too be somwhat more homely with theim that be there sanctuary menne in dede, that yf one go to saynctuary wyth another mans goodes, why should not the king leuyng hys body at libertie satisfye the party of his goodes euen wythin the sanctuarye, for neyther king nor pope cã geue any place such a priuilege that it shal discharge a man of hys debtes beyng hable to paye.

xxx And wyth that diuerse of the clergie ỹ were there present, whether they sayed it for his pleasure or as they thought, agreed playnly by the lawe of God and of the church that the goodes of a sanctuarye manne should be deliuered in paiment of hys debtes, and stollen goodes to the owner, and onely lybertie reserued to hym to get hys lyuing with the labour of hys handes. Uerely, quod the duke, I thynke you saye very trueth: And what yf a mans wife take sãctuary because she list to ronne frõ her husbãd: I would thinke if she cã allege none other cause he may lawfully without any displeasure done to saynct Peter, take her out of saynct Peters church by the arme. And yf no body may be taken oute
xl of sanctuarye because he sayth he wyll abyde there, then yf a child wyll take sanctuary, because he feareth to go to schoole, his maister must let hym alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is ther lesse reason in our cace then in it, for there, though it be a childysshe feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is no feare at all. And verely I haue harde of sanctuarye menne, but I neuer hearde before of sanctuarye

childzen, and therfore as for the conclusyon of my mynde, whosoeuer may deserue to haue nede of it, yf they thinke it for their suretie let thē kepe it, but he can be no sanctuary manne that hath nother discresiō to desire it, nor malyce to deserue it, whose lyfe ner libertie cā by no lauful processe stand in ieoperdy: and he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do hym good I saye plainly he breaketh no sanctuary.

When the duke hath done, the temporal menne wholy, and the moste parte of the spirituall menne also thynkynge no hurt earthlye ment toward the young baby, condiscended in effecte, that yf he were not delyuered, he shoulde be fetched oute. Howbeit, they thought it beste in aduoydyng of all maner of rumour, that the cardinall shoulde first assaye to get him with her good wyl. And therupon all the counsail came to ỹ sterre chambre at Westminster, and the cardinall leauing the protector and other lordes in the sterre chamber, departed into ỹ sanctuary to ỹ quene, accompaignied with certain lordes, were it for the respect of his honour, or that she should by the persones of so many, perceyue ỹ thys arraud was not onely one mans mynd, or were it for ỹ the protectour entended not in this matter to truste one manne alone, or els yf she fynally wer determined to kepe hym, some of the compaignie had paraduenture some secrete instruccyon incontinente maugre her wil to take him and to leaue her no respite to conueigh him.

When the quene and these lordes were come together in presence, the cardinall shewed vnto her, that it was thought to ỹ lorde protector and the whole counsayll that her keping of the kyng his brother in that place highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people & their obloquy, but also to the importable griefe and displeasure of the kynge hys royall maiestie, to whose grace it were a synguler comfort to haue hys natural brother in compaignie, and it was their bothes dishonoures & theirs and hers also to suffre him sanctuary, as though the one brother stode in daunger and perell of the other. And he shewed her farther that the whole counsayl had sent hym to require of her ỹ deliuerye of him, ỹ he myght be brought to the kyng his presence at his libertie out of that place which men reconed as a pryson, and there should he be demeaned accordyng to his estate and degree, & she in this doing should both do greate good to the realme, pleasure to the counsayl, profyte to her self, succour to her frendes that were in distresse, and ouer ỹ which he wyste well she specially tendered, not onely great comforte and honour to the king but also to the young duke hym self, whose both great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes as also for their both disport & recreacion, whiche thinges the lordes estemed not lyght, though it semed light, wel ponderyng that their youth without recreacion and play cannot endure, ner any estraunger for the conuenience of both their ages & estates so metely in that poinct for any of theim, as the eyther for them of thother.

My lord (quod the quene) I say not nay, but that it were by conue-

nient

niēt that this gentleman whom you require were in the compaigny of the kyng his brother, and in good faith me thinketh it wer as great cō-moditie to theim both, as for yet a whyle too be in the custody of theyr mother the tēdre age considered of the elder of theim both, but in espe-cyal the younger, which besydes his infancie that also nedeth good lo-kyng to, hath a whyle bene so sore diseased with sickness, and is so new-lye rather a lytle amended then wel recouered, that I dare put no per-sone earthly in trust with hys kepyng, but my selfe onely, considerynge there is as phisicians saye, and as we also fynd, double the perell in the
x resiluacion that was in the fyrste sycknes, wyth whyche desease nature beeynge sore laboured, foreweried & weakened, waxeth the lesse hable to bear our a new surfet. And albeit there might be founden other that woulde happely doo their best vnto hym, yet there is none that eyther knoweth better how to ordre hym then I, that so long haue kept hym, or is more tendrely lyke to cherysshe hym then hys owne mother that bare hym. No man denyeth good madame, quod the Cardinall, but ȳ your grace of all folke were most necessary aboute your chyldren, and so woulde all the counsayll not onelye be contente but also glad that it were yf it myght stand wyth your pleasure to be in such place as might
xx stand wyth their honoure. But yf you appoynct your self to tary here, then thinke they it more conuenīēt the duke of Yorke wer w̄ the king honorably at hys libertie to the comfort of theim bothe, then here is a sanctuary man to their both dishonour and obloquy, syth there is not alway so great necessitie to haue the child with the mother, but ȳ occa-syon somtime may be such that it should be more expedient to kepe him els where, which in thys well appereth, that at suche tyme that youre most derest sonne then prince and now kyng should for hys honor and good ordre of the countree kepe houshold in Wales, far out of your ke-pyng, your grace was well content therwyth your self. Not very well
xxx content (quod the quene) & yet the case it not like, for the one was thē in health and ȳ other is now sycke, in which case I maruayl greatly why my lorde protectour is so desirous to haue him in kepyng, where yf the child in his sycknesse miscaryed by natur, yet might he ronne into slaū-der & suspiciō of fraud. And they call it a thynge so sore against my chil-des honour & theirs also ȳ he abideth in this place, it is al their honou-res there to suffre hym abyde wher no mā doubteth he shalbe best kept & that is here whyle I am here, which as yet entēd not to come furth & ieoperde my selfe after other my frendes, which would God were ra-ther here in suretie wyth me, then I were therein ieoperdie with thē.
xl Why madame (quod the lord Hayward) know you any thing, why they should be in yeopardie? Nay verely, (quod she,) nor why they should be in prison neyther as they now be, but I trowe it is no great marueyll though I feare least those that haue not letted to put them in duraūce wythoute colour, wyl let as lytle to procure their destruccion without cause. The cardinal made a countenaunce to the lord Hayward, that he

shoulde harpe no more vpon that string: and then sayed he to the quene, that he nothyng doubted but those lordes of her kinne ỹ which remained vnder a reste shoulde vpon the matter examined do wel ynough, & as towarde her noble person, neyther was, nor coulde be anye maner of ieoperdie. Wherby shoulde I truste that (quod the quene) in ỹ I am gylteſſe, as though they were gültie, in ỹ I am with their enemies better beloued then thei, when they hate theim for my sake, in that I am so nere to the king, and how farre be they of that woulde helpe as God send grace they hurt not. And therfore as yet I purpose not to depart hence: as for this gentleman my sonne, I mynde he shalbe where I am ỹ till I see further, for I se some men so gredy wythoute anye substancial cause to haue him, which maketh me much more further and scrupulous to deliuer him. Truely madame (quod the Cardinall) the further that ye be to deliuer him, the further be other menne to suffre you too kepe him, leaste your causeleſſe feare, myght cause you farther to conueyghe hym, and many thyncke he can haue here no priuilege, whyche can haue neyther wyll too aske it, nor yet malice nor offence to nede it. And therfore, they recon no priuilege broken, although they fetch him out of sanctuarye, whyche yf you fynally refuse too delyuer hym, I thynke verely the counsayll will enfraunchese him, so much dread hath my lorde his vncle, for the tender loue that he beareth him, leaste your grace should send him away. Ah, quod the quene, hathe he so tender a zeale to him, that he feareth nothing, but leaste he should escape hym? Thinketh he, that I would send him hence, which is neither in ỹ plight to send out? and in what place could I recon hym sure, yf he be not sure in this sanctuary? wherof was ther neuer tyraunt yet so deuelysh, that durst attempt to breake the priuilege, & I trust God is now as strong to withstand his aduersaries, as euer he was. But my sonne cã deserue no sanctuary, you say, and therfore he can not haue it, forsoth the lorde protectour hath sent a goodly glose, by the which that place that maye defend a thefe, maye not saue an innocent: but he is in no ieoperdye nor hath no nede therof, I would God he had not. Troweth the protector (I pray God he may proue a protectour, rather thẽ a destroyer, where vnto his painted processe draweth,) ỹ is it not honourable, ỹ the duke byde here? it were more comfortable to them both that he were w̃ hys brother, because the kyng lacketh a play feloe, yea be you sure, I praye God send him better play felowes thẽ him that maketh so hygh a matter vpon such a trifleyng pretext, as though there could none be found to play wyth the kyng, but yf his brother which had no lust to playe for sickneſſe, must come out of sanctuary, out of this sauegard to play wyth him, as though that princes so young as they be, could not play wythout their peres, or children coulde not play without their kynred, with whom for the more parte they agree much worse thẽ with straũgiers. But the chylde you say cannot require the priuilege, who told the protectour so? Aske hym and you shall hear him aske it, and so shal he yf ye

wyl

wil. Howbeit, this is a straunge matter, suppose he coulde not aske it & thynke he would not aske it, and imagene he would aske to go out, yf I say he shal not: Note yf I aske the priuilege, but for my selfe, I say, that he that agaynst my will taketh out him, breaketh sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my person onely or for my goodes to, you maye not frō hence take my horsse from me, yf I stale him not nor owe you nothing: then foloweth it, that you may not take my child from me, he is also my ward, for as farre as my learned counsayl sheweth me, he hath nothing by dissent holden, by knightes seruice, but by socage, then the lawe ma-
x keth me his guarden, then may no manne lawfully (I suppose) take my warde from me out of this place, wythout the breche of sanctuary, & yf my priuilege coulde not serue him, nor he aske it for him selfe, yet syth ỹ lawe committed to me the custody of hym, I maye require it for hym, excepte the lawe geue the infaunt a guarded onely for his goodes, dis-chargyng hym of the cure and sauekepyng of his body, for which one-ly, bothe goodes and landes serue: Wherfore here entende I to kepe him, syth mannes lawe serueth the guarden to kepe the infante, and the lawe of nature willeth the mother to kepe the child, and Gods law priuilegeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuary priuilegeth my sonne, sith
xx I feare to put him to the protectours handes, that hath hys brother already, whiche is (yf both fayled) inheritoure to the crowne as heire male, as he saythe. The cause of my feare no manne hathe too doo to examine, and yet feare I no ferther then the lawe feareth, whyche as learned menne tell me, forbyddethe euery manne ỹ custodye of theim, by whose deathe he maye enherite lesse land then a kingdome. I cā say no more, but whosoeuer he be that breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God sende him shortely nede of sanctuarye, when he maye not come to it, for I woulde not that my mortall enemye shoulde bee taken oute of sanctuary.

xxx The Cardinall perceiued that ỹ quene euer the longer the farther of, and also that she began to kyndle and chafe, and spake sore bytynge woordes agaynst the protectoure, and such as he neither beleued and also was loth to here, he sayth to her, for a final cōclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter, and if she were content to deliuer the duke to him and to the other lordes there present, he durst lay his owne bo-dy and solle both in pledge, not onelye for hys suretye, but also for hys estate, and surely he knewe nor suspected no cause but he myght so do, (but he knewe not all.) And further he sayed, yf she would geue hym a resolute aunswere to the contrary he woulde therwith departe incōti-
xl nente, and shyfte who so woulde wyth his busynesse afterwarde, for he neuer entended further to moue her in the matter, in the whyche she thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked eyther witte or trueth. Wytte yf they wer so dull yf they nothing could perceiue what the protector entended, and yf they should procure her sonne to be deli-uered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue towardes ỹ child

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any euyll wyl entended, then she myght thynke al the counsayll bothe euill aduised and of litle fidelite to their prince.

The quene with these wooꝛdes stode in a great study, & foꝛasmuche as she saw the loꝛde Cardinall moꝛe redier to departe then the remanaunte, and the protectoure himselfe redy at hande, so that she verelye thought that she could not kepe them there, but he should be incontinẽt taken thence: and to conueigh him els where, neither had she tyme to serue her, noꝛ place determined, noꝛ persons appoyncted to conueygh him, and so all thing was vnredy, when this message came so sodainlye on her, nothinge lesse looking foꝛ, then to haue him out of Sanctuarye whiche she knew now men to be sette, in all places about, that he coulde not be conueyghed out vntaken, and partely as she thoughte it myght foꝛtune her feare to be false: so wel she wiste it was either nedelesse oꝛ booteleſſe. Wherfoꝛe, yf she should nedes goo from him, she demed beste to delyuer him, and specially of the cardinalles faith she nothyng doubtyng noꝛ of some other loꝛdes whome she saw there, whiche as she feared leste, they myghte be deceyued, so well was she assured, that they woulde not be coꝛrupted: then thought she that it would make theim ỹ moꝛe warely to loke to him, and the moꝛe circumspectely to see hys surety, yf she wyth her owne handes betooke him them by truste, & at the laste she toke the young duke by the hand and said vnto the loꝛdes, my loꝛde quod she and all my loꝛdes, neither am I so vnwyse to mistruste your wittes, noꝛ so suspicious to mistruste your truethes: of the which thyng I purpose to make such a pꝛoofe, that yf eyther of both lacked in you, myght turne both me to great soꝛowe, the realme to much harme, and you to great repꝛoche. Foꝛ lo, here is quod she this gẽtleman, whõ I doubt not but I could kepe safe yf I would, whatsoeuer any manne saye, and I doubt not also but there be some abꝛoade so dedly enemies vnto my bloud, that yf they wist, where any of it lay in their own body they would let it out: we haue also experience that the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kynrede, the bꝛother hath ben the bꝛothers bane, & may the nephewes be sure of the vncle-eche of these childꝛẽ are others defence, whyle they be a sunder, and ech of their liues lieth in others body: kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both moꝛe perilous then both to be in one place: foꝛ a wyse marchaunte neuer auentureth al his goodes in one ship. Al this notwithstandyng here I deliuer him and his bꝛother in him, to kepe to youre handes, of whome I shall aske them bothe befoꝛe God and the woꝛlde. Faythefull you be and that I wote well, and I knowe you be wyse and of power and strength yf you liste to kepe him, foꝛ you lacke no helpe of your selues, noꝛ nede to lacke no helpe in this case, and yf you cannot els where, then maye you leaue hym here: But onely one thyng I beseche you, foꝛ the trust that his father put you in euer, and foꝛ the truste that I putte you in nowe, that as farre as you thinke that I feare to much, ye bee well ware that you feare not to litle. And therwyth al she sayed to the chyld, fare wel mine owne

awne swete sonne, God sende you good kepyng, let me once kisse you or you go, for God knoweth whē we shal kisse together agayn, & therewith she kyssed hym, blessed hym, and turned her backe & wepte, goynge her waie, leauing the poore innocēt chylde wepinge as faste as the mother.

When the Cardinall and the other lordes had receyued the younge duke, thei brought him into the starre chaumbre, where the protectour toke him into his armes and kissed hym with these wordes: now welcome my lorde with all my verie herte, & he saied in ỹ of likelihod euen as he inwardely thought, & there vpon, furth with brought him to the
x kynge hys brother into the bishoppes palace at Paules, & from thence through the cytee honorably into ỹ tower, out of which after that daye they neuer came abrode. When the protectour had both the chyldrē in his possession, yea & that they were in a sure place, he thē began to thrist to se the ende of his enterprise. And to auoyde all suspiciō, he caused all the lordes whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kynge, to assemble at Baynardes castle to cōmen of the ordre of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his cōplices & of his affinites at Crosbies place contriued the contrary & to make the protectour kyng: to which counsaill there were adhibite very fewe, & they very secrete. Then began here & there some
xx maner of mutteryng emongest the people, as though all thyng shoulde not longe be well, though they wyste not what they feared nor wherfore: were it, that before suche greate thynges, mennes hertes (of a secrete instinct of nature) misgeueth theim, as the south wynde somtyme swelleth of hym selfe before a tempeste: or were it that some one manne happely somewhat perceiuyng, fylled many men with suspiciō, though he shewed fewe men what he knewe: howbeit, the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsaill were close, for litle and litle all folke drewe from the tower where the kynge was, and drewe to Crosbies place, so that the Protectoure had all the resorte, and the
xxx kynge in maner desolate. Whyle some made suyte vnto them that had the doyng, some of theim were by their frendes secretly warned, that it might happely turne them to no good to be to muche attēdaunt on the kynge without the protectoures apointemente, whyche remoued diuerse of the kyng hys olde seruauntes from hym, & sette newe in their roumes aboute hym.

Thus many thinges commyng together, partly by chaunce & partly by purpose, caused at length, not common people onely, whiche wauer with the wynde, but wyse men also & some lordes, to marke the matter and muse ther vpon: in so muche as the lorde Stanley whyche after-
xl warde was erle of Derby wysely mistrusted it & saied to ỹ lord Hastynges, that he muche misliked these two seuerall counsailes, for while we quod he talke of one matter at the one place, litle wote we whereof thei talke in the other: peace my lord quod ỹ lord Hastynges, on my lyfe neuer doubte you, for while one man is there, whiche is neuer thence, neither can there be any thing once mynded that shoulde sounde amisse to-

wardes me, but it should be in myne eares or it were well out of their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby which was nere of hys secrete coũ-saill, & whō he familierly vsed in his most waighty matters, puttyng no man in so speciall truste as hym reconnynge hym selfe to no man so liefe sith he wiste well there was no man to hym so much beholdyng as was this Catesby, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauoure of the lorde Hastynges in good auctho^ritie and muche rule bare in the counties of Leceſter & Northamptō where the lorde Hastynges power laye. But surely great pitie was it that he had not had either more trueth or lesse wit, for hys dissimulation onely, x kept all that mischief vp, in whom if the lorde Hastynges had not put so speciall truste, the lorde Stanley and he with diuerse other lordes had departed into their countrees and broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, whiche he nowe construed all for the beste, so surely thought he that there could be no harme towarde hym in that counsail entended where Catesbye was. And of trueth the protectoure and the duke of Bukyngham made very good semblеaunce vnto the lorde Hastynges and kept hym muche in their compaignye. And vndoubtedly, the protectour loued hym well, and lothe was to haue loste him sauyng for feare leste his lyfe should haue quayled their purpose, for the whiche xx cause he moued Catesby to proue with some wordes cast out a farre of, whether he could thinke it possible to wynne ỹ lord Hastynges to their parte. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed hym not, repor-ted vnto hym that he founde hym so fast, & herde him speake so terrible wordes that he durst no farther breake: and of a truth the lord Hastyn-ges of very truste shewed vnto Catesby the mistruste that other began to haue in ỹ matter. And therefore, he fearyng leste their mociōs might with the lord Hastynges minishe his credence, where vnto onely al the matter leaned, procured the protectour hastely to ryd hym, & much the rather, for he trusted by hys death to obtayne muche of the rule whych xxx the lord Hastynges bare in hys countre, the onely desyre whereof, was the thyng that enduced him to be procurer & one of the specialleſt con-triuers of all thys horrible treason. Where vpon the lorde protectour caused a coũsaill to be set at the tower on the fridaye the thirtene daye of June, where was muche commonyng for the honourable solemnitee of the coronation, of the whiche the tyme appointed aproched so nere, that the pageauntes were a makyng daye & night at Westminster, and vitaile killed whiche afterwarde was caste awaye.

Theſe lordes thus sittyng cōmouyng of this matter, the protectour came in emong theim about nyne of ỹ cloke salutyng theim curteously, xl excusyng him selfe that he had been from theim so longe saiyng merely that he had been a sleper that daye. And after a litle talkyng with them he sayed to the bishopp of Ely, my lorde you haue verye good strawbe-ries in youre garden at Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of thē, Gladly (my lord quod he) I would I had some better thing as redy

to your

to your pleasure as that, and with that in all hast he sente his seruaunt for a dishe of strawberies. The protectour set the lordes faste in cõmo-
nyng and there vpon prayed theim to spare him a litle, and so he depar-
ted and came agayn betwene .x. and eleuen of the clocke into the cham-
bre all chaunged with a sowre angrye countenaunce knittyng the bro-
wes, frownyng and fretyng and gnawynge on his lips and so set hym
doune in his place. All the lordes were dismaied and sore marueyled of
this manner and sodeyne chaunge and what thyng shoulde hym ayle.
When he had sitten a whyle, thus he began: What were they worthy
x to haue that cõpasse and ymagine the destruccion of me beyng so neare
of bloud to the kyng & protectoure of this his royall realme? At which
question, all the lordes sate sore astonyed, musyng muche by whom the
question should be ment, of whiche euery man knewe hym selfe clere.

Then the lorde Hastynges as he that for the familiarite that was
betwene theim, thought he might be boldest wyth him, aunswered and
said that they were worthy to be punished as heynous traytours what
soeuer they were, & all the other affirmed ỹ same, that is (quod he) yon-
der sorceres my brothers wife & other with her, mening the quene, at
these woordes many of the lordes were sore abashed whiche fauoured
xx her, but the lorde Hastynges was better content in hys mynde that it
was moued by her then by any other that he loued better, albeit hys
hart grudged that he was not afore made of counsail of this matter as
well as he was of the takyng of her kynred and of their puttyng to
death, whyche were by hys assent before deuysed to be beheaded at
Pomfrete, this selfe same daye, in the whiche he was not ware that it
was by other deuised that he hym selfe shoulde the same daye be behea-
ded at London: then sayed the protectour in what wyse that sorceresse
and other of her counsayle, as Shores wyfe with her affinitie haue by
theyr sorcery and witchecrafte this wasted my body, & therwith pluc-
xxx ked vp his doublet sleue to his elbowe on hys lefte arme, where he she-
wed a wery she withered arme & smal as it was neuer other. And ther-
upon, euery mannes mynde mysgaue theim, well perceyuyng that this
matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that the quene was both to
wyse to go about any such folye, & also if she would, yet would she of all
folke make Shores wyfe least of her counsaile, whom of all women she
most hated, as that concubine whom the kyng her husband most loued.

Also, there was no manne there but knewe that hys arme was euer
such sith the day of his birth, Neuertheless, the lorde Hastynges, which
from the death of kyng Edward kept Shores wife, whom he somwhat
xl doted in the kynges lyfe, sauing it is sayed that he forbare her for reue-
rence towarde his kyng, or els of a certayne kynde of fidelitie towarde
his frend. Yet nowe his hart somewhat grudged to haue her whom he
loued so highly accused, and that as he knewe well vntruely, therefore
he aunswered & sayed, certaynly my lorde, yf they haue so done, they be
worthy of heynous punishement, what quod ỹ protectour, thou seruest

me I wene with yf and with and, I tell the they haue done it, and that wyll I make good on thy bodye traytour. And therwith (as in a great anger) he clapped hys fyste on the boȝde a great rappe, at whych token geuen, one cried treason without the chamber, & therwith a dooȝe clapped, and in came rushyng men in harneyes as manye as the chamber could hold. And anone the protectoure sayed to the loȝd Hastynges, I arrest the traytour, what me my loȝd quod he, yea ẏ traytour quod the protectour. And one let flye at the loȝd Stanley, which shroncke at the stroacke and fell vnder the table, oȝ els hys head had bene cleft to the teth, foȝ as shoȝtly as he shrancke, yet ranne the bloud aboute his eares. ẋ Then was the Archebishop of Yoȝke and doctour Moȝton bishoppe of Ely & the loȝde Stanley taken & diuers other, whiche were bestowed in dyuers chambers, saue the loȝde Hastynges (whom the protectour cõmaunded to spede & shryue him apace) foȝ by sainct Paule (quod he) I wyll not dyne tyll I se thy head of, it boted hym not to aske why, but heuily he toke a priest at auenture and made a shoȝte shrift, foȝ a lenger woulde not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to his dyner, which might not go to it tyll this murther were done, foȝ sauyng of his vngracious othe. So was he brought furthe into the grene besyde the chapel within the towȝe, & his head layed doune on a logge of tymber ẋẋ that lay there foȝ buildyng of the chapel, & there tyrannously striken of, and after his body & head were enterred at Wyndesoȝe by hys maister kynge Edward the foȝth, whose soules Jesu pardon. Amen.

A meruelous case it is to heare, either ẏ warnynges that he should haue voyded oȝ ẏ tokens of that he could not voyde. Foȝ the next night before his death, the loȝde Stanley sent to hym a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requiryng hym to ryse and ryde awaye wyth hym, foȝ he was disposed vtterlye no lenger foȝ to abyde, foȝ he had a fearfull dreame in the which he thought that a boȝe with hys tuskes so rased them bothe by the heades that the bloud ran aboute bothe their ẋẋẋ shoulders, and foȝ asmuch as the protectour gaue the boȝe foȝ his cognisaunce, he ymagined that it should be he. This dreame made suche a fearfull impression in hys harte, that he was throughly determyned no lenger to tary but had his hoȝse redy, yf the loȝde Hastynges would go with hym. So that they would ryde so farre that night, ẏ they shoulde be out of daunger by the next day. A good loȝd (quod ẏ loȝd Hastynges) to the messenger, leaneth my loȝde thy maister so much to suche tryfles, and hath suche faithe in dreames, whych either his awne feare phantasieth, oȝ do ryse in the nightes rest by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is playne wichcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were xl tokens of thinges to come, why thinketh he not that we might as likely make theim truely by oure goyng yf we were caught & brought backe, (as frendes fayle fliers) foȝ then had the boȝe a cause lykely to race vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled foȝ some falshead, wherefoȝe either is there peryl, noȝ none there is deede, oȝ if any be, it is rather in goyng

then

then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in peril one way or other, yet had I leauer ỳ men should se it were by other mens falshed, thē thynke it were either our awne faute or faynte feble hart, & therfore go to thy maister & cōmende me to him & saye that I praye him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure hym, I am assured of the man he wotteth of, as I am sure of myne awne hand. God send grace (quod the messenger) & so departed. Certeyn it is also that in rydyng towarde ỳ towre the same mornyng in whiche he was beheaded, hys horsse that he accustomed to ryde on stombled with him twyse or thryse al most to the fallyng, which
x thyng although it happeth to them dayly to whom no mischaūce is to-
warde, yet hath it bene as an olde euyll token obserued as a goyng to-
ward mischiefe. Now this that followeth was no warning but an enui-
ous scorne, the same morning ere he were vp from his bed where Sho-
res wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward
sonne to the lorde Haward (whyche lord was one of the priueyest of the
lord protectours counsaill and doyng) as it were of curtesye to accom-
paignye hym to the counsaile, but of truthe sent by the lorde protectour
to hast him thetherward.

This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastynges stayed a while commo-
xx nyng with a priest, whō he met in ỳ Towrestrete, brake the lordes tale,
saiyng to him merely, what my lord I pray you come on, wherfore talk
you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, & laughed
vpon hym, as though he would saye, you shall haue nede of one sone:
But lytle wyst the other what he mēt (but or night these wordes were
well remēbred by thē that hard them) so the true lorde Hastynges litle
mistrusted, & was neuer merier, ner thought his life in more suretie in
al his dayes, which thyng is often a signe of chaūge: but I shall rather
let any thyng passe me then the bayne surety of mans mynde so neare
his death, for vpō the very towre wharffe, so neare the place where his
xxx head was of so sone after, as a mā might wel cast a balle, a pursyuaūt of
his awne called Hastynges mete with him, & of their metyng in ỳ place
he was put in remēbraunce of another tyme, in whiche it happened thē
to mete before together in the place, at which tyme the lord Hastynges
had bene accused to kyng Edward by the lord Ryuers the quenes bro-
ther, in so muche that he was for a whilew, hich lasted not long highly in
the kinges indignacion, as he nowe mette ỳ same pursiuaūt in the same
place, the ieoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke
with him therof, with whō he had talked in the same place of that mat-
ter, & therfore he sayed, Ah Hastynges, art thou remēbred whē I mette
xl the here once with an heauy hart? Ye my lord (quod he) ỳ I remembre
well, & thanked be to God they gat no good ner you no harme therby,
thou wouldest saye so (quod he) if thou knewest so much as I do, whych
few knowe yet, & mo shall shortlye, that meant he that therle Ryuers &
the lorde Richard & sir Thomas Vaughā should that day be beheaded
at Pomfrete, as thei were in dede, which act he wist wel should be done,

but nothyng ware that ỹ axe hong so nere his awne head. In faith ma (quod he) I was neuer so sozy ner neuer stode in so greate daunger of my lyfe as I dyd when thou & I mette here, & lo the wozlde is turned nowe, nowe stand myne enemies in the daũger as thou mayst happe to hear moze hereafter, & I neuer in my lyfe merier noz neuer in so great surety, I pzaye God it pzoue so (quod Hastinges, pzoue quod he: doubtest thou that) nay nay I warraũt the, & so in maner displeased he entered into the Towze, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard.

O lozde God the blyndnesse of our moztall nature, whẽ he most feared, he was in moste suretye, and when he reconed him selfe moste surest, he lost hys lyfe, & that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man a good knight & gentle, of great aucthozitie with his pzince, of liuynge somwhat dissolute, playne and open to his enemy, and sure and secrete to hys frende, easy to begyle, as he that of good harte and courage fozesawe no perilles, a louynge man and passyng welbeloued, very faythfull and trustie ynough, but trustynge to muche was hys destruction as you maye perceyue.

Nowe flewe the fame of thys lozdes death thzough the cytie & farther about, lyke a wynde in euery mans eare, but the Pzotectoure immediatly after dyner (entending to set some colour vpõ the matter) sent in all the hast foz many substancial men out of the cytie into the Towze, and at their commyng hym selfe with the duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euil fauoured bziganders, such as no mã would wene that they would haue bouchesafed to haue put on their backes, excepte some sodeyne necessitie had cõstraigned them. Then the lozd pzotectoz shewed them, that the lozd Hastynges & other of his cõspiracy had contriued to haue sodeynly destroyed hym and the duke of Buckyngham there thesame daie in counsail, and what they entẽded farther, was yet not well knowen, of whych their treason he had neuer knowlege befoze x. of the cloke thesame fozenone, which sodeyn feare dzaue them to put on suche harnesse as came next to their handes foz their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that would haue done it, & thus he required them to repozt. Euery man answered fayze as though no mã mistrusted ỹ matter, which of trueth no man beleued. Yet foz ỹ further appeasyng of ỹ peoples myndes, he sent immediatly after dynner an Heralde of armes with a pzoclamacion thzough the cytie of London which was pzoclaymed in the kynges name, that the lozd Hastinges with diuers other of his trayterous purpose had befoze conspired, the same daye to haue slayne the pzotectour and the duke of Buckyngham sittyng in counsaill, & after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the kyng and the realme at their pleasure, and therby to pill and spoyle whom they lyst vncomptrolled, & muche matter was deuised in the same pzoclamaciõ to the slaunder of the lozd Hastynges, as that he was an euyll consailoure to the kynges father, entisyng hym to manye thynges highly redoundyng to the diminishyng of hys honoure and to

the

the vniuersall hurte of hys realme by hys euyll compaignie and siniſter
procuryng and vngracious example, aſwell in many other thynges as
in vicious liuynge and inordinate abuſyon of his body, bothe with ma-
ny other and eſpecial with Shores wyfe whych was one of his ſecrete
counſaill of this heynous treaſon, with whom he laye nightly, and na-
mely the night paſſed next before his death, ſo that it was the leſſe mar-
ueill yf vngracious liuynge brought hym to an vnhappy ende, whyche
he was now put to by the cõmaundement of the kynge his highnes ⁊ of
his honorable and faithfull counſaile, bothe for his demerites beynge
x ſo openly taken in hys falſe contriued treaſon, ⁊ alſo leaſt the delaiynge
of his execucion might haue encoraged other miſcheuous perſons par-
teners of hys conſpiracy, to gather and aſſemble them ſelues together
in makyng ſo great commocion for hys deliueraunce, whoſe hope nowe
beyng by his well deſerued death pollytickely repreſſed, all the realme
ſhall by Goddes grace reſte in good quyet and peace. Nowe was thys
proclamacion made within twoo houres after he was beheaded, and it
was ſo curiouſly endyted and ſo fayre writen in Parchement in a fayre
ſette hande, and therewith of it ſelfe ſo long a proceſſe, that euery chyld
might perceyue that it was prepared and ſtudyed before (and as ſome
xx men thought, by Cateſby) for all the tyme betwene hys death and the
proclamacion proclaimynge, coulde ſkant haue ſuffyced vnto the bare
wrytyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper and ſcribeled further in
haſte at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaimynge thereof, one that
was ſcolemayſter at Paules ſtandynge by and comparyng the ſhorte-
neſſe of the tyme wyth the length of the matter layed to theim that
ſtoode aboute hym, here is a gaye goodlye caſte, foule caſte awaye for
haſt. And a marchaunte that ſtoode by hym layed that it was wrytten
by inſpiracyon and propheſye. Nowe then by and by, as it were for an-
ger and not for coueteous, the Protectoure ſent ſir Thomas Haward
xxx to the houſe of Shores wyfe (for her huſbande dwelt not wyth her)
whiche ſpoyled her of all that euer ſhe had, aboue the valure of twoo or
thre thouſande markes, and ſent her bodye to pryſon. And the Protec-
toure had layde to her for the maner ſake that ſhe was a counſaill with
the lorde Haſtynges to deſtroye hym. In concluſion, when no coloure
could faſten vpon theſe matters, then he layed heynouſly to her charge
that thyng that ſhe could not denye, for all the worlde knewe that it was
true, and that notwithſtandyng euery man laughed to heare it then ſo
ſodeynly, ſo highly taken, that ſhe was naught of her bodye. And for
this cauſe as a godly continent prince cleane and fautleſſe of hym ſelfe,
xl ſent out of heauen into thys vicious worlde, for the amendment of
mens maners, he cauſed the byſhop of London to putte her to open pe-
naunce, goynge before a croſſe one Sondaye at procеſſion with a taper
in her hand. In the whiche ſhe went in countenaunce and peace ſo wo-
manly, ⁊ albeit ſhe was out of all aray ſauyng her kyrtel only, yet went
ſhe ſo fayre and louely, and namely when the wondrynge of the people

caſt a comely red in her chekes, of the whiche ſhe beſore had moſt myſſe, that her great ſhame wanne her much prayſe amongeſt themthat were more amorous of her body then curious of her ſoule, and manye good folke that hated her liuyng and were glad to ſe ſynne corrected, yet pitied they more her penaunce then reioyſed it, when they cõſidered that the protector did it more of corrupt mynd then any vertuous affection.

The deſcripcion of Shores wyfe.

This woman was borne in London, well frended, honeſtly brought vp, and very well maryed, ſauyng ſomewhat to ſone, her huſbande an honeſt and a yonge citezen, godly & of good ſubſtaunce, but foraſmuche as they were coupled or ſhe were well rype, ſhe not very feruently lo- x
ued for whom ſhe neuer longed, whych was ỹ thyng (by chaunce) that the more eaſely made her to enclineto the kynges appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the reſpect of hys royaltie, the hope of gaye apparell, eaſe, pleaſure, and other wanton wealth was hable ſone to perce a ſofte tender hart: but whẽ the kyng had abuſed her, anone her huſband beyng an honeſt manne and one that could his good, not preſumyng to touche a kynges concubyne left her vp to hym altogether. When the kynge dyed, the lorde Haſtynges toke her, whiche in the kynges dayes albeit that he was ſore enamoured with her yet he forbare, either for a pryncely reuerence or for a certayne frendely faithfulneſſe. Proper ſhe xx
was and fayre, nothyng in her body that you could haue chaunged, but yf you would haue wiſhed her ſomewhat higher. Thys ſaye they that knewe her in her youth, ſome ſayed and iudged that ſhe had bene well fauoured, & ſome iudged the contrary, whoſe iudgement ſeameth like as men geſſe the beautye of one long before departed, by a ſcalpe taken out of a chanell houſe, & this iudgemẽt was in the tyme of kyng Henry the eyght, in the. xviij. yere of whoſe reigne ſhe dyed, when ſhe had nothyng but a reueled ſkynne and bone. Her beautye pleaſed not men ſo muche as her pleaſaunt behauoure, for ſhe had a proper wytte & coulde both reade and wryte, mery in compaigny, redy and quicke of anſwere, xxx
neyther mute nor full of bable, ſomtyme tantyng without diſpleaſure, but not without diſporte. Kyng Edward would ſaye ỹ he had thre concubines, which in diuerſe properties diuerſly excelled, one, the merieſt, the other the wylieſt, the thirde the holyeſt harlot in the realme as one, whom no man coulde get out of the churche to any place lightly, but if it were to his bed, ỹ other two were ſomwhat greater perſonages thẽ maiſtres Shore, and neuertheleſſe of their humilitie were cõtent to be nameles & to forbeare the prayſe of theſe properties. But the merieſt was Shores wyfe in whom the kyng therfore toke great pleaſure, for many he had, but her he loued, whoſe fauoure to ſaye the trueth (for it xl
were ſynne to lye on the deuil) ſhe neuer abuſed to any mãs hurt, but to many mens comforte & reliefe. For where the king toke diſpleaſure, ſhe would mitigate & apeacehis mynde, where men were out of fauour, ſhe would bryng thẽ into his grace, for many that had highly offended, ſhe obteyned pardon, & of great forfeatures ſhe gat remiſſion, and finally,

The deſcripcion of kyng Edward thre Concubines.

in many

in many weighty suites she stode many men in great steade, either for none or for very small rewarde: and those rather gaye thē riche, either for that she was content with the dede well done, or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, & to shewe what she was able to do with the kynge, or for that that wanton women and welthy be not alwaies couetous, I doubt not some man wyl thynke this woman to be to slight to be written of emong graue and weyghtie matters, whiche they shall specially thynke that happely sawe her in her age & aduersite, but me semeth the chaunce so much more worthy to be remembred, in how much after wealth she fell to pouertie, and from riches to beggerye vnfrended, out of
x acquaintaunce, after great substaunce after so great fauoure wyth her prince, after as great suite & sekyng to with all those which in those dayes had busynes to spede as many other menne were in theire tymes, whiche be now famous onely by the infamye yf their euyll deedes, her doynges were not much lesse, albeit they be muche lesse remembred, because they were not euyll, for men vse to write an euyll turne in marble stone, but a good turne they wryte in ỹ dust, whych is not worst proued by her, for after her wealth she went beggynge of manye that had begged them selfes if she had not holpen them, suche was her chaunce.

xx Now was it deuised by the protectoure & his counsaile, that ỹ same day that the lord Chamberlayne was headed in the towre of Londō & about thesame houre shoulde be beheaded at Pountrete the earle Ryuers and the lorde Richarde the quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Haute, whiche as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony stratfort by the consent of the lord Hastynges, whych execution was done by the ordre & in the presence of sir Richard Ratclif knight, whose seruice the protectoure specially vsed in the counsaill, & in the execution of suche lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene longe secrete with him hauing experiēce of the world & shewed wytte,
xxx shorte and rude in speche, rough and boysterous of behauour, bolde in mischiefe, as farre from pytie as from all feare of God.

This knight brought these foure persons to the scaffolde at the daye apointed, & shewed to all ỹ people that they were traitours, not suffery̆ng ỹ lordes to speake, & to declare their innocēcy, least their wordes might haue enclined men to pytie them & to hate the protectour & hys part & so without iudgemēt & processe of the lawe caused them to be beheaded without other yearthly gylt, but onely ỹ they were good men & true to the kyng & to nye to the quene: insomuch as sir Thomas Vaughan goyng to his death sayed, A wo worthe thē ỹ toke the prophecie
xl that G. should destroy kyng Edwardes childrē, meaning ỹ by the duke of Clarēce lord George which for ỹ suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he ỹ shall & will accōplishe the prophecie & destroye kyng Edwardes children & all their alyes & frēdes, as it appereth by vs this day, whō I appele to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye.

And then Ratclyffe sayed, you haue well apeled, lay doune youre head, ye quod sir Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, & so that good knight was beheaded and the other three, & buryed naked in the monastery at Pounfret.

When the lorde Hastynges and these other lordes & knightes were thus beheaded and ryd out of the waye, thē the protectour caused it to be proclaymed that the coronacion for diuers great and vrgent causes should be deferred till the seconde daye of Nouember, for then thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter meant, & while the lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awne strengthes, and whyle no man wyste what to thynke nor whom to truste, or euer they shoulde haue tyme and space to digest the matter, and make partes, it were best hastely to pursue his purpose & put hym self in possession of the croune, or menne could haue tyme to deuyse anye wyse to resyste. But nowe was all the study, this matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in suche wyse as it might well be taken. To thys counsaile they toke diuerse suche as they thought mete to be trusted & likely to be enduced to that parte and hable to stand theim in steade, eyther by powre or by polycye. Emong whom, they made a counsaile Edmond Shaa then Mayre of London, whiche vpon trust of hys awne auauncemēt, where he was of a proude harte highly desirous, toke on him to frame the cytie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they toke suche as had wytte, & were in aucthoritie emongest the people for opinion of their learnyng, and had no scrupulous conscience. Emongest these had, they toke Raffe Shaa clearke brother to ỹ Maior, & Freer, Pynkie prouinciall of the Augustine Freers, bothe doctours in diuinitie, bothe great preachers, bothe of more learnyng then vertue, of more fame then learnyng, & yet of more learnyng then trueth. For they were before greatly esteemed emong the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a sermōde in prayse of the Protectour before the coronacion, and Pynkye made one after the coronacion, bothe so full of tedious flattery, that no good mans eares coulde abyde thē, Pynkye in his sermonde so loste his voyce that he was fayne to leaue of and come doune in the myddest, Doctoure Shaa by hys sermonde loste his honesty, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the worlde, into the whyche he durst neuer after muche come abroade, but the Freer forced for no shame, and so it harmed hym the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and many thynke that Pynkey was not of counsaill before the coronacion, but after the cōmon maner fell to flattery after, namely, because his sermond was not incontinent vpon it, but at sainct Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certayne it is that doctour Shaa was of coūsaill in the begynnyng, in so much that they determyned that he should fyrst breake ỹ matter in a sermond at Poules crosse, in whych he shoulde by the aucthoritie of hys preachynge induce the people to encline to ỹ protectours ghostly purpose. But now was al the labour

and

& study in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for wlych the people
should be content to depose the prince & accept the protectour for kyng.
In which diuerse thinges they deuised, but ỹ chief thyng, & the weight
of all that inuencion rested in this, that they shoulde allege bastardy in
kyng Edwarde hym selfe, or in his chyldren, or bothe, so that he shoulde
seme disabled to enherite the croune by the duke of Yorke & the Prince
by him. To lay bastardy in kyng Edward sounded openly to the rebu-
ke of the protectours awne mother, which was mother to them bothe.
For in that poinct could be none other coloure, but to pretende that his
x awne mother was an auoutresse, but neuertheless he woulde ỹ poinct
should be lesse and more fynely, & closely handled, not euen fully playne
and directly, but touched a slope craftely, as though men spared in that
poinct to speake all the trueth for feare of hys displeasure. But that
other poinct concernyng the basterdy they deuised to surmyse in kyng
Edward his chyldren, that would he should be openly declared and en-
forced to the vttermost. The coloure & pretexte wherof cannot be well
perceyued excepte we repete some thinges longe before dooen aboute
kynge Edward hys mariages.

After kyng Edwarde the fourthe had deposed kyng Henry the sixte
xx and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determinyng him selfe to
mary (as was requisite) bothe for hym selfe and for the realme, he sente
therle of Warwike & diuerse other noble men in ambassade to the fren-
che kyng to entreate a mariage betwene the kyng & Bona sister to the
frenche quene, thē beyng in Fraunce. In which thyng therle of War-
wike founde the parties so towarde and wyllyng, that he spedely with-
out any difficultie accordyng to his instruccions brought the matter to
a good conclusion. Nowe happeneth it in the meane season, there came
to make a sute to the kynge by peticion dame Elizabeth Grey (whyche
after was his quene) then a widdowe, borne of noble bloude, specially
xxi by her mother, which was Duchesse of Bedforde, and she was maried
to sir Richarde Wooduile lorde Riuers, her father.

Howbeit, this Elizabeth beyng in seruice with quene Margaret wife
to kyng Henry the sixte, was maried to one Jhon Grey Esquire whom
kyng Henry made knight at the laste batteill of sainct Albones, but litle
while he enioyed his knighthod, for at the same felde he was slain.

After, whē that kyng Edward was kyng and the Erle of Warwike
beyng on his ambassad, this poore lady made sute to the kyng to be re-
stored to suche small lādes as her husbande had geuen her in ioyntoure
whom when the kyng beheldе and harde her speake, as she was bothe
xxii faire and of good fauoure, moderate of stature, well made and verye
wyse, he not alonely pitied her, but also wexed enamored on her, and ta-
kyng her secretely a syde began to enter into talkyng more familierly,
whose appetite whē she perceyued, she verteously denied hym, but that
she dyd so wysely and that with so good manner & woordes so well set,
that she rather kyndled his desyre then quenched it. And finally, after

many a metyng and much wowyng and many great promises she well espied the kyng his affeccio towarde her so greately encreased that she durste somewhat ỹ more boldely saye her mynde, as to him whose hert she perceyued more feruently set then to fall of for a worde. And in conclusion she shewed him plain, that as she wist her self to simple to be hys wife, so thought she her selfe to good to be his cõcubine. The kyng much marueilyng of her constancy, as he that had not been wonte els where so stiefly sayed nay, so muche estemed her continency and chastite, that he sette her vertue in steade of possession and richesse: And thys takyng counsail of his owne desyre determined in haste to mary her. And after & that he was thus appointed & had betwene them twayn ensured her, then asked he counsaill of his secrete frendes, & that in such maner that they myght easly perceyue that it boted not to saye nay. Notwythstãdynge, the duches of Yorke his mother, was so sore moued therewyth that she disswaded ỹ mariage as muche as she possible might: allegyng that it was hys honor, profyte & surety, to mary in some noble progeny out of hys realme, where vpon depended great strengthe to hys estate by that affinite, and greate possibylite of encrease of hys dominions. And that he coulde not well otherwise doe, cõsideryng the erle of Warwike had so farfurthe entered into the matter all ready, which was not lyke to take it well if all hys voyage were in suche wyse frustrate & hys appointement deluded. And she sayed ferther, that it was not princely to mary his owne subiect, no greater occasiõ ledyng there vnto, no possessions ner other commodite dependyng therupõ, but onely as a riche manne would mary hys mayden onely for a litle wanton dotage vpon her person. In whiche mariage many men cõmend more the maydens fortune thẽ the mannes wisedome, & yet she saied that there was more honesty, thẽ honour in this mariage, forasmuch as ther is not betwene a marchaunt & his mayde so greate a difference as betwene a kynge & his subiecte, a greate prince and a poore widowe. In whose persone, all though there were nothyng to be misliked, yet was there saied she, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more metely (quod she) for your estate: yea & maydẽs also, the onely widowhed of dame Elizabeth Grey (although she were in all other poinctes and thynges conuenient for you) should suffice as me thynketh to refrain you from her mariage, sith it is an vnsittyng thynge & a greate blemishe to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nere to approche priesthode in clennesse, as he doeth in dignitie, to be defiled with bygamy in his first mariage. The kyng made his mother an answere part in earnest & parte in playe merely, as he that wyste hym selfe out of her rule: & albeit he would gladly that she should take it well, yet was he at apoinct in his owne minde, toke she it wel or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfy her he saied, that albeit mariage being a spiritual thyng ought rather to be made for the respecte of God, where his grace encli-

neth, the parties ought to encline to loue together (as he trusted it was

in his

in his case) rather then for the regard of any temporall auauntage: yet neuertheles him semed this mariage wel consydered not to be vnpro-fitable, for he reconed the amite of no earthly nacion to bee so necessary for him as the frendshyp of hys owne, which he thoughte likely to bear hym so much the more hartye fauour, in that he disdaygned not to ma-ry wyth one of his owne land: & yet yf outward aliaunce wer thought so requisite, he would find ỹ meanes to entre thereunto muche better by other of his kynne where all the parties coulde be contented, thẽ to mary himselfe wherein he should neuer happely loue, and for the pos-x sibilitie of possessyons lese the fruite and pleasure of this that he had al-ready. For final pleasure taketh a manne of al that euer he hath beside, yf he be wiued agaynste his appetite, and I doubte not (quod he,) but there be as you say other that be in euery poinct comparable with her, and therfore I let not theim that lyke theim to mary theim, no more is it reason that it mislike any man that I mary where it lyketh me. And I am sure, that my cousin of Warwike, neyther loueth me so lytle, to grudge at that that I loue, ner is so vnreasonable to loke that I should in choyse of a wyfe rather bee ruled by hys yie then by myne owne, as though I wer a ward that were boundẽ to mary by the apoinctmẽt of xx a guardon, I would not be a king wyth that condicion to forbear mine owne libertie in choyse of mine own mariage. As for possibilite of more inheritaunce by newe affinitie in straunge landes, is oft the occasion of more trouble thẽ profite. And we haue alredy title by that meanes, as suffiseth to so much as suffiseth to gett & kepe wel in one mans dayes. That she is a wyddow and hath alredy chyldrẽ: By God his blessed la-dy, I am a bacheler and haue some to, & so eche of vs hath a proofe, that neyther of vs is lyke to be barrein. And therfore madame I pray you be content, I trust to God she shal bryng furth a young prynce that shal please you. And as for the bigamy, let the byshop hardely lay it to my xxx charge when I come to take ordres, for I vnderstand it is forbidden a prieste, but I neuer wyste that it was forbidden a prince. The duchesse with these wordes nothinge apeased, and seyng the kynge so sette on that she could not plucke him backe, so highly she disdaigned it, that vn-der pretexte of her duty to Godward, she deuysed to disturbe this ma-riage, & rather to helpe that he should mary one dame Elizabeth Lucy whom the kyng not long before had gotten wyth chyld, wherfore the kyng hys mother obiected openly agaynst thys mariage, as it were in discharge of her conscięce) that the kynge was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy and her husband before God, by reason of whiche wordes suche xl obstacle was made in that matter, that eyther the bishoppe durste not or the kyng woulde not procede to the solemnisacion of the mariage, til hys fame wer crerely purged, & the trueth wel & opẽly testified. Wher-vpon dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng hys mother and many other put in good comfort to affirme ỹ she was assured to the kynge, yet when she was solempny sworne to say ỹ

truth, ſhe confeſſed ſhe was neuer enſured. Howbeit ſhe ſayd, his grace ſpake ſuche louing wordes to her, that ſhe verely hoped that he would haue maried her, and that yf ſuch kynde wooydes had not bene, ſhe woulde neuer haue ſhewed ſuch kindneſſe to him, to lette hym ſo kyndely gette her wyth chylde. This examinacion ſolemply taken, it was clerely proued that there was no impediment to let the king to mary, wherfore, he ſhortely after at Grafton beſyde Stonyſtratforde maryed the lady Elizabeth Grey very priuely, which was his enemies wife and had prayed hartely for his loſſe, in the which God loued her better then to graunte her her bone, for then had ſhe not bene his wyfe: And after that ſhe was crouned quene, and her father was created erle Riuers, and her ſonne created Marques Dorſet. But when the erle of Warwike vnderſtode of this mariage, he toke it ſo highly, that thereof enſued much trouble and great bloudſhed, as is declared before in the ſtory of Edward the. iiij.

I haue reherſed this mariage somewhat the more at length, becauſe it might thereby the better apere vpon how ſlipper a ground ỹ protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edward hys chyldren to be baſtardes, but the inuencion, as ſimple as it was lyke theim to whom it ſuffiſe to haue ſomewhat to ſay, while they were ſure to be not compelled to no larger proſe then theim ſelues liſte to make.

Now to returne where I left, as I beganne to ſhew you, it was by the protector and his counſail concluded that this doctor Shaa ſhould in a ſermõ at Paules croſſe ſignifie to the people that neither king Edwarde him ſelfe nor the duke of Clarence were lawfully begotten, nor were the very childrẽ of the duke of Yorke, but begottẽ vnlawfully by other perſons by aduoutry of the duches their mother. And that dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and ſo prince Edward and al the childzen begottẽ on the quene wer baſtardes. And accordyng to this deuiſe, doctor Sha ỹ ſonday after at Paules croſſe in a great audiẽce (as alway a great nomber aſſembled to his preaching) came into the pulpyt takyng for hys Theme: *Spuria uitulamina non dabunt radices altos. Sapien. iiij.* that is to ſaye, baſtarde ſlippes ſhall neuer take deepe rootes: wherevpon when he had ſhewed the great grace that God geueth & ſecretely infoundeth in right generacion after ỹ lawes of matrimony, then declared he that thoſe childzen commenly lacked ỹ grace (& for the puniſhment of their parentes) were for ỹ moſt part vnhappy which were gotten in baſt, and ſpecyally in aduoutry, of which (though ſome by the ignorauncie of the worlde and the trueth hid from knowledge) haue enherited for a ſeaſon other mennes landes, yet God alwaye ſo prouydeth that it contynueth not in their bloud long, but the truethe commynge to lyghte, the ryghtefull enheritours be reſtored, and the baſtard ſlippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had laied for the proſe and confirmacion of this ſentence, examples taken oute of the olde teſtamente and other auncient hyſtoryes, then

began

began he to discend to the praise of the lord Richard duke of Yorke, cal-
lyng him father to the protectour & declared his title to the croune by
inheritaunce and also by entaile authorysed by parliamēt after ỹ death
of kyng Henry the fyrt. Then shewed he that the lorde protector, was
onely the ryght heire, of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared he
that king Edward was neuer lawfully maried to ỹ quene, but his wife
before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, & so hys children were bastar-
des. And besydes that, that neyther kyng Edward hymself nor ỹ duke
of Clarence (emōgest thē that were secrete in the duke of Yorkes hou-
x sholde) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble duke
as those that by their fauoures more resembled other knowen menne
then him, from whose verteous condicions he sayd also, that king Ed-
warde was far of. But the lord protectour (quod he) that veray noble
prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowes, aswel in all princely be-
haueour, as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage, representh the
very face of ỹ noble duke his father. This is, quod he, the fathers own
figure, this is his owne countenaunce, the verie print of his visage, the
sure vndoubted ymage, the playne expresse lykenesse of ỹ noble duke.
Now was it before deuysed that in the speakyng of these wordes, the
xx protector should haue come in emongest the people to ỹ sermond ward
to thende that these wordes so metyng wyth his presence, might haue
bene taken emongest the herers, as though the holy ghost had put thē
in the preachers mouth, and should haue moued the people euen there
to haue cryed, kyng Richard, that it might haue bene after sayed that
he was specyally chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but thys de-
uise quayled, eyther by the protectours neglygence or the preachers
ouer hasty diligence. For while the protectour, founde by the waye ta-
rynge, leaste he should haue preuented these wordes, the doctour fea-
xxx ryng that he shoulde come or hys sermon could come to those wordes,
hastyng his matter therto, he was come to theim and paste theim, and
entred into other matters or the protector came, whom whē he beheld
commynge, he sodainly left the matter which he had in hand, and with-
out any deduccyon thereunto out of all ordre, & out of al frame began
to repete those wordes agayn. This is the very noble prince the espe-
ciall patrone of knightly prowes, whiche aswell in all pryncely behaue-
oure as in the liniamentes and fauour of hys visage representeth the
veraye face of the noble duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers
owne figure, this is his owne countenaūce, the very print of his visage
the sure vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble du-
xl ke, whose remēbraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wor-
des were in speakyng, the protectour accompaigned with the duke of
Buckinghā, went through the people vp into the place where the doc-
tors stand, where they hard out the sermond: but the people wer so far
from cryinge kyng Richard, that they stoode as they had bene turned
into stoones for wonder of this shameful sermonde: after whiche once

ended ỹ preacher gat hym home & neuer after durst loke out for shame but kept him out of sighte as an owle, and when he asked any of his old frẽdes, what the people talked of him, although that his own cõscience well shewed hym ỹ they talked no good, yet when the other answered hym, that there was in euery mannes mouth of hym much shame spoken, it so strake him too the harte that in fewe dayes after he withered awaye.

Thẽ on the tuesday after next folowing this sermond, being ỹ. xvii. day of June, there came to the Guyld Hall of Londõ the duke of Buckyngham and diuerse lordes and knightes mo then happely knew the p message that they brought. And at the east ende of the hal wher ỹ hoystynges be kepte, the duke and the maire & the other lordes sat doune, and the aldermen also, al the commons of the citie beinge, assembled & standynge before theim. After scilence commaunded vpon a great pain in the protectours name: The duke stode vp, and as he was well learned and of nature meruellously well spokẽ, he sayed to the people with a cleare and loude voyce: Frendes, for the zeale and hertie fauoure that we beare you, we be come too breke of a matter ryght greate and weyghty, and no lesse weyghty then pleasynge to God and profytable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realm, more profytable, then to pp you the citizens of thys noble cytie. For why, the thyng that you haue long lacked, and as we wel know sore longed for, that you would haue geuen great good for, that you would haue gone farre to fetche: that thyng we be come hyther to bryng you, wythout your labour, pain, cost auenture or ieopardie. What thyng is that? Certes the surety of your own bodies, the quiet of your wiues and doughters, and the sauegard of your goodes: Of all whych thynges in tymes passed you stoode in doubt. For who was he of you all that could recon hym selfe Lord of hys own good emongst so many gynnes and trappes wer set therfore emong so much pyllyng and pollyng, emonge so manye taxes and tal- ppp liages, of which there was neuer ende, and oftymes no nede, or yf any were, it grew rather of riote or of vnreasonable wast, then any necessary honourable charge, so that there was dayly plucked and pylled from good and honeste menne great substaunce of goodes, to be lashed out emong vnthryftes, so farre furth that fyftenes sufficed not, nor any vsuall termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of benevolẽce and good wyll, the Commyssyoners so much of euery manne toke, as no manne woulde wyth hys good wyll haue geuen. As thoughe the name of benevolence had signified, that euery manne shoulde paye, not what he of hym selfe of hys good wyll luste to graunte, but what the pl king of his good will lust to take, who neuer asked litle, but euery thing was haunsed aboue the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fynes into raunsomes, smalle trespaces into mesprysion, mesprysion into treason, where of I thynke that no manne loketh that we shall remẽbre you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgottẽ which was

The oracion of the duke of Buckyngha made to the citezens of London.

Benevolence

was for a worde spoken, in hast cruelly behedded. This Burdet was a marchaũt dwellyng in Chepesyde at ỹ signe of ỹ croune, which now is ỹ signe of ỹ floure de luse ouer agaynst soper lane: This man merely in rufflyng time of king Edward ỹ. iiiij. his rage, sayd to his owne sonne that he would make him inheritor of ỹ croune, meaning his own house but these wordes king Edward made to be miscõstrued & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of ỹ realme: wherfore within lesse place then. iiij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepesyde, by the misconstruynge of the lawes of the realme for the
x princes pleasure, wyth no lesse honour to Merkam chiefe Justice then which lost his office rather then he would assent to that iudgemẽt: then to the dishonesty of those that either for feare or flattery gaue that iudgement. What nede I to speake of syr Thomas Cooke, Alderman and Mayre of this noble citie, who is of you eyther for negligẽce that wotteth not, or so forgetful that he remembreth not, or so hard harted that he pitieth not that worshipful mannes losse: what speake I of losse, hys wonderful spoyle and vndeserued destruction, onely because it happened him to fauour them whom the prynce fauoured not. We nede not reherse of these any mo by name, sith I doubt not ỹ here be many present that eyther in theimselues or their nigh frendes, aswell their goo-
xx des as their persones were greatly endaũgered either by fained querels or smal matters aggrauated wt heynous names, & also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretexte. For sith ỹ king preuentyng ỹ time of his enheritaunce attayned the croune by battail, it suffised in a rych man for a pretext of treason, to haue bene of kynrede or aliaunce, nere of familiaritie, or longer of acquaintaunce wyth anye of those that were at any tyme the kynges enemies, which was at one
xxx time or another more then halfe the realme. Thus were neither your goodes, neither landes in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in ieopardy, besyde the comen auenture of open warre, which albeit, that it is euer the wel and occasyõ of much mischief, yet is it neuer so mischeuous, as wher any people fal in deuision, and at distaunce emõg theimselues: and in no realm earthly so dedly and so pestilẽt, as when it happeneth emongest vs. And emong vs neuer contynued so long discensiõ nor so many battailles in any season, nor so cruell nor so dedly foughtẽ, as were in the kyng his daies that dedde is, God forgeue it hys solle. In whose tyme, and by whose occasion, what about the gettyng of the garlande, keppyng it, lesyng and winnyng agayn, it hath coste more Englysh bloud then hath the twise winning of Fraunce. In which inward
xl warre emongest our selues hath bene so great effusyon of the auncient noble bloud of this realme, that scarcely the half remayneth, to ỹ great enfeblyng of this noble lande, besyde many a good towne ransaked & spoyled by them, that haue been goyng to the felde, or returnyng from thence, and peace after, not much surer then warre. So that no tyme was ther in the which riche men for their money, and great menne for

their landes, or some other for some feare or for some displeasure were
out of perel. For whom mistrusted he that mistrusted his own brother:
Whom spared he that kylled hys owne brother: Could not suche ma-
ner of folke that he moste fauoured do somwhat (we shal for hys honor
spare to speake) howbeit, thys ye wote well all, that whoso was beste
bare euer the lest rule, and more suite in his daies was to Shores wife
a vile and abhominable strompet then to al the lordes in England, ex-
cept vnto those that made her their proctour, which simple womā was
yet well named and honest, tyll the kyng for hys wanton luste and syn-
ful affectyon bereft her from her husbande, a ryght honeste manne and r
substancyall emongest you. And in that poynct, which in good faythe I
am sory to speake of, sauynge that it is bayne to kepe in counsayll that
thyng that all men knoweth, ỹ king his gredy appetite was insaciable
and euery where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no women was
there any where young or olde, poore or ryche, whom he set his yie vpō
whom he any thing liked either for persone or beautie, speche, pace or
countenaunce, but without any feare of God, or respecte of his honour,
murmure or grudgyng of the world, he woulde importunately pursue
his appetite and haue her, to the great distruccion of many a good wo-
man, and great dolour to their husbandes and frendes, whiche beyng rr
honest people of thē selues, so muche regarded the clēnesse of their hou-
ses, the chastitie of their wyues and childrē, that them wer leuer to lose
all that they haue beside, then to haue such a vilanie done to theim. And
albeit that wyth this and other importable dealyng, the realme was in
euery place anoyed, yet specially you the cytezens of this nobilitie, as
for that emongest you is most plentie of such thynges as minister mat-
ter to such iniuries, as for that you were nerest hande, sythe that nere
here about was his moste common abydyng. And yet be ye people whō
he had as synguler a cause wel and truely to entreat, as any part of his
realme: not onely for that the prynce by this noble citie, as of his specy- rrr
all chambre and renoumed citie of this realme, much honourable fame
receyueth emongest all other nacyōs, but also for that you not without
your greate cost and sondry fauoures and yeoperdyes in all his war-
res bare euer your especyall fauour to hys part: whyche youre kynde
myndes borne to the house of Yorke, sithe he hath nothynge worthely
requyted you, there is of the house now, which by God hys grace shal
make you full recompence, which thyng to shew you, is the whole some
and effect out of errande. It shall not, I wote well nede, that I reherse
vnto you agayn that you al ready haue heard of hym that that can bet-
ter tell it, and of whome I am sure ye wyl better beleue it (and reason rl
it is that it so be) I am not so proud to looke therfore that you shoulde
receyue my wordes of so great aucthoritie as the preachers of ỹ word
of God, namely amā so connynge and so wyse, that no manne wotteth
better what he shuld do and say, and therto so good and verteous that
he would not say the thing, which he wist he should not say in the pulpit

namelye, into the whiche no honeste man cometh to lie: which honourable preacher ye wel remẽbre, substãcially declared to you at Paules crosse on Sondaye last paste, the right and title of the moste excellente Prince Richard duke of Gloucester nowe protectour of thys realme, which he hath vnto the croune of the kyngdome of the same. For that worshipfulman made it perfectely and groundely open vnto you. The children of kyng Edward the fourth were neuer lawfully begottẽ, for as much as the kyng (liuyng his very wife dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer lawfully maried to the quene their mother whose bloud sauynge
x he set his volupteous pleasure before hys honor, was full vnmetely to be matched wyth hys (the mynglyng of which two bloudes together hath bene the effusyõ of a great part of the noble bloud of thys realme) wherby it may well be sene, that maryage was not well made of which there is so much mischiefe growen. For lacke of whyche lawful copulacyon, and also of other thynges whych the sayed worshypfull doctor, rather sygnyfyed then fully explaned, and whyche thyng shal not be spoken for me, as the thynge that euery manne forbeareth to saye that he knoweth, in auoyding the displeasure that my noble Lorde Protector bearyng as nature requireth a filiall reuerence to the duches hys mo-
xx ther. For these causes before remembred I saye, that for lake of yssue lawfully commynge of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose Royal bloud the crounes of England and of Fraunce, are by the high aucthoritie of Parliament entailed, the right and title of ỹ same is by iust course of enherytaunce accordyng to the common lawe of thys land, deuoluted and come vnto the moste excellent prince the lorde protectoure, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne, of the fore remembred noble duke of Yorke. Whych thyng well consydered and the knightely prowesse wyth many vertues whych in hys noble persone syngulerlye dooe habound: The nobles and commons of this realme, and specyally
xxx of the North partes, not willing any bastard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusyons in the same before vsed and exercysed anye longer too continue, haue fully condiscended and vtterly determyned to make humble petycyon vnto the puysant Prince the Lorde protectour, that it may like hys grace at our humble requeste, too take vpon hym the guydyng and gouernaunce of thys realme, to the wealth and increace of the same, accordyng to hys very ryght and iust title, whych thynge I wot wel he wylbe loth to take vpon hym as he whose wysedome wel perceyueth, the labour and study bothe of mynde and bodye that shal come therwyth to hym, whosoeuer shall occupy that rome. I
xl dare say he wyl yf he take it (for I warrant you that that that rome is no childes office) and that the great wyse man wel perceyued when he sayed (*Væ regno cuius Rex puer est*, wo to that realme whose kyng is a chylde, wherfore, so much more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so ryghtoully entitled therto is of a sad age, & ther to of so great wysedome, ioyned wyth so great experience, which albeit

he wylbe lothe as I haue sayd to take vpon him, yet shall he too our pe-
tition in that behalf the moze graciously encline, yf ye the woꝛshypfull
citezens of this citie being the chiefe citie of the realme ioyne wyth vs ỹ
nobles in our sayed request, which foꝛ your owne weale we doubte not
but that ye wyll. And yet neuertheleſſe, we pꝛay you so to do, whereby
ye shall do great pꝛofyt to all this his realme: Beſyde that, in choſynge
them so good a kinge, it shalbe to your self a speciall commoditie to whō
his maiestie shal euer after, beare so much the moze tēdze fauour, in how
much he shall perceyue you the moze pꝛone and beneuolentely mynded
towarde hys eleccion: wherein dere frendes, what mynd you haue we ꝓ
require you plainely to shew vs. When the duke had sayed and loked
that the people whome he hoped that the Maire hadde framed befoze,
shoulde after this flatteryng pꝛeposicion made, haue cryed kynge Ri-
chard, kyng Richard, al was styl and mute and not one woozde answe-
red to: wher wyth the duke was meruelously abaſshed, and takyng the
Mayze nere to him, wyth other that wer about him pꝛiuy to ỹ matter,
sayed vnto theim softely. What meaneth this, that the people be so stil.
Sir, quod the Maire, percase they perceyue you not well, that shall we
amend quod he, if that wyl helpe, and ther with somwhat louder reher-
sed thesame matter again, in other oꝛdze and other woꝛdes so well and ꝓ
oꝛnately, and neuertheleſſe so euydently and playn, wyth voyce, gestur
and countenaũce so comely ⁊ so conuenient, that euery man much mar-
ueyled that harde him and thought that they neuer hard in their liues
so euyll a tale so well told. Bnt wer it foꝛ wonder oꝛ feare, oꝛ that eche
loked that other should speake fyꝛst, not one woꝛd was ther answered
of all the people that stode befoze, but al were as styll as the midnyght,
not so much as rounyng emong them, by which they myght seme once
to common what was best to do. When the Mayze sawe this, he wyth
other parteners of the counsayll, dꝛew about the duke and sayd that ỹ
people had not bene accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Re-
coꝛder, which is the mouthe of the citie, and happely to him they wyll ꝓ
answere. Wyth that the Recoꝛder called Thomas Filz Willyā, a sadde
manne and an honest, which was but newlye come to the office, and ne-
uer had spoken to the people befoze, and loth was wyth that matter to
begyn, notwithstanding, there vnto commaunded by the Maire, made
reherſall to the commons of that whych the duke had twyse purposed
hym self, but ỹ recoꝛder so tẽpered hys tale, that he shewed euery thing
as the duke hys woozdes were, and no part of hys owne, but all thys
no chaunge made in ỹ people, whych alway after one stode as they had
bene amased. Where vpon, the duke rouned wyth the Maire and said,
this is a merueylous obstinate scilence, and therewyth turned too the ꝓ
people agayne with these woꝛdes. Dear frendes, we come to moue you
to that thing whiche paraduenture we so greately neded not, but that
the loꝛdes of this realme and commons of other partes might haue ſuf-
ſiſed, sauynge suche loue we beare you, and so muche set by you, that we

would

woulde not gladly do wythout you, that thyng in whiche to be parteners is your weale and honoure, whych as to vs semeth you se not or waye not: Wherfore we requyre you to geue vs an answere, one or other, whether ye be minded as all the nobles of the realme be, too haue this noble prince now protector to be your kyng. And at these wordes the people began to whisper emōg them selfes secretely, that the voyce was neyther loude nor baise, but like a swarme of bees, tyl at the last, at the neither ende of the hal a bushement of the dukes seruauntes & one Nashfeelde and other belongyng to the protectour with some prentices and laddes, that thrusted into the hal emongest the preace, begā sodainly at mennes backes to crye out as lowde as they could, kyng Richard, king Richard, and there threw vp their cappes in token of ioye, and they that stode before cast backe their heddes marueyling therat, but nothing they sayed. And when the duke and the Mayre saw thys maner, they wysely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly crye & a ioyful to heare euery man wyth one voyce and no man saiyng nay. Wherfore frendes (quod the duke,) sith we perceyue that it is all your whole myndes to haue thys noble man for your king, wherof we shall make his grace so effectuall reporte that we doubt not, but that it shall redounde to your great wealth and commoditie. We therfore requyre you that to morow ye go wyth vs and we wyth you to his noble grace to make our humble peticion and request to him in maner before remembred. And therwith the lordes came doune and the compaignie dissolued & departed the more part al sad, some with glad sembleaunce that were not very mery, and some of them that came wyth the duke, not hable to dissemble their sorow, were fain euen at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the dolour of their hartes brast out of their yies.

Then on the morow the Maire and aldremē and chief commoners of the citie in their best maner appareled, assemblyng them together at Paules, resorted to Baynardes castle, where the Protectour laye, to which place also accordynge to the appointment repaired the duke of Buckyngham and dyuerse nobles wyth hym, besydes many knightes and gentlemen. And therupon the duke sent woorde to the Lord protectour of the beyng there of a great honourable compaygny, to moue a greate matter to his grace. Wherupon the protectour made greate difficulte to come doune to theim, except he knewe some parte of their errande, as though he doubted and partely mystrusted the commynge of such a nombre to hym so sodainly, wythout any warnynge or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the duke had shewed this to the Maire and other, that they might thereby se howe lytle the protectour loked for this matter, they sent agayn by the messenger such louing message, and therwyth so humbly besought hym to vouchsafe that they might resort to hys presence to purpose their entent of which they would to none other persone any part disclose. At ỹ last he

last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a ga-
lary ouer them with a byshop on euery hand of him, where they beneth
might se him and speake to him, as though he would not yet come nere
theim tyl he wist what they meant. And therevpō the duke of Buckin-
gham first made humble peticion to him on the behalfe of theim al, that
hys grace would pardon theim and licence them to purpose vnto hys
grace the entent of their commyng wythout his displeasure, wythout
which pardon obteyned, they durst not be so bold to moue him of that
matter. In which, albeit they meant as muche honour to hys grace as
wealth to all the realm beside, yet were they not sure how hys grace
would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the protector
as he was very gentle of hym self and also longed sore apparantly to
know what thei meant, gaue him leaue to purpose what him lyked, be-
rely trustyng for the good mynd that he bare them al, none of thē any
thyng woulde entende to him ward, wherwyth he thought to be gre-
ued. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wered
he bold to shew hym their entent and purpose, wyth all the causes mo-
uyng theim therto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to beseche his
grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vn-
to the realm now wyth his yie of pitie to behold the long contynued di-
stresse and decaie of the same, and to set his gracious hand to ỹ redresse
and amendement therof by takynge vpon hym the croune and gouer-
naunce of the realme accordyng to hys right and title lawfully discen-
ded vnto him, and to the laud of God, profite & surety of the land & vn-
to his grace so muche the more honor and lesse pain, in that that neuer
prince reygned vpon anye people that were so glad to lyue vnder hys
obeysaunce as the people of thys realme vnder his.

When the protector had heard the proposicion, he loked very stran-
gely therat, and made answer, that albeit he knew partely the thyngs
by theim alleged to be true, yet such entiere loue he bare to kyng Ed-
ward and hys chyldren, & so much more regarded hys honour in other
realmes about, then the croune of any one, of which he was neuer de-
syrous, so that he could not fynd in hys hert in this poinct to encline to
their desyre, for in al other nacios where the truth wer not wel knowē,
it shoulde paraduenture be thought that it were hys owne ambicious
mynd and deuyse to depose the prince and to take hym selfe the croune,
wyth which infamy he would in no wise haue his honor steined for any
croune, in which he had euer perchaunce perceiued much more labour
and peyn, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he ỹ woulde not
and wer not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onely pardo-
ned them of the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for
the loue and harty fauour they bare hym, prayyng them for his sake to
beare the same to the prince vnder whom he was and would be cōtent
to lyue, and wyth his labour & counsayll as far as it should like the king
to vse it, he woulde doo hys vttermoste deuoier to sette the realme in

good

good estate which was al redy in the lytle tyme of his protectourshyp, (lauded be God) wel begon, in that the malice of such as were before ỹ occasion of the contrary and of new entended to be, were now partely by good policy, partely more by God his speciall prouidence, then mannes prouision, repressed and put vnder.

Upon thys answere geuẽ, the duke of Buckynghã by the protector his lycence a litle rounded, as wel wyth other noble men about him as with the Maire and recorder of London. And after ỹ (vpon like perdõ desired and obteyned) he shewed aloude vnto ỹ protectour, for a fynall
x conclusion that the realme was apoynted that kyng Edward his lyne should no longer reigne vpon them, both that they had so far gone that it was now no suretie to retreate (as for that thei thought it for ỹ weal vniuersal to take ỹ way, although thei had not yet begon it.) Wherfore if it would like his grace to take the croune vpon him, they would hũbly beseche him thereunto, & yf he woulde geue thẽ a resolute answere to the contrary (which they would be loth to here) then must they seke and shoulde not fayle to fynd some other nobleman that would. These wordes much moued the protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may wit, woulde neuer haue enclyned therto: but whẽ he sawe
xx there was none other way but that he must take it, or els he and hys both to go from it, he sayed to the lordes and commons, sythe it is wee perceyue wel that all the realme is so set (wherof we be very sory) that they wyl not suffre in any wyse kyng Edward his line to gouerne thẽ, whom no man earthely can gouerne against their wylles: And we also perceiue that no manne is there to whome the crowne can by so iust title appertayne as to our selfe as very right heire lawfully begottẽ of the body of our most dread and dere father Richard late duke of Yorke to which tytle is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commõs of the realme, which we of al tytles possible take for moste effectuall, wee
xxx be content and agre fauourably to encline to your peticion and request and accordynge to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of preheminence and kyngedome of the twoo noble realmes, England & Fraunce, the one from this day forwarde by vs and our heires to rule gouerne and defende, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get again, subdue and establysh for euer in dewe obedience vnto this realme of Englande, the auauncemente wherof we neuer aske of God longer to lyue then we entende to procure and sette furth. Wyth this there was a greate cry and shoute, cryng kyng Richard, and so ỹ lordes went vp to the kyng, and so he was after that daye called. But the
xl people departed talkynge dyuersely of the matter, euery man as hys fantasye gaue him, but much they marueyled of this maner of dealing, that the matter was on both partes made so straunge, as thoughe neuer the one part hath communed wyth the other parte thereof before, when they wyste that there was no manne so dul that heard theim, but he perceyued well ynough that all the matter was made betwene thẽ.

Howebeit

Howbeit, som excused that again, saiyng: al thing must be done in good ordre, and menne must somtyme for the maner sake not bee aknowen, what they knowe. For at the consecracyon of a byshoppe, euery manne perceyueth by payment of hys bulles that he entendeth to be one, yet when he is twyse asked whether he wyl be a byshop, he must twyse say nay, and at the third tyme take it vpon him as compelled therto by his owne wyll. And in a stage playe, the people knowe ryght well that he that playeth in sowdayne, is percase a souter, yet if one of acquaintaūce perchaunce of litle nurture should call him by his name whyle he standeth in his maiestie one of his tormentours might fortune breake hys r head for marryng the play. And so they sayd, these matters be kynges games, as it were stayge playes, and for the most part playd vpō scaffoldes, in whyche poore menne bee but lokers on, and they that wyse be, wyll medle no ferther, for they that steppe vp wyth them whē they cannot play theyr partes, they dysorder the playe and do theim selues no good.

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FINIS.

¶ The tragicall doynges of Kynge Richard the thirde.



x TO the I am to remembre, but more I abhore to write, the miserable tragedy of thys infortunate Prince, which by fraude entered, by tyrannye proceded, and by sodayn deathe ended his infortunate life: But yf I shoulde not declare the flagicious factes of the euyll Princes, alwell as I haue done the notable actes of verteous kinges, I shoulde neither animate, nor incourage rulers of royalmes, Countreyes & Seigniories to folowe the steppes of their profitable progenitors, for to attayne to the type of honour and worldly fame: neither yet aduertise Princes beinge proane to vice and wickednes, to aduoyde and expell all synne and mischiefe, for dread of obloquy and worldly shame: for contrary set to contrary is more apparaunt, as whyte ioyned with black, maketh the fayrer shewe: Wherefore, I wyll procede in his actes after my accustomed vsage.

Richard the third of that name, vsurped the croune of Englande &
xx openly toke vpon him to bee kyng, the nyntene daie of June, in the yere of our lord, a thousand foure hundred. lxxxiij. & in the. xv. yere of Lewes the leuenth then beeyng French kyng: & the morow after, he was proclaymed kyng and with great solempnite rode to Westminster, and there sate in the seate roiall, & called before him the iudges of ỹ realme straightely commaundyng theim to execute the lawe without fauonre or delaie, with many good exhortaciõs (of ỹ which he folowed not one) and then he departed towarde the Abbaye, and at the churche dore he was mett with procession, and by the abbot to hym was deliuered the scepter of saincte Edwarde, & so went and offered to saincte Edwarde
xxx his shrine, while the Monkes sange *Te Deum* with a faint courage, and from the churche he returned to the palaice, where he lodged till the coronacion. And to be sure of all enemies (as he thoughte) he sent for fiue thousand men of the North against his coronaciõ, which came vp in euill appareled and worse harneissed, in rusty harneys, neither defensable nor skoured to the sale, which mustered in Finesbury felde, to the great disdain of all the lookers on.

The fourth daie of July he came to ỹ towre by water with his wife, and the fifth daie he created Edward his onely begotten sonne, a childe of. x. yere olde, prince of wales, & Jhon hawarde, a man of great knowxl lege and vertue (alwell in counsaill as in battaill) he created duke of

Norffolke, and sir Thomas Hawarde hys sonne he created erle of Surrey, and Willyam Lorde Barkeley was then created erle of Notingham, and Fraunces lorde Louell was then made Vicount Louel, and the kynge his chamberlain, and the lorde Stanley was deliuered oute of warde for feare of hys sonne the lorde Straunge, whiche was then in Lancasshire gatherynge menne (as menne sayed) and the saied lorde was made Stuarde of the kynge hys houshoulde, likewyse the Archebishop of Yorke was deliuered: but Morton bishop of Eley, was deliuered to the duke of Buckyngham, to kepe inwarde, whiche sente hym to hys manoure of Brecknoke in Wales, from whence he escaped to kynge Richarde his confusion. The same night the kynge made seuentene knightes of the Bath. The nexte daye he roade through London with greate pompe, and in especiall the duke of Buckyngham was richely appareled and hys horse trapped in blewe beluet enbroudered wyth the naues of cartes burnyng of gold: whyche trapper was borne by fotemen from the grounde, with suche solemne fassion that all men muche regarded it.

On the morowe beeyng the sixt day of July, the kyng came toward hys coronacion into Westminster hall, where hys chapell and all the prelates mitered receiued hym. And so they in ordre of processiō passed forwarde: After the procession folowed therle of Northumberlande wyth a poincteless sword naked, and the lord Stanley bare the Mace of the constableshippe. Therle of Kent bare the seconde swordе on the righte hande of the kynge naked. The Lorde Louell bare an other swordе on the lefte hand. Then folowed the duke of Suffolke with the scepter, and the erle of Lyncolne with the ball and crosse. After theim folowed the newe erle of Surrey with the swordе of estate in a riche skabard. On the right side of him wente the duke of Norfolke bearyng the crowne: then folowed Kyng Richarde in a Circot & robe of purple beluet vnder a canabie borne by the Barones of the fyue portes, goyng betwene the Bishoppes of Bathe and Duresme. The duke of Buckingham wyth the rode of the high stuarde of Englande bare the kyng hys train. After hym folowed therle of Huntyngdon, berynge the quenes scepter, and the Vicount lisle, bearyng the rode wyth the doue, And the erle of Wilshire bare the quenes croune. Then folowed quene Anne daughter to Richard erle of Warwike in robes like to the kyng, betwene two Byshoppes, and a canabie ouer her head, borne by the Barones of the portes. On her head a riche coronall sette with stones and pearle. After her folowed the countesse of Richemond heire to the duke of Somerset, whiche bare vp the quenes trayne. After folowed the duchesse of Suffolke and Norfolke with countesses', baronesses, ladies, & many faire gentle women: in this ordre they passed throughe the palayce, and entred the Abbaye at the Weste ende, and so came to their seates of estate. And after diuerse songes solemply songe, they bothe discended to the highe altare and were shifted from their robes,

and

and had diuerse places open from the middle vpward, in whych places they were anointed. Then bothe the kynge and the Quene chaunged theim into clothe of golde and ascended to their seates, where the cardinall of Cauntorburye and other Bishoppes theim crowned accordynge to the olde custome of the realme, geuynge hym the scepter in the lefte hande and the balle wyth the crosse in the right hande, and the quene had the scepter in her right hande, and the rode wyth the doue in the lefte hande: On euery side of the kynge stoode a duke, and before hym stoode the erle of Surrey wyth the swearde in hys handes. And
x on euery side of the quene standynge a bishoppe and a ladye knelynge. The Cardinall song the masse, and after paxe, the kynge and the quene discended, & before the high altare they were bothe houseled with one hoste deuided betwene theim. After masse finished, they bothe offered at saincte Edwarde hys shrine and there the kynge lefte the crowne of saincte Edward, & putte on hys owne crowne. And so in ordre as they came they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their chambres for a ceason, duryng whyche tyme the duke of Norffolke came into the hall hys horse trapped to the grounde in clothe of golde as high marshall, & voyded the hall.

xx Aboute foure of the clocke the kyng and quene entred the hall, & the kyng satte in the midle, and the quene on the lefte hande of the table, & on euery side of her stoode a countesse holdynge a clothe of pleasaunce, when she liste to drynke. And of the right hande of the kynge satte the bishop of Cauntorbury, the ladies satte all on one side in the middle of the hall, and at the table against them satte the Chauncelloure and all the lordes. At the table next the cupborde satte the Maire of London. And at the table behinde the lordes, satte the Barones of the portes. And at the other bordes satte noble and worshipful personages. When all persones were sette, the duke of Norfolke erle Marshall, the erle of
xxx Surrey constable for that daie, the lord Stanley lorde Stewarde, sir William Hopton treasourer and sir Thomas Percy comptroller came in and serued the kyng solemply with one dishe of gold and another of siluer. And the quene all in gylte vessell, and the Bishop all in siluer. At the secõde course came into the hall, sir Robert Democke the kyng his champion, makynge a proclamacion, that whosoeuer woulde saye that kynge Richard was not laufully kynge, he woulde fighte with hym at the vtteraunce, and threwe downe his gauntlet: & then al the hal cried kyng Richard. And so he did in three partes of the hall, and then one brought hym a cup with wine couered, & whẽ he had dronke he cast out
xl the drynke, and departed with the cup. After that, the herauldes cried *Largesse* thrise in the hall, and so went vp to their staige. At the ende of diner, the maire of London serued the kyng & quene with swete wyne, and had of eche of theim a cuppe of golde with a couer of golde. And by that tyme that all was doen, it was darke night: And so the king returned to his chambre, and euery manne to his lodgyng. When this feaste

was thus finesshed, the kynge sente home all the Lordes into their countrees that woulde departe, excepte the lorde Stanley, whom he reteyned tyll he harde what his sonne the lorde straunge went aboute. And to suche as wente home, he gaue straighte charge and commaundemente to see their countrees well ordred, and that no wrong nor extorcion shoulde bee doen to hys subiectes. And thus he taughte other to execute iustice and equitee, the contrarye wherof he dayly exercised: he also with greate rewardes geuen to the Northrenmen whyche he sent for to hys coronacion, sente theim home to their countree wyth greate thākes. Whereof diuerse of theim, (as they all be of nature very gredy of autoritee, and speciallye when they thynke to haue anye comforte of fauoure,) tooke on theim so hyghly & wroughte suche mastries, that the kynge was fayne to ride thether in his firste yere, and to putte some in execucion, and staye the countree, or els no small mischiefe had ensued. x

Incontinente after thys, he sente a solempne Ambassade to Lewes the Frenche kynge, to conclude a league and amitie wyth hym, trustynge also to obtayne the tribute whiche kynge Edwarde hys brother had before out of Fraunce, but the Frenche kynge so abhorred hym and hys crueltie, that he would neither se nor heare hys Ambassadors, & so in bayne they returned. xx

Nowe after this triumphante coronacion, there fell mischifes thicke and thicke, and as the thynge euill gotten is neuer well kept, so throughe all the tyme of his vsurped reigne, neuer ceased there cruell murther, death and slaughter, till his awne destruction ended it. But as he finished with the best deathe and moste rightewyse, that is to saye his awne, so beganne he with the mooste piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocente nephewes, the younge kynge and hys tendre brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neuertheless so far come in question that some remained longe in doubte whether they were in his dayes destroied or no. Nor for that that Parkin warbek by many folkes malice, and mo folkes folly so longe space abusynge the worlde, was aswell with princes as with poore people reputed and taken for the younger of these twoo: But for that also that all thynges were so couertely demeaned, one thynge pretented & another mente, that there was nothyng so plaine and openlye proued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couerte dealyng, menne had it euer inwardly suspecte, as many well counterfet iewelles make ỹ true mistrusted. Howbeit, concernynge that opinion, men maye se the conueighaunce thereof in the lyfe of the noble prince kyng Henrye the.vij. in the processe of Parkyn. But in the meane season, for thys presente matter I shall reherse to you the dolorous ende of these two babes, not after euery way that I haue harde, but after that waye that I haue so hard by suche men and suche meanes as me thinketh it to be hard but it shoulde be true. xxx xl

Kyng

The destruc tion of kyng Edwardes children.

Kyng Richard after his coronacion, takyng his waye to Glouceſter, to viſite in his newe honour ỹ towne, of whiche he bare the name of old, deuiſed as he roade to fulfill that thyng which he before had intended. And for aſmuch as his mynd gaue him that his nephewes liuyng, men woulde not recon that he coulde haue right to the realme: he thoughte therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killyng of his kynſmen mighte ende his cauſe, and make hym kyndely kyng. Where vpon he ſent Jhon Grene, whō he ſpecially truſted, vnto ſir Robert Brakenbury conſtable of the tower, with a letter & credence alſo, that the ſame
x ſir Robert in any wyſe ſhould put the two childrē to death. This John Grene dyd his errand to Brakenbury, knelyng before oure lady in the Towre, who plainly anſwered that he woulde neuer put thē to deathe to dye therefore. With the which anſwere Grene returned, recōptyng the ſame to kyng Richard at Warwyke yet on his iourney, wherewith he toke ſuche diſpleaſure and thoughte, that the ſame night he ſayde to a ſecrete page of hys: Ah, whom ſhall a man truſte? they that I haue brought vp my ſelfe, they that I went woulde haue mooſt ſurely ſerued me, euen thoſe fayle me, and at my commaundemente wyll do nothyng for me. Syr quod the page, there lieth one in ỹ paletchambre wyth out
xx that I dare well ſay, to do your grace pleaſure ỹ thing were right hard that he would refuſe, meanyng this by James Tirel, which was a man of goodly perſonage, & for the giftes of nature worthye to haue ſerued a muche better prince, yf he had well ſerued God, & by grace obteyned to haue as muche trueth and good wyll, as he had ſtrength and wytt. The man had an high harte and ſore longed vpwarde, not riſyng yet ſo faſt as he had hoped, beynge hindered and kepte vnder by Richarde Ratcliffe and ſir Willyam Cateſbye, which longyng for no more partners of the Princes fauour, namely not for him, whoſe pride thei knewe woulde beare no pere, kept him by ſecrete driftes out of al ſecrete truſt:
xxx which thynge this page had well marked and knowen: wherefore, this occaſion offered of very ſpeciall frendſhip ſpied his tyme to ſet him forwarde, & in ſuche wyſe to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the deuil) could neuer haue done him ſo much hurte and ſhame, for vpon the pages woordes, kyng Richard aroſe (for this communication had he ſittyng on a drafte, a conuenient carpet for ſuche a counſail) and came out into the palet chambre, where he dyd fynde in bed the ſaid James Tyrell and ſir Thomas Tyrell of perſone lyke and brethren of bloud, but nothyng of kynne in condicions. Then ſayd the kyng merely to them, what lyes, be you in bed ſo ſone? & called vp James Tyrel, and
xl brake to him ſecretely his mynd in this miſcheuous matter, in ỹ whiche he found him nothing ſtraung. Wherfore on the morowe he ſent him to Brakynbury with a letter by the which he was cōmaunded to delyuer to the ſayd James all the keyes of the Towre for a night, to thend that he might there accompliſhe the kynges pleaſure in ſuche thynges as he there had geuen him in cōmaundement. After which lettre deliuered &

the keyes receyued, James appoincted the next night ensuynge to de-
stroye them, deuisyng before and preparyng the meanes.

The prince assone as the Protectour toke vpon hym to be kynge, & left the name of protectoure, was thereof aduertised & shewed that he shoulde not reigne, but his vncle shoulde haue ỹ croune. At which word the prince sore abashed begaune to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne vncle wold let me haue my life although I lese my kyngedome. Then he that tolde hym the tale bled him with good wordes and put hym in the beste confort that he coulde, but furthe with he & his brother were bothe shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Wyl, or Wylliam Slaughter onely except, whiche were set to serue them, & iiij. other to see them sure. After whych tyme, the prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thyng roughte of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thoughte & heuines, tyll this trayterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednes.

For James Tirrell deuised that they shoulde be murthered in their beddes, and no bloud shed: to the execution wherof, he appoincted Myles Forest one of the foure that before kepte them, a felowe flesche bred in murther before tyme: & to him he ioyned one John Dighton his awne horsekeper, a bygge broade square & strong knaue. Then all the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest and John Dighton about mydnight, the sely children lyng in their beddes, came into ỹ chaũbre and sodenly lapped them vp amongest the clothes & so bewrapped them and entangled them, kepyng doune by force the fetherbed & pillowes harde vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored & stykled them, & their breathes failyng, they gaue vp to God their innocent solles into the ioyes of heauen, leauyng to ỹ tourmẽtours their bodies dead in the bed, which after the wretches perceyued, firste by the strugglyng, with the panges of death, & after long lyng styl to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies out vpon the bed, and fetched James Tirrell to see them, which when he sawe thẽ perfightly dead, he caused the murtherers to burye them at the stayre fote, metely deepe in the groũd vnder a great heape of stones.

Kynge Edwardes chil dre murthered.

Then rode James Tirrell in great hast to kyng Richard, & shewed him all the maner of the murther, who gaue him great thankes, and as men saye, there made hym knighte, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saiyng that he would haue them buried in a better place because they were a kynges sonnes: Lo ỹ honorable courage of a king, for he would recõpence a detestable murther with a solempne obsequy. Wherupon a priest of sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp & buried them in suche a place secretely as by the occasiõ of his death (which was very shortely after) which onely knewe it, the very trueth could neuer yet be very wel and perfightly knowen. For some saye that kynge Richard caused the priest to take them vp and close them in leade & to put them in a coffyne ful of holes hoked at the endes with .ij. hokes of yron,

and

and so to cast them into a place called the Blacke depes at the Themes mouth, so that they should neuer rise vp nor be sene agayn. This was ỹ very trueth vnknowē by reason that ỹ sayd preist died so shortly & disclosed it neuer to any person that would vtter it. And for a trueth, whē sir James Tirrell was in the Towre for treason committed to kynge Henrye the seuenthe: bothe he & Dighton were examined together of this pouncte, and both they confessed the murther to be done in the same maner as you haue hard, but whether the bodies were remoued, they bothe affirmed they neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of them
x that muche knewe & litle cause had to lye, were these two noble princes these innocente tendre children, borne of the mooste royall bloude and brought vp in great wealthe, likelye longe to liue, to reigne and rule in the realme, by trayterous tirannye taken and depriued of their estate, shortely shut vp in prison and priuely slaine and murthered by the cruell ambicion of their vnnaturall vncle and his dispiteous tourmentours: whiche thynges on euery parte well pondered, God gaue this worlde neuer a more notable example, either in what vnsurety standeth this worldes weale, or what mischiefe worketh the proude enterprise of an highe harte, or finallye, what wretched ende ensueth suche dispiteous
xx crueltie. For fyrst to begynne with ỹ ministers, Myles Forest, at sainct Martyns le graunde by pece meale miserably rotted awaye, John Dighton lyued at Caleys long after, no lesse disdayned and hated then pointed at, & there dyed in great misery: But sir James Tyrrel was beheaded at the Towre hyll for treason: And kynge Richarde him selfe was slaine in felde hacked and hewen of his enemies handes, haried on a horsbacke naked beyng dead, his heere in dispite torne & tugged lyke a curre dogge. And the mischiefe that he toke with in lesse then thre yeres, of the mischiefe that he dyd in thre monethes be not comparable, & yet all the meane tyme spente in muche trouble & payne outwarde, and
xxx muche feare, dread and anguishe within. For I haue harde by credible reporte of suche as were secrete with his chamberers that after thys abhominable deed done, he neuer was quiet in hys mynde, he neuer thought hym selfe sure where he wente abroade, hys body priuely feinted, hys eyen wherled aboute, hys hande euer on hys dagger, his countenaunce & maner lyke alwaies to strike againe, he toke euill reste on nightes, laye longe wakyng & musyng, forwearied with care & watche, rather slombred then slept, troubled wyth fearefull dreames, sodeynly somtyme stert vp, leapte out of his bed and loked about the chambre, so was hys restlesse harte continually tossed & tombled with the tedious
xl impression and stormy remembraunce of his abhominable murther and execrable tyrannye.

The end of ỹ murtherers of kyng Edwards chyldren.

From the beginnyng of kynge Edward ỹ fifte: hereto, is of sir Thomas Mores penning.

Kynge Richard by this abominable mischyefe & scelerous act, thinkyng hym selfe well releuyd bothe of feare & thought, would not haue it kept counsail, but with in a few daies caused it to ronne in a common rumor that ỹ. ij. chyldren were sodanlie dead, & to this entent as it is to

be demyd that now, none heyre male beyng a liue of kynge Edwardes body lawfully begotten, ỹ people would be cõtent with the more paciẽt hart, & quiet mynd, to obey him & suffer his rule and gouernaunce: but when ỹ fame of this detestable facte was reueled, & debulged through the hole realme, ther fell generally, such a dolor & inward sorow in to ỹ hartes of all the people, that all feare of hys crueltie set a syde, they in euery towne, streate, & place openlie wept, & piteously sobbyd. And whẽ their sorowe was sumwhat mitigate, ther inwarde grudge coulde not refrayne but crye out in places publike, & also priuate furiously saieng, what creature of all creatures is so malicious and so obstinate an ene- x
mye either to God, or to christian religion, or to humayn nature, whych woulde not haue abhorred, or at the least absteyned from so miserable a murther of so execrable a tirannye. To murther a man is much odious, to kyll a woman, is in manner vnnaturall, but to slaie & destroye inno- cent babes, & young enfantes, the whole world abhorreth, & the bloude from the earth crieth, for vengaunce to all mightie God. If the commõ people cried out, I assure you the frendes of the quene, and her childrẽ made no lesse exclamacion and complainte wyth loude voyce lamenta- ble crienge & sayenge. alas what will he do to other that thus shame- fully murdereth hys awne bloud with out cause or desert: whom, wyll x
he saue when he slaith the poore lambes cõmitted to hym in trust: now we se & behold that the most cruell tyrannye hath inuadyd the common wealth, now we se that in him is neither hope of iustice nor trust of mer- cie but abundance of crueltie and thyrst of innocente bloude. But when these newes wer first brought to the infortunate mother of ỹ dead chil- dren yet being in sanctuary, no doubte but it strake to her harte, like the sharpe darte of death: for whẽ she was first enformed of the murther of her. ij. sonnes, she was so sodainly amasyd with the greatnes of ỹ cruel- tie that for feare she sounded and fell doune to the ground, & there laye in a great agonye like to a deade corps. And after that she came to her xxx
memory and was reuyued agayne, she wept and sobbyd and with pite- full scriches she repleneshyd the hole mancion, her breste she pũcted, her fayre here she tare and pulled in peces & being ouercome with sorowe & pensiuenes rather desyred death thẽ life, calling by name diuers times her swete babes, accomptyng her self more thẽ madde that she deluded by wyle and fraudulente promises delyuered her younger sonne out of the sanctuarie to his enemye to be put to deah, thinkynge that next the othe made to God brokẽ, & the dewtie of allegiaũce toward her childrẽ violated, she of all creatures in that poyncte mas most seduced and dis- ceaued. After longe lamentacion, when she sawe no hope of reuengyng xl
otherwyse, she knelyd downe and cried on God to take vengeaunce for the diceaptfull periurie, as who saide that she nothyng mystrusted, but once he would remember it. What is he liuynge that if he remember & beholde these. ij. noble enfantes without deseruing, so shamefully mur- thered, that wil not abhorre ỹ fact, ye & be moued & tormẽted with pitie

and

and mercie. And yet the woꝛlde is so fraile and oure nature so blynde that fewe be sturred with such examples, obliuiouslie foꝛgettynge, and littel cõsyderyng, that oftentimes foꝛ the offences by the parentes perpetrate and committed, that synne is punished in their lyne & posterite. This chaunce might so happen to this innocent childꝛen, because kinge Edward ther father and parent offended in staynyng his conscience: he made his solempne othe befoꝛe ỹ gate of the citie of Yoꝛke (as you haue harde befoꝛe) & promised and sware one thing by his woꝛde thinkynge cleane cõtrarie in his harte as after dyd appere. And afterward by the
x deathe of the duke of Clarence his bꝛother, he incurred (of likelyhod) the great displeasure toward God. After this murther this perpetrated & ỹ he had visited his towne of Glouceste whych he foꝛ his olde dignitye bothe loued and with ample liberties and pꝛiuileges endewed & decorated, he toke his ioꝛney towarde ỹ countie of Yoꝛke, where the people abusyng his lawful fauoure (as he bothe fauoured and trusted them in his hart) had of late pꝛesumed to attempte diuers routes & riottes contrarie to his lawes and enfryngyng of his peace, and vpon hope of hys mayntenaũce, were so elated that no loꝛd were he neuer of so great power could either pacifie oꝛ rule them tyll the kyng him selfe came personally thether to set a concoꝛde and an vnitie in that countre and to bꝛidell and rule the rude rusticall and blusterynge bolde people of that re-
xx gion, and so he by long iourneying came to the citie of Yoꝛke where the citezens receyued hym with great pompe and triumphe, accoꝛdyng to the qualities of their education & quantitie of there substaunce & habilitie, and made diuers daies playes and pageantes in token of ioy & solace. Wherefoꝛe kyng Richard magnified & applauded of the noꝛthren nacion, & also to shewe hym self apparantlie beforе them in habyte royal with scepter in hande and diademe on his hed, made pꝛoclamacion that all personnes should resoꝛte to Yoꝛke on the daie of the assencion of oure
xxx loꝛde where all men shoulde bothe beholde and se hym hys quene and pꝛince in there high estates and degrees and also foꝛ their good wylles should receyue many thankes, large benefites and munificente rewardes. At the daye appointed the hole clergie assembled in copes richelye reuested and so with a reuerent ceremonie went aboute the citie in pꝛocession, after whome folowed the kinge with his croune & scepter appareilled in his circot robe royall accompaignied with no small nomber of ỹ nobilitie of his realme: after whom marched in oꝛder quene Anne his wife likewyse croumed ledinge on her lefte hande Pꝛynce Edward her sonne hauing on his hed a demy crowne appoyncted foꝛ the degree of a
xl pꝛince. The kyng was had in that triumphe in suche honouꝛ & the common people of the noꝛthe so reioysed that they extolled and pꝛaysed hym far aboue the starres. After thys solempne feaste and gloꝛious pompe he kepte greate counsailles there, as well foꝛ the oꝛderynge of the countree in tyme to come, as foꝛ the bꝛydellynge and punyshinge of suche as there hadde mysgouerned them selfes: and farther of the

gentilmen

gentilmen of that contrie, he augmented the nomber of hys domestical
ministers & seruauntes, in the whych persones he put his whole trust &
affiaunce. When all thinges were thus discretely ordered, he returned
by Nothyngham, & after came to London: whome more for dread then
for loue, the Cytezens receaued in greate compaygnies. Thus kynge
Richard by a new inuented crueltie and late practised tyrannye obtey-
ned and grewe to high prayse and honoure, and then by the admira-
cion and iudgemente of the common multitude, he was moste estemed
to be exalted in to heauē, when he couertly had intelligēce, that he was
like to lose his estate and could by no meanes haue long contynuaunce p
in his vsurped power: for assuredly after the death of kyng Edwards
chyldren when any blusteringe wynde perelous thunder or terrible
tempest, chansed or were apparantly like to happen: So dainly the peo-
ple hauinge in there freshe memorie the facinorous acte of these kynge
and prince, woulde openly crye and make vocyferacion that God dyd
take vengaunce and punishe the pore Englishemen, for the cryme and
offence of there vngracyous kynge, whome they blamed, accursed and
wysshed to haue extreme tortures. Although kyng Richard harde oftē
of this slaunderous wordes and malicious saiynges and knewe wel by
what persons they were spokē, yet he dirst not with strong hande be on pp
the fyrste inuentours reuenged, knowing that some tyme it is no wise-
dome to refuse or disdaigne them that tell a ruler his deutie or declare
to hym his mysbehauoure toward the cōmon wealthe, or counsaill him
to amende and chaung his yll life. After this great felicitie, he fell again
in to a great feare and penciuenes of mynde, and because he coulde by
no meanes either correct or amēd thinges that were passed, he deter-
mined by doyng his deutie in all thynges to hys cōmons, to obliterate
& put oute of memorie that note of infamie with ẏ whiche his fame was
iustely spotted and stayned, and to cause the people to conceyue so good
an opinion in him, that from thēce forth no calampyte nor trouble should ppp
be adiudged to happen to the cōmon wealth, either by his negligence or
by his misgouernaunce (although it is difficile and strange shortelye
to tourne and plucke out suche qualities and vsages as haue of longe
tyme ben encorporate in a mans mynde and rooted in hys maners and
condicions.) Therfore whether it was for the performaunce of his for-
mer entent of amendement, or (as the common fame shewe a brode) ẏ he
toke repentaunce of hys myscheuous actes and scelerate doynges, he
tourned ouer the leffe, and began an order of a new life, and pretended
to haue the name of a good & vertuous man, by the reason that he she-
wed hym selfe more iuste, more meker, more familiar, more liberal (espe- pl
cially amongest the poore people) then before he had accustomed to do,
and so by this meanes he firmely trusted fyrst to obteyne of god forge-
uenes of his offences and crymes, and after to leuie and take away the
enemye & inwarde grudge that the common people bare in their myn-
des towarde hym, and in conclusion, to obteigne their frendelye loue

and

and assured fauour. He farthermore began & enterprised diuers thinges aswel publike as priuate, the which he beyng prevented by sodayne deathe dyd neither accomplishe nor bryng to conclusion, for he begon to founde a college of a hundreth prestes, which foundacion with the founder shortely toke an ende. To please the common people also, he in hys high courte of parliamente enacted dyuers and sondrie good lawes & profitable estatutes and in especiall one againste strangers and forein wrought wares, not to be transported in to this realme, which commodius acte for the common wealthe yf he had lyued he fully purposed to
x haue auaunsed & set forwarde & put in execucion. But afterwarde euidently to all persones it appeared, that onely feare (which is not a maister long in office and in continuall aucthoritye) and not iustice, caused kynge Richarde at that verye tyme to waxe better & amende his synnefull life, for shortelie the goodnes of the man which was but paynted and fraudulent, sodainlye wexed coulde and banished awaie. And from thence forth not onely all his counsailles, doynges and procedynges, sodainlye decayed and sorted to none effecte: But also fortune beganne to froune and turne her wheele doune ward from hym, in so muche that he lost his onely begotten sonne called Edward, in the.iij. moneth, after
xx he had created hym prince of Wales.

¶ The.ij. yere.

AND shortelye after, The.ij. yere he was vnquieted by a conspiracye, or rather a confederacye betwene the duke of Buckyngham and manye other gentlemen agaynste hym as ye shall heare: But the occasion why the duke & the kyng fell out, is of diuerse folke diuerslye pretended. This duke as you haue harde before, assoue as the duke of Gloucester after the death of Kynge Edwarde was come to Yorke, and there had solempne funerall seruice done for kynge Edward, sent to him a secret seruaunte of his called Persall, with such
xxx messages as you haue harde before. And after the duke of Buckyngh̃ came with. CCC. horse to Northampton and styll cõtinued wyth him, as partener and chiefe organe of his deuices tyll after hys coronacion, they departed to all semyng very frendes at Gloucester. From whence assone as the Duke came home, he so highlye turned from hym and so highly conspired againste hym, that a man woulde marueyll wherof the chaunge grewe in so shorte space. Some saye thys occasyon was, that a litle before the coronacion, the duke required the kyng amongest other thynges to be restored to the erle of Herfordes landes: And forasmuche as the lytle whyche he claymed by inheritaunce, was some-
xl what interlaced, wyth the tytle of Lancaster, whyche house made a title to the croune, & enioyed the same thre discentes, as all men knewe, tyl the house of Yorke deprived the third kyng, whiche was Henry the sixte, Kynge Richarde some what mistrusted and conceiued suche an

indignacion, that he reiected the dukes requeſt, with many ſpitefull, & minotary wordes, whyche ſo wounded the dukes harte with hatred & miſtruſt, ỹ he coulde neuer after endure to loke right on kyng Richard but euer feared his awne lyfe, ſo farre forth, that when the Protectour ſhould ryde to his coronaciõ, he feigned him ſelfe ſicke, becauſe he would do him no honoure. And the other taking it in euill part, ſent him word to ryſe and ryde or he woulde make hym to be caried. Wherupon, gorgeouſly apparelled, and ſumpteouſly trapped with burnyng carte naues of golde embrodered he roade before ỹ kyng through Londõ with an euill will and wooꝛſe harte. And that notwithſtandinge, he roaſe the daye of the coronacion from the feaſt, feignynge hym ſelfe ſicke, whyche kynge Richard ſayd was done in hate & ſpighte of hym. And therefore men ſayd that eche of them euer after lyued continually in ſuch hatred and diſtruſt of other, that the duke loked verely to haue bene murthered at Glouceſter, from whiche he in fayre maner departed: but ſurely ſuche as were righte ſecrete with bothe, affirme all this to be vntrue & other wyſe men thynke it vnlykelye, the deepe diſſymulynge nature of bothe theſe menne wel conſidered. And what nede in that grene woꝛld the protectoure had of the duke, and in what perell the duke ſtode yf he fell once in ſuſpicion of that tyraunt, that either the protectour woulde geue the duke occaſyon of diſpleaſure, or the duke the protectour occaſion of myſtruſte. And ſurely men thynke, that if kyng Richard had any ſuche opininon conceyued in him, he woulde neuer haue ſuffered him to auoyd his handes or eſcape his power: but very true it is, that the duke of Buckyngham was an highe mynded man, & euyll coulde beare the glory of another, ſo that I haue heard of ſome that ſaw it, that he at ſuch tyme as the croune was ſet vpon the protectours hed, his eye could neuer abyde the ſight therof, but wryed his hed another way: but mẽ ſaid he was not well at eaſe, & that was bothe to kyng Richard well knowẽ and well taken, nor any demaunde of the dukes requeſt vncurteouſlye reiected, but gently deferred, but bothe he with great giftes & high behestes in moſte louynge and truſtye maner departed from the kynge to Glouceſter. Thus euery man iudged as he thought, but ſone after his commyng home to Brekenocke, hauyng there by kyng Richardes cõmaundement doctor Morton biſhoppe of Ely, who before as you haue harde was taken at the coũſaill at the towre, waxed with hym very familier, whoſe onely wyſedom abuſed his pride, to his owne deliueraũce and the dukes diſtruction. The byſhop was a man of greate naturall witte, very wel learned and of honourable behaueour, lackyng no wiſe wayes to wynne fauoure. He was fyrſt vpon the parte of kyng Henry, whyle that parte was in wealthe, and neither lefte it nor forſoke it in no woo, but fled the realme with the quene & the prynce. And whyle kinge Edward had kyng Henry in priſon, he neuer returned but to the felde at Barnet: After which felde loſt and vtterly ſubdued and all parte takynges extynguiſhed, kyng Edward for his faſt fayth and wyſedome,

as not

was not onely contente to receyue hym, but also wooed him to come, and had hym from thens forthe bothe in secrete truste and speciall fauoure, whom he nothynge deceyued. For he beynge after kynge Edwardes death fyrst taken by the tyraunte for his truethe to the kynge, founde the meane to set the duke in his toppe, & ioyned gentlemen together in ayde of the earle of Richemonde, whych after was named kyng Henry the seuenth: Fyrste deuisynge the mariage betwene the lady Elizabeth daughter to kynge Edwarde the fourth, by the whyche hys faythfull & true seruice declared to bothe his maisters at once, was an infinite be-
x nefite to the realme, by the coniunctiō of the bloudes of Lancaster and Yorke, whose funeral titles had long iniquieted the realme. This man afterwarde escaped from the duke and fled the realme, & neuer retur-
ned, and went to Rome, neuer myndyng to medle with the worlde, tyll kynge Henry the seuenth sent for him, and after made him Archebishop of Cauntorbury and Chauncelloure of Englande, and after was made Cardinall, and liued well to all mens iudgementes and died well. But to retourne to the former purpose, he by the longe and often alternate proofe, as well of prosperite as aduerse fortune, had gotten by greate experience the very mother and mastres of wisedom, and depe inslighte
xx in pollitike & worldly drifte, wherby perceiuyng now the duke to common with hym, fed hym with fayre wordes and many pleasaunte prayses, and perceiuynge by the grefe of their communicacions the dukes pryde nowe & then to balke out a litle brayde of enuy toward the glory of the kynge, and thereby felynge hym easye to fall out yf the matter were well handeled, he craftely sought ỹ wayes to prycke him forward takynge alwayes the occasyon of his commyng, and also keppynge hym selfe close within his bandes that he rather semed to folowe hym then to leade hym. For when the duke beganne fyrste prayse and boaste the kynge and shewe howe muche profite the realme shoulde take by hys
xxx reigne: Bysshop Morton answered, surely my lord, folye it were for me to lye, for I am sure yf I woulde swere the contrarie ye would not once beleue me, but if the worlde woulde haue begone as I would haue wyshed, that kynge Henries sonne had had the crowne and not kynge Edwarde, then would I haue bene his true and faithful subiecte, but after that God had ordeyned hym to lose it, and kyng Edwarde to reigne, I was neuer so madde with a dead man to striue against the quik, so was I euer to kyng Edward a faithfull and true chapeleyn and glad would haue bene that his children should haue succeded him, howbeit yf the se-
cret iudgemēt of God haue otherwise prouided, I purpose not to spur-
xl ne againste ỹ pricke, nor laboure to set vp that God pulleth doune. And as for the late protector and nowe kynge: & with that worde he lefte, sauynge that he said that he had already medled to much with the world and would from that day medle with his boke and beades, and no further. Thē longed the duke sore to heare, what he would haue sayd, because he ended with the kyng, and there so sodaynly stopped, and exhor-

ted hym familierly, betwene them bothe to be bolde and to saye whatso euer he thoughte, whereof he faithefully promised there shoulde neuer come hurte, and paraduenture moze good then he woulde wene. And that he hym selfe entended to vse his faithefull secrete aduice and counsayle, whiche he sayd was the onely cause foz the whiche he procured of the kynge to haue him in his custodye, where he might recon him self at home, oz els he had bene put in the handes of thē with whom he shoulde not haue founde like fauour. The byshoppe right humblie thanked him and sayd, in good faythe my lozde, I loue not muche to talke of princes as of a thyng not all out of perell, although the wozd be without faute, & but yet it must be as it pleaseth ỹ prince to cōstrue it. And euer I thinke on Isopes tale, ỹ when the Lyon had proclaymed that on pain of death there should no hozned beastes come into the woode, one beast that had a bonche of flesche growyng out of his heade, fled a greate pace: the foxe that sawe him flye with all the hast, asked him whether he fled: In faith quod he, I neither wote ne recke, so I were once hence, because of ỹ proclamacion made agaynst hozned beastes. What foole quod the foxe, the Lyon neuer ment it by the, foz that whiche thou haste is no hozne in thy heade. No mary quod he, I wote that well ynough, but yf he say it is a hozne, where am I then: The duke laughed merely at the tale & sayde, & my lozde I warraunte you, neither the Lyon noz the boze shall pycke any matter af any thyng here spoken, foz it shall neuer come nere their eares. In good faith, syz said the byshop, if it dyd, the thyng that I was aboute to say taken aswell as befoze God I mente, it could deserue but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it woulde, might happen to turne me to lytle good and you to lesse.

Then longed the duke muche moze to wete what it was, whereupō the bishop sayd. In good faith my lozde, as foz the late protectoure, sith he is nowe kyng in possession I purpose not to dispute his title, but foz ỹ wealthe of this realme, whereof his grace hath nowe the gouernaunce & and whereof I my selfe am a pooze membze, I was aboute to wishe that to those good abilities wherof he hath alredy right many, litle neading my praise, yet might it haue pleased God foz the better stoze to haue geuen hym some of suche other excellente vertues mete foz the rule of the realme, as our lozd hath planted in the person of youre grace, and there lefte of agayne. The duke some what maruelyng at his sodaine pauses as though they were but parentheses, wyth a high coūtenaunce saied: my lozde I euidentelye perceyue & no lesse note your often bzeathynge and sodayne stoppyng in your cōmunicacion, so that to my intelligence your wozdes neither come to any dyzect oz perfect sentēce in conclusiō, & wherby either I myght perceyue & haue knowlege what your inward entent is now toward the kyng, oz what affectiō you beare toward me. Foz the comparyson of good qualities ascribed to vs bothe (foz the which I my selfe knowlege and recognise to haue none, noz loke foz no prayse of anye creature foz the same) maketh me not a lyttell to muse

thinkynge

thynkynge that you haue some other preuie Imagynacion, by loue or by grudge engraued and emprinted in your harte, whiche for feare you dare not or for childesshe shamefastnes you be abashed to disclose and reuele, and especially to me beynge your frende, whyche on my honoure do assure you to be as secrete in this case as the deffe and dumme person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter. The bysshoppe beynge somewhat boulder, consyderynge the dukes promyse, but moste of all animated and encouraged because he knewe the duke desyerous to be exalted and magnified, and also he perceyued the inwarde hatred and
x pryuie rancor which he bare towarde kyng Richarde, was now boldened to open his stomacke euē to the bery bottome, entending therby to compasse howe to destroye and vtterly confounde kyng Richarde, and to depryue hym of hys dignitee royall, or els to sett the Duke so a fyer with the desyer of ambicion, that he hym selfe might bee safe and escape out of all daunger and perell, which thinge he brought shortely to conclusion bothe to the kynges destruction and the dukes confusion and to his awne sauegarde, and fynally, to his high promocion. And so (as I sayed before) vpon truste and confidence of the dukes promyse, the
bishoppe saied: my synguler good Lorde sithe the tyme of my captyxx uitee, whych beyng in your graces custodie I maye rather call it a liberall libertie more then a straight emprysonmente, in a boydynge ydelnes mother and norissher of all vices, in redynge bookes and aunciente pamphletes I haue found this sentence wrytten, that no man is borne free and in libertie of him selfe onelye, for one parte of duetie he oweth or shoulde awe to his parentes for his procreacion by a verye naturall instincte and filiall curtesie: another parte, to his frendes and kynsfolke, for proximitie of bloude and naturall amitie dothe of verie dewtye chalenge and demaunde: But the natiue coūtrye in the which he tasted fyrste the swete ayers of this pleasaunte and flatterynge worlde after
xxx his natiuitie, demaūdeth as a debt by a natural bonde neither to be forgotten nor yet to be put in obliuion, whyche saiynge causeth me to consider in what case this realme my natiue countrye now staūdeth, and in what estate and assueraunce before this tyme it hathe contynued: what gouernour we now haue, & what ruler we myght haue, for I plainelye perceyue the realme beynge in thys case muste nedes decaye and be broughte to vtter confusion and fynall exterminion: But one hope I haue encorporate in my breaste, that is, when I consider and in my mynde do diligently remember, and dayly beholde youre noble personage, your iustice, and indifference, your feruente zele and ardente loue
xl towarde your naturall contrey, and in lyke maner ỹ loue of your cōtrie towarde you, the great learnynge, pregnaunte witte and goodly eloquence, whyche so muche dothe abounde in the persone of youre grace, I muste nedes thynke this realme fortunate, ye twyse more then fortunate, whyche hath suche a prynce in store, mete and apte, to be a go-

uernoure in whose persone beynge endued with so many princely qualities consisteth and resteth the very vndoubted similitude and image of trew honoure. But on the other syde when I call to memorye the good qualites of the late protectour & nowe called kynge, so violated & subuerted by tyrannie, so chaunged & altered by vsurped aucthorite, so clouded and shadowed by blynde and insaciable ambicion, ye and so sodainlye (in maner by a metamorphosis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must nedes saie and iustly affirme, that he is neither mete to be a kynge of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme mete to be gouerned by such a tyraunte: Was not his firste interprise to obtaine the crowne begonne and incepted by the murther of dyuers noble valiaunt trewe and vertuous personages: O a holy begynnyng to come to a myscheuous endynge, dyd he not secondarelye procede contrarie to all lawes of honestie, shamefully agaynst his awne naturall mother, beyng a woman of much honour, & more vertew, declaryng her openlie to be a woman geuen to carnall affectiō, & dissolute liuinge (which thynge yf it had bene trewe as it was not in dede, euery good and naturall child would haue rather mummed at, then to haue blasted a broade and especially she beyng a lyue.) Declarynge farthermore his .ij. brethren and his .ij. nephewes to be bastardes & to be borne in auoutrey, yet not with all this contente. After that he had obteyned the garlande for the which he so longe thirsted, he caused the two poore innocens his nephewes committed to hym, for especiall truste, to be murthered and shamefully to be kylled. The bloude of whych sely and lyttell babes dayly crye to God, from the earthe for vengaunce. Alas my harte sobbith, to remember thys bloudy boutcher & cruell monster, what suretie shall be in this realme to any person, other for lyfe or goodes vnder suche a cruell prynce, whyche regardeth not the destruction of his awne bloude, and then lesse the losse of other. And most especially as oftentymes it chaunceth, where a couetous or a cruell prince taketh suspicion, the smalest, swaruynge that is possible (yf the thynge be mysconstered) maye be the cause of the destruction of manye gyltles persones: and in especiall of noble and wealthy personages hauynge greate possessions and riches: Suche a Lorde is Lucifer when he is entred into the harte of a proude prynce, geuen to couetousnes and crueltye. But nowe my Lorde to conclude what I meane towarde your noble persone, I saye, and affirme, yf you loue God, your lynage, or youre natyue contrye, you muste yower selfe take vpon you the Crowne and Diademe of thys noble empyre, bothe for the mayntenaunce of the honoure of the same (whych so longe hath florished in fame and renowne) as also for the delyueraunce of youre naturall countreymen, from the bondage and thraldome (worse thē the captiuitie of Egypte) of so cruell a tiraunt and arrogante oppressor. For thus I dare saye, yf anye foren prynce or potentate, ye the Turcke hymselfe woulde take vpon hym

the

the regiment here and the crowne, the commons woulde rather admit and obey hym, then to lyue vnder suche a bloude supper & chyld kyller: but how muche moze ioyfull & glad would they be to lyue vnder youre grace, whome they all knowe to be a ruler mete & conuenient foz them, and they to be louinge and obedient subiectes mete to lyue vnder suche a gouernour: dispise not, noz forsake not so manifeste occasiō so louingly offered. And yf you youre selfe knowynge the payne and trauaill that apperteynyth to the office of a kynge, oz foz anye other consideracion, wyll refuse to take vpon you the Crowne and scepter of thys realme:

x Then I adiure you by the faithe that you owe to God, by your honour and by your othe made to Saincte George patron of the noble ordze of the gartier (whereof you be a compaignīō) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your natiue coutrey and the people of the same, to deuise some waie how this realme now being in miserie may by your high discrecion and pzyncelye policie, be brought and reduced to some suertie and conueniente regiment vnder some good gouernoūr by you to be excogitate: foz you are the verye patron, the only helpe, refuge, & confozte foz the poore amased and desolate commons of this realme. Foz yf you could either deuise to set vp again the limage of Lancaster oz

xx auaunce the eldest doughter of kynge Edwarde to some highe & puyssaunte pzince, not onely the newe crowned kyng shall small tyme enioy the glozie of his dignitie, but also all ciuile war shoulde cease, all domesticall discozde should slepe, and peace, pzofite and quietnies shoulde be set fozth and embzased. When the bishoppe had thus ended his saiyng, the duke sighed and spake not of a great while, whiche soze abashed the byshop, & made him chaunge couler: which thing when the duke perceiued, he sayde, be not afrayde my Lozde, all pzomyses shalbe kept, to mozow we wyl cōmon moze: let vs go to supper so that night they commoned no moze, not a litle to the iniquietacion of the byshoppe, whyche

xxx nowe was euen as desirous to knowe the dukes mynde and entent, as the duke longed the daye befoze to knowe his opinion and meanynge. So the nexte daye, the duke sente foz the byshop & rehersed to hym in maner (foz he was both e wyttie and eloquente) all the communicacion had betwene them befoze, and so pausled a whūe, and after a lytle ceason puttyng of hys boneth he sayde: O Lozde God creatoz of all thynges howe muche is this realme of Englande & the people of the same bounden to thy goodnes, foz where we now be in vexacion and trouble with great stozmes oppzessed sayling and tossyng in a desperate shippe without good maister oz gouernour: but by thy healp good lozde I truste oz

xl long tyme passe that we shall pzouyde foz such a ruler as shalbe both to thy pleasure, and also to the securite & sauegarde of this noble realme. And then he put on hys bonett saiynge to the Byshoppe, my Lozde of Ely whose trewe parte & syncere affeccion towarde me at all tymes, I haue euidentlye percepued and knowen, & nowe moste of all in our laste pzeuie communicacion & secrete deuisyng, I must nedes in hart thinke

and with mouthe confesse and saye, that you be a sure frende, a trustye counsailour, a vigilante forefear, a very louer of youre cõtrey, a naturall countreyman: for whiche kyndnes for my parte, I moste louinglye render to you my hartye thankes nowe wyth wordes: hereafter trustyng to recompence and remunerate you with dedes, yf life and power shall serue. And sithe at oure laste communicacion, you haue disclosed, and opened, the very secretes and priuities of your stomacke, touching the duke of Gloucester nowe vsurper of the crowne, and also haue a littel touched the auauncement of the.ij. noble famelyes of Yorke & Lancaster: I shall likewyse not onely declare and manifeste vnto you, al my open actes, attemptes and doenges, but also my preuie ententes, and secrete cogitacions. To the entent that as you haue vnbuckeled youre bogett of youre preuie meanynges, and secrete purposes to me: so shall all my clowdy worckyng, close deuises, and secrete imaginacions, be (as clere as the some) reueled, opened, and made lightesome to you. And to beginne, I declare: that when kyng Edwarde was disseaced, to whom I thought my selfe littell or nothynge beholden, (al thoughe we.ij. had maried two systers) because, he neither promoted nor preferred me, as I thoughte I was worthy & had deserued, nether fauored nor regarded me, accordynge to my degre and byrthe: For surelye I had by hym lytle aucthoritee, and lesse rule, and in effecte nothynge at all: whyche caused me lesse to fauore hys chyldren, because I founde small humanitie, or none in there parente. I then beganne to studye, and wyth mature deliberacion, to ponder and consyder, howe & in what maner this realme shoulde be ruled & gouerned. And fyrste I remembred an olde prouerbe worthy of memorye, that often ruithe the realme, where chyldren rule, and women gouerne. Thys olde adage so sanke, and settelled in my heade, that I thought it a great errour, & extreme mischyefe to the hole realme, either to suffer the younge kynge to rule, or the quene his mother to be a gouernour ouer hym, consyderynge that her brethren, and her fyrst children (all thoughe they were not extracte of highe and noble lynage) toke more vpon them, and more exalted themselues by reason of the quene, then dyd the kynges brethrene, or any duke in his realme: Which in conclusion turned to there confusion. Thẽ I beingperswaded whith my self in this poyncte, thought it necessarie bothe for the publique & profitable welth of this realme, and also for myne awne commoditye and emolumente, to take parte wyth the duke of Gloucester: whome I assure you I thoughte to be as cleane without dissimulacion, as tractable without iniurie, as mercifull wyth oute crueltie, as nowe I know hym perfectely to be a dissembler wythoute veritie, a tyraunte withoute petie, yea, & worse then the tyraunte phaleres, destitute of all truthe and clemencie: And so by my meanes, at the fyrste counsaill holden at London, when he was moste suspected of that thinge that after happened (as you my lorde knowe well ynough) he was made Protectoure and defender, bothe of the kynge and of the realme,

realme,whyche aucthozite once gotten, & the two chyldzen partely by policie bzought vnder his gouernaunce, he beynge moued wyth that gnawyng and couetous serpent, desyered to reigne & neuer ceased pzi-
uelie to exhozte & require (yea & some tymes wyth minatozie termes) to persuade me and other lozdes alwell spirituall as tempozall, that he myghte take vpon hym the crowne, tyll the pzynce came to the age of foure and twenty yeres,and were able to gouerne the realme,as a ma-
ture and sufficient kynge: Whiche thynge when he sawe me some what stycke at, both foz the straungenes of the example (because no such pze-
x sidente had bene sene) and also because we remembzed that men once ascended to the highest type of honour & auctozite wyll not gladlye dis-
cende agayn, he then bzought in instrumētes,autentike doctours,pzoc-
toures,and notaries of the lawe, with depositions of diuers wytnesses testifieng kyng Edwards chyldzen to be bastardes, whych depositions then I thought to be as a trewe,as now I knowe them to be fayned,& testifyed by persones wyth rewardes vntruelye suboznate. When the saide depositions were befoze vs redde and diligently harde, he stoode vp bare hedded saiyng: Wel my lozdes,euen as I & you sage & discrete counsailers woulde that my nephewe shoulde haue no wzonge: So I
xx pzaie you do me nothynge but right. Foz these witnesses and saiynges of famous doctozs being trew, I am onely the vndubitate heire to lozd Richard plantagenet duke of Yozke, adiudged to be the very heire to the crowne of thys realme by aucthozitee of parliamente,whiche thyn-
ges,so by learned men to vs foz a verite declared, caused me and other to take him foz our lawfull and vndoubted pzince and souereigne lozd. Foz well we knew ỹ the duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of ỹ attayn-
der of his father was disabled to inherite,and also ỹ duke hym self was named to be a bastarde,as I my selfe haue harde spoken, and that vpon greate pzesumpcions moze tymes then one: so agayn by my ayde & fa-
xxx uour,he of a pzotectour was made a kyng,and of a subiecte made a go-
uernour,at which tyme he pzomysed me on his fidelite,laiyng his hand in myne at Baynarde Castel,that the.ij. young pzinces should lyue,and that he would so pzouide foz them,and so mayntaine them in honozable estate,that I & all the realme ought & shoulde be content. But when he was once crouned king,and in full possession of the hole realme,he cast a way his olde cōdicions as ỹ adder doth her skynne, berefienge the olde pzouerbe,honoures chaunge maners, as the pariche pzest remembzeth that he was neuer pariche clerck. Foz when I my selfe sued to him foz my part of the Earle of Hartfozdes landes whiche hys bzother kynge
xl Edward wzongefully deteyne and with helde from me,and also requi-
red to haue the office of the highe constable shyppe of Englande, as di-
uers of my noble anunceters befoze this tyme haue had, and in longe discente continued. In thys my fyzste suyte shewynge his good mynde towarde me, he dyd not onelye fyzste delaye me, and afterwarde de-
nay me,but gaue me suche vnkynde woozdes, wyth suche tauntes and

retaun-

retauntes ye in maner checke & checke mate to the vttermooste proffe of my paciẽce. As though I had neuer furthered him but hyndered him as though I had put him downe and not set hym vp: yet all these vngratitudes and vndeserued vnkyndnes I bare closlye & suffered paciẽtelie and couertly remembred, outwardely dissimulyng that I inwardelie thoughte, and so with a payncted countenaunce I passed the laste summer in his last compaignie, not withoute many faier promyses, but withoute any good dedes. But when I was crediblye enformed of the death of the.ij. younge innocentes, his awne naturall nephewes cõtrarie to hys fayth & promyse, to the whyche God be my iudge I neuer agreed nor condiscended. O lord, how my beynes panted, how my body trembled, & my harte inwardely grudged, in so muche that I so abhorred the sighte and much more the compaignie of hym, that I coulde no lenger abyde in his courte, excepte I shoulde be openly reuenged. The ende wherof was doutfull, and so I fayned a cause to departe, and with a mery countenaunce and a dispiteful harte I toke my leaue humbly of hym (he thinkyng nothyng lesse then that I was displeased) and so returned to Brecknock to you. But in ẏ iourney as I returned whether it were by the inspiracio of ẏ holy ghost, or by Melancolous disposicion, I had diuers and sundrie imaginacions howe to depriue this vnnaturall vncle, & bloudy bütcher, from hys royall seate, and princely dignitie. Fyrst I fantesyed that yf I list to take vpon me the croune, and imperiall scepter of the realme, now was the tyme propice and conueniẽt. For nowe was the waie made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion geuen, whych now neglected, should paraduenture neuer take such effecte and conclusion. For I sawe he was disdaigned of the lordes temporall, execrate and accursed of the lordes spiritual, detested of all gentilmen, and despised of all the cõmunaltie: So that I saw my chaunce as perfectely as I sawe my awne Image in a glasse, that there was no person (yf I had ben gredy to attempte the enterprise) could nor should haue wone the ryng or got the gole before me. And on thys poynete I rested in imaginacion secretely w̃ my self. ij. daies at Tewkesberie. And from thence so iorneyng I mused & thought ẏ it was not best nor cõueniẽt to take vpõ me as a cõquerour, for then I knewe that all mẽ & especially the nobilite, would with all their power withstande me, both for rescuyng of possessions & tenours, as also for subuertyng of ẏ hole estat lawes and customes of the realme: Suche a power hath a conquerour as you knowe wellynough my lord. But at the laste, in all this doutfull case ther sprang a new braunche out of my hed, which suerly I thought should haue brought forthe fayer flowers, but the sonne was so hotte yl that they turned to dyye wedes, for I sodainly remẽbred that lord Edmond duke of Somersett my grandfather was with kyng Henrye the sixte in the.ij. and.iij. degrees from Jhon duke of Lancaster lawefully begottẽ: So that I thought sure my mother being eldest doughter to duke Edmond, that I was nexte heyre to kynge Henry the syxte of the

houſe

houſe of Lancaſter. Thys title pleaſed well ſuche as I made pryuye of my counſaill, but muche more it encoraged my foliſhe deſyer, and eleuated my ambicious entente, in ſo much that I clerelye iudged, & in myne awne mynd was determynatly reſolued, that I was indubitate heyre, of the houſe of Lancaſter, and there vpon concluded, to make my fyrſte foundacion, and erecte my newe buyldinge. But whether God ſo ordeyned, or by fortune it ſo chaunced, while I was in a maſe, other to conclude ſodaynlye on thys title, and to ſette it open amongeſte the common people, or to kepe it ſecrete a while, ſe the chaunce: as I rode
x betwene worceter and brigenorthe, I encountered wyth the ladye Margarete, counteſſe of Richemonde, nowe wyfe to the lorde Stanley, whyche is the very daughter and ſole heyre, to Lorde Jhon duke of Somerſett my graundfathers elder brother: Whych was as cleane out of my mynde as though I had neuer ſene her, ſo that ſhe and her ſonne the Earle of Richemonde be bothe bulwarcke and portecolice betweene me, & the gate, to entre into the maieſtie royall and gettynge of the crowne. And when we had commoned a litle concernynge her ſonne, as I ſhall ſhewe you after, and were departed, ſhe to oure ladye of worceter, & I towarde Shrewſberie: I thē newe chaunged & in ma-
xx ner amaſed, began o diſpute wyth my ſelfe, litle conſideryng that thus my earneſt tytle was turned euen to a tittyll not ſo good as, eſtamen. Eftſones I imagened whyther I were beſte to take vpon me, by the election of the nobilite and commonaltie, whyche me thoughte eaſy to be done, the vſurpor kynge thus beynge in hatred and abhorred of this hole realme, or to take it by power, which ſtandeth in fortunes chaunce and difficile to be acheued and brought to paſſe. Thus romblynge and toſſynge, in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the ſtone & ſacrafice, I conſidered fyrſte the office, deutie and payne of a kynge, whiche ſurely thinke that no mortall man can iuſtely, and truely obſerue, excepte he
xxx be called elected and ſpeciallye appoyncted by God as kynge Dauid and diuers other haue been. But farther I remembred that yf I onte toke on me the ſcepter, and the gouernaunce of the realme: That of two extreme enemies I was dayly ſure, but of one truſty frend (which nowe a daies begone a pilgrymage) I was nether aſſuered nor credible aſſerteyned (ſuche is the worldes mutacion) for I manifeſtely perceyued that the daughters of kynge Edwarde and there alies, and frendes, whiche be no ſmall nomber, beynge bothe, for hys ſake muche beloued, and alſo for the great iniurie and manifeſte tyrannye done to them, by the newe vſurper, muche lamented, and pitied, woulde neuer
xl ceaſe to barcke yf they cannot byte at the one ſyde of me. Semblable my coulyne the erle of Rychemonde, hys aydes and kynſfolke, whiche be not of lyttell power, wyll ſurelye attempte lyke a fierce grādhound, other to byte or to perce me on the other ſyde. So that my lyfe and rule, ſhoulde euer hange by a heare, neuer in quiete, but euer in doubte of deathe or depoſicion. And yf the ſayd .ij. linages of Yorke and Lan-

taster, whyche so long haue stryued for the imperiall Diademe shoulde
ioyne in one against me, then were I suerly mated and the game gotte.
Wherfore I haue clerely determined, & wyth my selfe cõcluded, vtterly
to relinquishe all suche fantasticall imaginacians concerning the obtey-
nynge of the croune. But all suche plagues, calamities and troubles
(whyche I feared and suspected) myght haue chanced on me yf I had
taken the rule and regimẽte of this realme, I shall with a rereden mayne
so make them rebounde to our commen enemye that calleth hym selfe
kynge, that the beste stopper that he hath at tenyre shal not well stoppe
without a faulte: for as I tolde you before, the countesse of Richemond
in my returne from the newe named Kynge metynge me in the highe
waye, prayed me fyrste for kinred sake, secondarilye for the loue that I
bare to my grandfather duke Humfrey, whych was swoyne brother to
her father, to moue the Kynge to be good to her sonne Henrye erle of
Richemond, and to licence hym with hys fauor to returne again into
England: and yf it were his pleasure so to do, she promised that the erle
her sonne should mary one of kynge Edwardes daughters at the ap-
poinctement of the kynge, without any thing to be takẽ or demaunded
for the saide espousals, but onely the kynges fauour, whyche request I
sone ouer passed and gaue her fayre wordes & so departed. But after in
my lodgynge, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie & dyd
circumspectely ponder them. I fully adiudged that the holy ghost cau-
sed her to moue a thynge (the ende wherof she coulde not cõsider) bothe
for the securitie of the realme as also for the preferemente of her childe &
the destruction & finall confusion of the cõmon enemye kyng Richarde.
Whyche thing, she neither then thought I am sure as I by her wordes
coulde make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not her deuyer to be so pro-
fitable to the realme as I now do perceiue, but suche a Lorde is God,
that with a litle sparcle he kyndelith a great fyer, & so fynally to declare
to you the very conclusion to the whyche I am both bent and sette, my
mynde is and my power & purse shall helpe, that the erle of Richemond
very heyre of the house of Lancaster (in the querell of the which linage,
both my father and grand father lost there lyues in battayle) shall take
to wyfe lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward, by the whych
mariage bothe the houses of Yorke and Lancaster maye be obteyned
and vnite in one, to the clere stablyshement of the title to the crowne of
thys noble realme. To whyche conclusion yf the mothers of bothe par-
ties, and especially the erle hym selfe, and the ladye wyll agre, I doubte
not but the braggynge bore, which with his tuskes raiseth euery mans
skyn, shall not onelye be brought to confusion as he hath deserued but yet
that this empire shall euer be certaine of an vndubitate heyre, and then
shall all ciuile and intestyne warre cease, whych so longe hath continued
to the paringe of many mens crownes, and this realme shalbe reduced
agayne to quietnes renoune and glorye. Thys inuencion of the duke
many men thought after, that it was more imagened for y inward ha-

tred

tred that he bare to kynge Richard, then for any fauor that he bare to the erle of Richemond. But of suche doubtfull matter, it is not beste to iudge for errynge to farre from the mynd and entent of the auctor: But whatsoeuer he entẽded, this deuice once opened to king Richard was the very occasion, ẏ he was roũded shorter by the whole head, without attaynder or iudgemẽt. When the duke had sayd, the bishop which fauored euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioyful, and muche reioysed to here this deuyce, for now came the wynd about euen as he would haue it, for all his imagynaciõ tended to this effect to haue king
x Richard subdued, & to haue ẏ lines of king Edward, & king Hẽry ẏ. bi. agayn rayſed and auaunsed. But lord howe he reioysed to thinke how ẏ by this mariage the linages of Yorke & Lãcaster should be cõioined in one, to the very stedfastnes of the publique wealthe of this realme. And lest the dukes courage should swage, or hys mynd should agayne alter, as it dyd oftẽ before, as you may easely perceiue by his own tale. He thought to set vp all the sayles that he had, to the entent ẏ the shyp of hys pretensed purpose myght come shortly to some suer port: And sayd to the duke, my lord, sygh by Gods hygh prouision and your incõparable wysedome and policie, this noble conjunction is fyrst moued,
xx now is it conuenient, yea and necessary to consyder, what personages and what frendes we shall firste make preuie of this hyghe deuice and politicke conclusyon. By my truethe quod the duke we wyll begyn wyth my lady of Richemonde therles mother, whyche knoweth wher he is, eyther in captiuitie or at large in Britain. For I harde saye ẏ the duke of Britayne restored him to liberty immediatly after the death of kyng Edward, by whose meanes he was restrayned. Syth yow wyll begyn ẏ way (sayd ẏ bishop) I haue an old frẽd wyth the coũtesse, a mã sobre, secret & well witted, called Reignold Bray whose prudẽt pollicie I haue knowẽ to haue cõpassed things of great importaũce, for whom
xxx I shall secretely send, yf it be your pleasure, & I doubt not he wil gladly come, & ẏ with a good wyll. So wyth a littel diligence, the bishop wrot a letter to Reignold Bray requiringe him so to come to Brecknocke ẅ spede for great and vrgent causes touching hys maistresse: & no other thyng was declared in ẏ letter. So the messenger rode into Lãcashire where Bray was ẅ the coũtesse & lord Thomas Stanley her husband & deliuered ẏ letter, which whẽ he had red, he toke it as a signe or presage of some good fortune to come, & so ẅ the messenger he came to the Castel of Brecknock, where ẏ duke & the bishop declared what thynge was deuised both for to set ẏ realm in a quiet stedfastnes, as also for the
xl high prefermẽt of ẏ earle of Richemond sonne to his lady & maystresse: Wylling her first to cõpasse how to obteyne the good will of quene Elizabeth, & also of her eldest doughter bearing ẏ same name: & after secretely to sẽd to her son into Britain to declare what high honor was prepared for hym, if he would swear to mary ẏ lady Elizabeth assone as he was king & in royall possession of the realme. Reignold Bray ẅ a glad

hart for getting nothing geuen to him in charge in great hast and with good sped retourned to the countesse his lady & maistresse. Whē Bray was departed & this great doubtfull vessel once sette a broche, ỹ bishop thrustyng for nothing more then for libertie: whē he saw the duke pleasaunt and wel mynded, toward hym, he told the duke that yf he wer in hys yle of Ely he could make many frendes to ferther their enterprise, and if he wer there and had but .iiij. dayes warning, he lytle regarded the malice of kyng Richard, his coūtrey was so strong. The duke knew wel al this to be true, but yet loth he was that the bishop should depart for he knew wel that as long as the bishop was wyth him, he was sure ỹ of politique aduise, sage counsayll, and circumspect procedynge. And so he gaue the bishoppe fayre woordes, saiyng that he should shortely depart and that wel accompaygned for feare of enemies. The byshop beyng as wittie as the duke was wilie dyd not tarye tyll the dukes compaignie were assembled, but secretly disguysed, in a nyght departed (to the dukes great displeasur) and came to his see of Ely, where he found mony and frendes, and so sailed into Flandres, where he dyd the earle of Richemond good seruyce and neuer retourned agayn, tyll the earle of Richemonde after beyng kinge, sent for hym, and shortely promoted him to the sea of Cauntorbury. Thus the bishop wound him selfe from ỹ the duke, whē he had most nede of his ayde, for if he had tarryed styl, the duke had not made so many blabbes of his counsail, nor put so much cōfidence in the Welshmen, nor yet so temerariously set forward without knowledge of his frendes as he did, which thinges were his sodanie ouerthrowe as they that knew it, dyd reporte.

When Reignold Bray had declared his message, and preuy instruction to the countesse of Richemond his maistres, no meruel though she wer ioyous and glad, both of the good newes and also for ỹ obteining of such a high frend in her sonnes cause as the duke was, wherfore she willyng not to slepe this matter, but to farther it to ỹ vttermost of her ỹ power & abilitie, deuysed a meanes how to breke this matter to quene Elizabeth then beyng in sanctuary at Westminster. And therupon she hauing in her familie, at that tyme for the preseruacyon of her healthe a certaine Welshman called Lewes learned in phisicke, whiche for hys grauitie and experience, was well knowen and much estemed amōgest great estates of the realme: wyth whome she vsed somtime liberally & familyarly to talke, now hauynge opportunitie and occasion to breake her mind, vnto him of this weighty matter, declared that the time was come that her sonne should be ioyned in mariage with lady Elizabeth doughter & heire to king Edward, and that king Richard being takē & rl reputed of all men for the cōmon enemie of the realme, shuld oute of al honour and estate be deiected, and of his rule and kyngdom be clerely spoyled and expulsed: and required him to go to quene Elizabeth (with home in his facultie he was of counsayll) not as a messenger, but as one that came frendely to vysyte and consolate her, and as tyme and place

shoulde

shoulde require to make her preuie of this deuyse, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagened. This phisician did not long linger to accomplish her desyre, but w̄ good diligence repaired to ỹ quene beynge stil in the sanctuary at Westmynster. And whēhe saw tyme propice & conueniēt for his purpose, he said vnto her: Madame, although my imaginacion be very simple and my deuyce more foolishe, yet for the entier affeccyon that I beare toward you & your childrē, I am so bolde to vttre vnto you a secret & preuy conceit that I haue cast & compassed in my fantasticall brayne. When I well remembre and no lesse considre
x the great losse and dammage that you haue susteyned by the death of your noble and louyng husband and the great doloure and sorowe that you haue suffred and tollerated by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no lesse do both of bounden deutie and christian charitie then daily to study and hourely ymagen not onely how to brynge your hart to comfort and gladnes, but also deuyse howe to reuenge ỹ rygh-teous quarel of you and your children on that bloudy bloudsupper and cruell tyraunt kyng Richarde. And fyrste considre, what battaill, what manslaughter, what mischief hath rysen in this realme by the dissenciō betwene the.ij. noble houses of Yorke and Lancaster, which.ij. famili-
xx es (as I haue contriued) if they may be ioyned in one, I thynke, yea & doubt not but your line shalbe again restored to ỹ pristinate estate & degree, to your great ioye and comfort, and to the vttre confusion of your mortal enemie the vsurper kyng. You know very well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the erle of Richemond is next of blud, which is lyuyng and a lusty young batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your doughters now are heires: yf you could agree and inuent ỹ mean how to couple your eldest doughter with the yōg erle of Richemōd in matrimony, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortly depo-posed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

xxx When the quene had heard this frendely motion (which was as far from her thought as the mā that the rude people say is in the moone) lorde how her spirites reuiued, and how her hert lept in her bodye for ioye and gladnes, And fyrst geuynge lawde to almightye God as the chief aucthor of her comfort, secondarely to maister Lewes as the deuyser of the good newes and tydyngs, instantely besought him that as he had bene the fyrst inuenter of so good an enterprise, ỹ now he would not relinquishe nor desiste to folowe the same: requiringe him farther (because he was apperteyning to the countesse of Richemond mother to the erle Henry) that he would with al diligēte celeritie resort to her
xl then lodgyng in her husbandes place, within the citie of london, and to declare on the Quenes behalf to the countesse, that al the frendes and fautoures of king Edward her husband, should assyste and take parte wyth the erle of Richemond her sonne, so that he would take a Corpo-porall othe after the kingdome obteyned, to espouse and take to wyfe the lady Elizabeth her doughter, or els lady Cecyle, yf theldest daugh-

ter were not then lyuinge.

Maister Lewes wyth al dexteritie so sped hys busines that he made and concluded a finall ende and determinacyon of this enterpryse betwene the.ij.mothers,and because he was a phisician and out of al suspicion and misdemyng ,he was the common currer and daylye messenger betwene theim,ayding and setting forth the inuented conspiracye agaynst kyng Richard.So the ladye Margarete countesse of Richemond brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne made Reygnolde Bray her mooste faythefull seruaunte chiefe solicyter and preuye procurer of thys conspiracye,geuynge him in a charge secretely to enuegle and attracte suche persones of nobilite to ioyne with her and take her parte as he knew to be ingenious,faythefull,diligent and of actyuytye. Thys Reygnold Bray wythin fewe dayes broughte vnto hys lure,(fyrst of all taking of euerye person a solempne othe to be true & secret) syr Gyles Daubeney,sir Jhon Cheiney knyght,Richard Guylford and Thomas Rame esquyers and dyuerse other. The coũtesse of Richemond was not so diligent for her parte,but Quene Elizabeth was as vigilaunt on the other syde and made frẽdes and appoynted councelers to set forwarde and auaunce her busynes. In the meancesson the countesse of Richemond tooke into her seruyce Christopher Urswyke an honest and a wyse priest,and after an othe of hym for too be secrete taken and sworne,she bttred to him all her mynde and councell,adhibityng to him the more confydence and truth that he al his life had fauoured and taken part with kyng Henry the.vj.and as a special iuel put to her seruice by sir Lewes her Phisician. So the mother studious for ỳ prosperitie of her son appointed this Christopher Urswike to sayle into Britayne to the erle of Richemond and to declare & to demonster to him all pactes & agremẽtes betwene her & ỳ quene agreed & concluded:But sodainly she remẽbryng that ỳ duke of Buckyngham was one of the fyrst inuenters & a secrete founder of this enterprise,determined to sende some personage of more estimacion thẽ her chapelain and so elected for a messenger Hugh Cõwey esquier and sent hym into Britayne wyth a great some of her money to her sonne, geuing him in charge to declare to ỳ erle ỳ great loue & especiall fauor ỳ the most part of the nobilite of the realm bare toward him,the louing hartes & benenolent myndes which the whole comminaltie of their own frewyl frãkely offered and liberally exhibited to him, willing & aduising hym not to neglect so good an occasion apparantly offred,but wt all spede & diligence to addicte & setle hys mynd and full entencion howe to retourne home againe into England wher he was both wyshed & looked for,geuyng him farther monicion & councel to take land & arriual in ỳ principalitie of Wales,where he should not doubt to fynde both ayde, comfort & frendes.Richard Guylford least Hugh Conwey myght fortune to be takẽ or stopped at plimmoth,where he entended to take his nauigaciõ,sent out of kent Thomas Rame with the same instrucciõs:& both

made

made ſuch diligence and had ſuch wynd and wether, ỹ one by land frō Caleis, and the other by water from plimmoth, that within leſſe thē an houre both arryued in the duke of Bꝛitaynes court and ſpake with the erle of Richemond, which from the death of kyng Edward went at his pleaſure and libertie, and to him counted and manifeſted the cauſe and effecte of their meſſage and ambaſſade. When the Earle had receyued thys ioyfull meſſage, whyche was the moꝛe pleaſaunte becauſe it was vnloked foꝛ, he rendꝛed to Jeſu hys ſauyoure hys mooſte humble and harty thankes, beyng in ferme credence and beleue that ſuch thynges
x as he wyth buſy mynde and laboꝛyous entente had wyſhed and deſyred, coulde neuer haue taken any effect wythout the helpe and pꝛeferment of almighty God. And now beyng putte in comfoꝛt of hys longe longynge he dyd communicate and bꝛeake to the duke of Bꝛitayne all his ſecretes and pꝛeuy meſſages whych were to hym declared, aduertiſynge hym that he was entered into a ſure and ſtedfaſte hope to obteyne and get the crowne and kyngdom of the realme of England, deſyꝛynge him bothe of his good wyl and frendely help toward the acheuyng of hys offred enterpꝛyſe, pꝛomiſing him when he came to hys entended purpoſe, to rendꝛe hym agayne equall kyndnes and condygne
xx gratulacyon.

Although the duke befoꝛe that daye by Thomas Hutton Ambaſſadoꝛ frō king Richard had both by money & pꝛayers ben ſolicit & moued to put agayne into ſafe cuſtody the erle of Richemonde, he neuertheleſs pꝛomyſed faythfully to ayde him, and his pꝛomes he truely perfoꝛmed.

The .iij. pere.

WHerupon the erle with al diligence ſent into England, again Hugh Conwey and Thomas Rame, which ſhoulde declare his commyng ſhoꝛtly into Englande, to thentente that all thinges whiche by councel myght be foꝛ his purpoſe pꝛouyded, ſhoulde be accelerate and haſted: and that all thynges doubtefull ſhoulde of his frendes be pꝛudently foꝛſene, in auoydynge all engyns and ſnares whych kyng Richard had oꝛ myght haue ſet in diſturbaūce of hys purpoſe, and he in the meane ceaſon would make hys abode ſtill in Bꝛitayne, tyll al thinges neceſſary foꝛ his ioꝛney were pꝛepared and
xxx bꝛought in aredynes.

In the meane ceaſon the cheuetaynes of the conīuracyon in Englande began together manye enterpꝛiſes: Some in conueniente foꝛtreſſes put ſtrong garriſons. Some kept armed men pꝛeuely, to thentent when they ſhould haue knowledge of the erles landing, they wold begynne to ſturre vp the warre: Other dyd ſecretely moue and ſollicit the people to ryſe and make an inſurreccion: Other (emongeſt whome Jhon Moꝛton biſhop of Ely then beynge in Flaundꝛes was chiefe) by pꝛeuy letters and cloked meſſengers, did ſtur and inuite to this newe conīuracyon, al ſuch which they certeynly knew to haue a roted hatred

or to beare a cankard malice toward king Richard & his procedinges.

Although this great enterpryse were neuer so preuely handeled & so secretely emongest so circumspecte persones treated, compassed and conueyghed, yet knowledge thereof came to the eares of king Richard whyche wyth the sodayne chaunce was not a lytle moued and astonned. Fyrste because he had no host ready prepared and conscribed. Secondarely yf he should reyse an army so sodainly, he knewe not where to occurre and mete his enemies, or whether too go or where to tary. Wherfore he determined to dissimule the matter, as though he knewe nothinge tyll he had assembled hys host, and in the meane ceason either by the rumour of the common people or by the diligence of his explora- xx
tours and espialles to inuestigate and search out all the councelles, determinacions, ententes and compasses of his close aduersaries, or elles by craftie pollecie to intercepte and take some person of thesame cõiuracion, considerynge that there is no more secrete nor hyd especyal then that whiche lurketh in dissimulacion of knoweledge and intelligence, or is hydden in the name and shadowe of countrefeicte humanite and feined kyndnes. And because he knewe the duke of Buckyngham too be the chiefe head and aid of the coniuracyon, he thought it mooste necessarye to plucke hym from that parte eyther by fayre promyses or open xx
warre. Wherupon he addressed hys louyng letters to the duke, as full of mellifluous woordes, humanitie and familiarite as the interior cogitacyon and preuy meanyng was full of malice, rancor and poyson: geuyng farther in charge to the messenger that caryed the letter to promes to the duke on his behalfe golden hilles and syluer ryuers, and w all gentle and pleasaunt meanes to persuade and exhorte the duke to come to the courte. But the duke as wylie as the kynge, mystrustynge the fayre flatterynge woordes and the gaye promyses to him so sodainly wythout any cause offered, knowyng the crafty castes of kynge Richardes bowe, whych in diuerse affaires before tyme he had seue prac- xxx
tised, requyred the king to perdon him, excusynge him selfe that he was so deseased in hys stomacke, that skante he coulde take either refeccio or rest. Kyng Richarde not beynge contente wyth thys excuse woulde in no wyse admitte the same, but incontinent directed to the duke other letters of a more rougher and hawter sort, not without minatorie termes, and checkyng woordes, commaundyng hym all excuses set apart to repaire wythout any delay to his royal presence. The duke made to ỹ messenger a determynat answer, that he would not come to his mortall enemy, whome he neyther loued nor fauoured: and immedyatlye prepared open warre agaynst hym, and perswaded all hys complyces xl
and partakers that euery man shoulde in his quarter wyth all diligẽce reyse vp the people and make a commocion. And by thys meanes almooste in one momente Thomas Marques Dorcet came out of sanctuarye where he syth the begynninge of Richardes dayes had contynued, whose lyfe by the onely helpe of sir Thomas louell esquyer was

preserued

preserued from all daunger and perell in this tronbleous worlde, gathered together a great bande of menne in Yorkeshire. Sir Edward Courtney, & Peter his brother bishop of Excetter, reysed another army in denoushire and cornewal. In kente, Richarde Guylforde and other gentlemen, collected a great company of Souldioures and openly beganne warre. But king Richard which in the meane tyme hadde gotten together a great strength and puissance, thinking it not mooste for hys part benefycyall to dysparse and deuyde hys greate armye into small braunches, and partyculerely to persecute any one of the con-
x iuracion by him selfe, determined all other beynge set a syde, wyth hys whole puyssance to set on the chiefe hed whyche was the duke of Buckyngham. And so remouinge from London, he tooke hys iourney towarde Salsbury, to the entente that in thys iourney he myght set on the dukes army, yf he myght knowe hym in any place encamped, or in ordre of battayl arayed. The king was skace .ij. dayes iourney from Salsbury, when the duke of Buckingham accompanied wyth a great power of wyld Welesshmen, whome he beynge a man of that courage and sharpe speche in maner against their willes had rather therto enforced and compelled by lordely and streite commaundemente then by
xx liberall wages and gentle reteynour, whyche thinge was the very occasion why they lefte him desolate and cowardly forsooke hym. The duke wyth all hys power mersshed through the forest of deane entending to haue passed ỹ riuer of Seuerne at Gloucester, and therto haue ioyned in army with the courtneys and other Westernmen of his cõederacy & affinite, which yf he had done, no doubt but king Richard had bene in great ieoperdie either of priuacion of his realme or losse of hys life or both. But se the chaũce, before he could attayne to Seuerne side by force of continuall rayne and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that it
xxx ouerflowed all the countrey adioyning, in somuch that mẽ wer drowned in their beddes, houses with the extreme violẽce were ouerturned childzen were caried aboute the feldes, swimming in cradelles, beastes were drouned on hylles, whiche rage of water lasted contynuallye ten dayes, in somuch that in ỹ countrey adioyning they call it to this day, the great water, or the duke of Buckynghams great water. By thys inundacion the passages were so closed ỹ neyther the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to hym, duryng the whyche tyme, the Welshmen lyngeryng ydele and wythout money, vitayle or
xl wages, sodenly scaled and departed, and for all the dukes fayre promises, manaces and enforcementes, they wouldе in no wyse neyther goo farther nor abide. The duke thus abãdonned and left almost post alone was of necessitie cõpelled to flie, and in his flight was with this sodeyne fortune meruelously dismayed: and beyng vnpurueyed, what councel he should take and what waie he shoulde folowe, like a may in dyspeyre not knowyng what to do, of very truste and confydence conueyghed him selfe into the house of ~~Humfrey~~ Banaster his seruaunt beside

shrewsburye, whome he had tendrely broughte vp, & whome he aboute all men loued, fauoured and trusted, now not doubting but that in hys extreme necessitie, he should fynde hym faythfull, secrete and trusty, entendyng there couertely to lurke tyll eyther he mighte reyse agayne a newe armye, or elles shortely to sayle into Britayne to the Earle of Richemond.

But when it was knowen to hys adherentes whyche were readye to geue battayle, that hys hoste was scaled, and had lefte him almooste alone, and was fled and could not be founde, they were sodaynly amased and stryken wyth a soden feare, that euery manne lyke personnes x desperate shyfted for hym selfe and fled, some went to sanctuarye and to solitarie places, some fled by sea, whereof the mooste parte within a fewe dayes after arryued sauelye in the duchye of Britayne. Emonge whiche nombre were these persones, Peter Courtney bishoppe of Excettre and sir Edmonde Courtney hys brother, by kynge Henrye the vij. after created Earle of Denoushire, Thomas Marques Dorcet, Jhon Lorde Welles, Sir Jhon Burchier, Sir Edmonde Wooduyle a valyaunte man in armes brother to quene Elizabeth, Sir Roberte Willoughby, Sir Giles Dabeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Syr Jhon Cheyney and hys twoo brethren, Sir Wyllyam Barkeley, Sir xx Wylliam Brandon, and Thomas hys brother, Sir Rychard Edgcombe, all these for the mooste part beyng knightes, and Jhon Halwell, Edward Pownynges a pollytyke Capitayne. At thys very ceason Jhon Morton Bishop of Ely, and Cristopher Urswike Priest, and another company of noble men soiourned in Flaunders, and by letters and messengers procured manye ennemies agaynste kynge Richard, whyche bynge a bygylaunt yie, and a quycke remembraunce beinge newelye come to Salsburye, hauynge perfyght notyce and knowlege howe the Duke was fled, and howe hys complyces entended to passe oute of the realme. Fyrste he sent menne of warre to all the next portes and passages to kepe, streyghtly the sea coast, so that no person shoulde xxx passe outwarde nor take lande in the realme wythout their assent and knoweledge. Secondarely, he made proclamacion, that what person coulde shewe and reuele where the duke of Buckyngham was shoulde be highly rewarded, yf he were a bondman he should be enfraunchised and set at libertie, yf he were of fre bloude, he shoulde haue a generall perdon and be remunerate wyth a thousand poundes. Farthermore, because he vnderstode by Thomas Hutton, whiche as you haue heard was newely retourned oute of Britayne, that Fraunces duke of Brytayne not onely refused to kepe therle of Richemonde, as a prisonner at his contemplacion and for hys sake, but also was ready to aide and sucxl coure thesayd Earle wyth menne, money and al thinges necessarye for his transportyng into England. Wherfore he rigged and sent out shippes of war and furnyshed and decked wyth men and artillery, to skour and kepe that part of the sea that lieth against Britain, to thentent that yf the

yf the erle of Richemond would auenture to saile toward England either he shoulde be taken captyue or be profligate and dryuen from the coast of Englande. And moreouer to thentent that euery coaste, waye, passage, and corner should be dylygently watched and kepte, he sette at euery dubious and suspected place men of warre, to seke, searche, and enquyre yf any creature coulde tell tydynges of the duke of Buckyngham or of anye of hys confederacyon, adherentes, fautoures or partakers.

While this Busy searche was diligently applied and put in execucio Rauf
x ~~Homfrey~~ Banaster (were it more for fear of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand pou-
1 des) he bewrayed hys geste and mayster to Jhon Witton then shryefe of shropshire, whych sodaynely wyth a stronge power of men in harnes apprehended the duke in a litle groue adioyning to the mansyon of ~~Ho-~~ Rauf
~~frey~~ Banaster, and in great hast and euyl spede conueighed hym appareled in a pilled blacke clocke to the citie of Salsburie, where kyng Richard then kept hys housholde.

Whether thys Banaster bewrayed the duke more for fear thē couetous, many men do doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after he had betra-
xx yed ỹ duke his maister, his sonne and heyre waxed mad and so died in a boxes stye, hys eldest doughter of excellent beautie was sodaynely striken wyth a foule leperye, his seconde sonne very meruelously deformed of his limmes and made decrepite, hys younger sonne in a small puddel was strāgled & drowned, & he being of extreme age arraigned & foūd gylty of a murther & by his clergy saued. And as for his thousand pound kyng Richard gaue him not one farthing, saiyng that he which would be vntrue to so good a maister wold be false to al other, howbeit some say ỹ he had a smal office or a ferme to stoppe his mouth withall.

The duke being by certayne of the kynges councel diligently vpon in-
xxx terrogatories examined what thynges he knew preiudicial to ỹ kings person, opened and declared frankely and frely all the coniuracio with out dissimulyng or glosyng, trustyng because he had truely & playnely reueled and confessed all thinges that were of him required, that he shoulde haue licence to speake to ỹ kyng which (whether it were to sue for perdon & grace, or whether he being brought to his presence would haue sticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he sore desyred and required. But when he had confessed the whole facte and conspyracye vpon Alsoulen day wythout arreignemente or iudgemente he
xl was at Salsoury in the open merket place on a newe Scaffold behedded and put to death. This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckyngham receyued at the handes of kyng Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holdē, susteyned & set forwarde aboue all Godes forbode.

By thys all menne maye easelye perceyue that he not onely leseth bothe hys labour, traueyle and industrye, and ferther steyneth and

spot-

ſpotteth his ligne with a perpetuall ignomynye and repꝛoche, whyche in euyl and miſchiefe aſſiſteth and aydeth an euyl diſpoſed perſon, conſyderynge foꝛ the mooſte part that he foꝛ hys frendelye fauoure ſhoulde receyue ſome greate diſpleaſure oꝛ infoꝛtunate chaunce. Beſyde that God of hys iuſtice in concluſion appoyncteth to him a condygne peyne and affliccion foꝛ his merytes and deſertes. Whyle theſe thyngs were thus handeled and oꝛdꝛed in England, Henry Earle of Richemonde pꝛepared an army of fyue thouſande manlye Bꝛytons, and foꝛtie well furnyſhed ſhyppes. When al thynges were pꝛepared in aredynes and the day of departinge and ſettynge foꝛwarde was appoynted, whiche was the. xij. daye of the moneth of October, in the yere of the incarnacyon of oure redemer. M. CCCC. LXXXV. and in the ſeconde yere of kyng Richardes reigne, the whole armye went on ſhypboꝛde and halſed vp their ſailes, and wyth a pꝛoſperous wynd tooke the ſea: but towarde night the wynd chaunged and the wether tourned, and ſo houge and terrible a tempeſte ſodaynly roaſe, that with the very power and ſtrength of ꝑ ſtoꝛme, the ſhippes were diſparcled, ſeuered and ſeparate aſondꝛe: ſome by foꝛce were dꝛyuen into Noꝛmandye, ſome were compelled to retourne agayne into Bꝛitayne. The ſhyppe wherin the Earle of Richemonde was, aſſocyate onelye wyth oue other barcke was all nyght toſſed and turmoyled. In the moꝛnynge after when the rage of the furyous tempeſt was aſſuaged, and the Ire of the bluſterynge wynd was ſome deale appeaſed, aboute the houre of none the ſame daye, the Earle appꝛoched to the ſouthe parte of the realme of England euen at the mouthe of the hauen of pole in the countie of doꝛcet, where he myght plainely perceyue all the ſe bankes and ſhoꝛes garniſhed and furniſhed wyth men of warre and ſouldyoures appointed and deputed there to defende hys arryuall and landynge as befoꝛe is mencyoned. Wherefoꝛe he gaue ſtreyght charge and foꝛe commaundemente, that no perſone ſhould once pꝛeſume to take land and goo too the ſhoꝛe, vntyll ſuche tyme as the whole nauye were aſſembled and congregate. And whyle he exſpected and lyngered taryeng foꝛ that purpoſe, he ſente oute a ſhyppe boate towarde the lande ſyde too knowe, whyther they whych ſtoode there in ſuche a nombꝛe, and ſo well furnyſhed in apparell defenſyue were hys capitall foes and ennemyes oꝛ elles hys frendes fautoures and comfoꝛters. They that were ſent in explocacyon and meſſage, were inſtantely deſired of the men of warre kepyng the coaſt (whyche thereof were befoꝛe inſtructed and admoniſhed) to diſſende and take lande, affirmyng that they were appoyncted by the duke of Buckyngham there to awayt and tary foꝛ the arriual and landyng of the erle of Richemond, and to conduicte ſafely to the campe where the duke not far of lay encãped wyth a populous army and an hoſt of great ſtrength and vigoꝛ, to thentent that the duke and the erle ioyning in puyſſauuces and foꝛces together, myghte pꝛoſecute and chace kyng Richard being deſtitut of men, and in maner

deſperate

desperat and fugityue, and so by that meanes and their own laboures and industrie to obteyne the ende of their enterpryse which they had before begonne.

The erle of Richemond suspectyng their flatteryng requeste too be but a fraud (as it was in dede) after that he perceyued none of his shippes to apere in syght, he weyed vp his ancors and halsed vp hys sayles hauinge a prosperous and strenable wynd and a fresche gale sente euen by God to delyuer him from that perell and ieopardie, arriued safe and in securitie in the duchy of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace
x hys souldyoures and people, tooke hys recreacyon by the space of. iij. dayes, and clerely determined wyth parte of his companye to passe all by lande agayn into Britayne. And in the meane season he sente oratoures to the Frenche kynge called Charles the. viij. whyche newelye succeded hys father kyng Lewes the. xi. not longe before departed to God, requirynge hym of a safe conduycte and lycence to passe through hys countrey of Normandye into Brytayne. The younge kynge hauynge compassion of the myssortune and vnfortunate chaunce of the Earle of Richemonde, not onely gentlye graunted and assigned to him a passporte, but also liberally dysbursed and departed to hym a coueni-
xx ent somme of moneye for hys conduicte and expenses necessarye in hys long iourney and passage. But the erle trusting on the Frenche kynges humanite aduentured to send his shippes home into Britayn, and to set forwarde hym selfe by lande on hys iourneye makinge no greate hast till hys messengers were retourned, whych beyng with ȳ benefite so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so encouraged, mersshed toward Britayne wyth all diligēt celeritie entendyng ther to cōsulte farther wit h his louers and frendes of his affaires and enterpri-
ses. Whē he was retorned agayn into Britayn he was certified by credible informaciō that ȳ duke of Buckingham had lost his heade & that
xxx the Marques dorcet and a great nombre of noble men of England had a lytle before enquyred and serched for hym there, & were now retourned to Vānes. Whē he had hard these news thus reported, he fyrst sorowed & dolorously lamented the fyrst attempt and settyng forwarde of his frendes, & in especial of the nobylite not to haue more fortunatly succeded. Secondarely, he reioysed on the other part ȳ God had sent hym so many valiaunt and prudent captaynes to be his compaignions in hys merciall enterprises, trustyng surely, and nothing doubtinge in hys owne opinion, but that all his busynes should be wysely compassed and brought to a good conclusiō. Wherfore he determining wyth al di-
xl ligēce to accelerate & set forward hys new begonne busynes departed to Renes, & sent certayne of his preuy seruytours to conduct & bring ȳ Marques and the other noble men to his presence. When they knewe that he was sauely re torned into Britayn, lord how they reioysed and applauded, for before that time they mysted him and knew not in what parte of the world to make inuestigacyon or searche for hym.

For

For they doubted, and no lesse feared least he had taken land in Englād, and fallen in the handes of kyng Richard, in whose person they knewe well was neyther mercy nor compassion. Wherfore in all spedy maner they galloped towarde hym, and him reuerently saluted, which meting after great ioye and solace and no small thankes and gratificacions geuen and tendred on bothe partes, they consulted and aduysedly debated and commoned of their great busynes and weighty enterprise, in ỹ whiche season the solempne feaste of the natiuite of our sauiour Christ happened, on which daye al thenglyshe lordes went with greate solēpnitie to the chiefe churche of the citie, and there eache gaue faythe and r promyse to other. The erle hym selfe fyrste tooke a corporall othe, and on hys honour promisyng that incontinente after he shoulde be possessed of the crouue and dignitie of the realme of Englande, he woulde be conioyned in matrymony wyth the lady Elizabeth doughter to kynge Edward the fourthe. Then all the companie sware to hym fealtie, and dyd to hym homage, as thoughe he hadde bene that tyme the crowned kynge and anoynted Prince, promisynge faythfully, and fermelye assurynge, that they woulde not onelye lese their worldely substaunce, but also be pryuated of their liues and worldly felycytie, rather then to suffre kynge Rychарde that tyraunt lenger to rule and reygne ouer thē. rr Whyche solempne othes made and taken, the Earle of Rychemonde declared and communycated all these doynges to Fraunces duke of Bretayne, desyrynge and mooste hartelye requyrynge hym to ayde hym wyth a greater army to conduycte hym into hys countrey, which so sore longed and looked for hys retourne, and to the whych he was by the more parte of he nobylytie and commynaltie called and desyred whiche (wyth Goddes ayde and the Dukes comfort) he doubted not in shorte tyme to obteyne, requiringe hym farther to prest to hym a cōuenyēt some of money, affirmyng that al such sommes of money which he had receyued of hys especyall frendes, were spent and exhausted in the preparacyon of the laste iourney made towarde Englande, whiche rrr sommes of money after his enterpryse once acheued, he in the word of a prynce faythfullye promysed to repaye and restore agayne. The duke promised him ayde and helpe vpon confydence wherof he rigged his shippes, and set forth his nauy well decked wyth ordinaunce, and warlykely furnyshed wyth al things necessary, to thentent to saile forward shortely, and to se no conuenient tyme slackely ouerpassed nor be pretermitted.

In the meane season, kyng Richarde apprehended in dyuerse partes of the realme certayne gentlemē of the earle of Rychemondes faction and confederacyon, which either entended to saile into Britayne pl towarde hym, or els at hys landynge to assiste and ayde hym. Emongeste whom, sir George Browne, syr Roger Clyfforde, and. iiij. other were put to execution at London, and syr Thomas Sentygler which had maried the duches of Exceter the kings owne suster, and Thomas

Rame

Rame & diuerse other were executed at exceter. Besyde these persons diuerse of his houshold seruauntes whom eyther he suspected or doubted, wer with great cruelty put to shamefull death. After this he called a parliament, in the which he attaynted ỹ erle of Richemõd & all other persones, which were fled out of the realme for feat or any other cause as enemies to him and to their natural countrey, and all their landes, goodes and possessions were confiscate and seased to ỹ kinges vse. And yet not content with this pray, which no doubt was of no small valour and moment, he layed on the peoples neckes a great taxe and tallage, & and surely necessite to that acte in maner hym compelled. For what with purgyng and declarynge his innocencie concerning the murther of his nephewes toward the world, & what with cost to obtayne ỹ loue and fauoure of the comminaltie (which outwardely glosed and openly dissimuled with him) he gaue prodigally so many & so great rewardes that now both he lacked and skace wist honestelye how to borowe. In this troubleous season, nothinge was more merueled at then that the lord Stanley had not bene taken and reputed as an enemy to the king consyderinge the workyng of the lady Margarete hys wife mother to the earle of Richemonde, but forasmuch as the enterpryse of a woman && was of hym reputed of no regarde or estymacyon, & that the lord Thomas her husbande had purged hym selfe sufficiently to be innocent of all doynges and attemptes by her perpetrated and committed, it was geuen him in charge to kepe her in some secrete place at home, without hauynge any seruaunte or companye, so that from thencefoorthe she shoulde neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne nor anye of hys frendes or confederates, by the whyche the kynge myght be molested or troubled, or any hurte or preiudice might be attempted agaynst hys realme and comminaltie. Whyche commaundemente was a while put in execucion and accomplished accordyng to his dreadfull commaundeɛɛɛ ment. Yet the wyld worme of vengeaunce wauerynge in hys hed could not be contẽted with the death of diuerse gẽtlemen suspected of treason, but also he muste extende hys bloudy furye agaynst a poore gentleman called Collyngborne for making a small ryme of thre of his vnfortunate counselers, which were the lorde Louell, sir Richard Radclyffe hys mischeuous mynion, and sir Wylliam Catesbey his secrete seducer whiche metre was.

The Rat, the Catte and Louell our dogge
Rule al England vnder the hogge.

Meanynge by the hogge, the dreadfull wylde bore which was the kinR ges cognisaunce, but because the fyrste lyne ended in dogge, the metrician coulde not obseruinge the regymentes of metre ende the second verse in Bore, but called the Bore an hogge. Thys poetycall schoole mayster Corrector of breues and longes, called Collyngborne to bee abbreuyate shorter by the heade, and to bee deuyded into foure quarters.

Kyng Richarde beyng thus turmented and tossed in hys owne cō-
repte and imagination, called to his remembraunce that consideraciōs
amities, and other honeste bondes and pactes made, cōcluded and ap-
pointed betwene princes and politique gouernours are ỹ cause efficiēt
and especiall introductyon that their realmes and countries are forti-
fied and munited wyth a double power, that is to say, with their owne
strength and the ayde of their frendes, deuised with him self to practise
a league and amitie wyth the kynge of Scottes, which not long before
had made diuerse incursyons and roades into the realme of England,
where although he gatte lytle, yet surely he lost not much, and therupō pr
sued to haue a truce or peace concluded, whyche came euen as kyng Ri-
chard had wished it. Wherfore commissioners were assigned for bothe
partes to mete at Nothyngham the.vij.daye next ensuyng, at whyche
tyme came thyther for the kyng of England Jhon bishop of Lyncolne
chaunceller of Englande, Richard bishop of saynte Asse, Jhon duke of
Norfolke, Henry erle of Northumberlande, Thomas lorde Stanley,
George Stanley lord straūge, Jhon Gray lord Powes, Richard lord
Fytzhughe, Jhon Gunthorpe keper of the kynges preuy seale, Tho-
mas Barow maister of the rolles, Sir Thomas Briane chiefe iustice
of the common place, Sir Richard Ratclyffe knyght, Wylliā Catesbey pr
and Richard Salkeld esquyers. And for the kyng of Scottes wer de-
puted Colyn erle of Ergyle lord Camplell & lord Chaunceler of Scot-
lande, Wyllyam bishop of Aberdene, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lorde
Olyphant, Jhon Drummond of Stobhal, Archibald Qwhitelator ar-
chedeacon of Lawdene and secretory to kyng James, Lyon kynge of
Armes and Duncane dundas. These councellers dyuerse times mete,
and after longe debatinge, demaundynge and denyenge, in the ende of
September they fully concluded, and made a determinacion, the effect
whereof foloweth in artycles.

i. Firste it was appoynted and concluded that a perfight amitie and pr
an inuiolable peace should be had & kepte betwene the realmes of En-
glande and Scotlande for the space of.iij.yeres, to begyn at the sonne
tysing the.xxix.day of Septēber in the yere of our lord. M.cccc.lxxiiij
and to endure to the settyng of the sonne the.xxix.day of september in
the yere of christes incarnacion. M.cccc.lxxxvij.

ij. Item that duryng the sayd yeres, none of both the princes, nor their
ministers shall make warre or inuade ỹ realme or dominiō of theother
by sea or by land, or vexe, perturbe, or molest the subiectes or vassals of
either of theim, nor shall geue councel, excite or moue any other person
to make warre or inuasion on the territories of any of thesaid princes. pl

iij. Item that the toune and castel of Berwike with al such boundes as
therto were belongynge, which were in the Englishe mennes handes
at the deliueraunce of thesame toune by king Henry the. vi. to the king
of Scottes, shall so peaceably remayn in the possessyon of the kynge of
England during the sayd truce.

Item

Item that all other castelles, holdes and fortresses, shall peaceably iiij.
remain in the hãds of the possessor and owner without chalenge or de-
maunde durynge thesayd truce, the castel of dumbarre onelye excepte,
(whyche was deliuered into thenglishe mens handes by the apoinct-
ment of the duke of Albany when he fled into Fraunce.)

Item yf the kinge of Scottes do intimate and declare to the kyng v.
of England, within the space of.xl.dayes next ensuyng ẏ day hereof, ẏ
he wyl not suffre thesayd castel of Dumbarre to be possessed of the En-
glishe nacyõ aboue the terme of six monethes, that then during thesaid
x vi.monethes, neyther thenglishmen in the garyson of Dumbarre, nor
the Scottes dwellyng and inhabityng about the limittes of thesame,
shall do any hurte, preiudice or dainmage to any of thesayd parties the
sayd terme cotynuyng.

Item yf after thesayde .vj.monethes any variaunce of warre shal vj.
aryse betwene thesayd twoo princes, either for the recoueringe or de-
fendyng thesayd castel of Dumbarre, yet thesayd truce, league & amite
for al other rightes and possessions, shal stande in force and bee effectu-
all, and that it shalbe lefull to eache of thesayd prynces to do what they
shall thynke necessary, both for the obteyning and defending of thesaid
xx castell of Dumbarre, any thinge conteyned in the treaty of Peace not-
withstandinge.

Item it is concluded and apoynted betwene the parties aforsayd, ẏ vij.
duringe thesayd truce, none of both the princes aforsayd, shall receyue
into hys realme, territories or dominions, any treytour or rebel of the
other pryncc, nor shall maintayne, fauour, ayde or comfort any rebell or
treytour, which is already fled, or hereafter shall flye into eyther of the
sayd princes dominions, nor there suffre him or theim to tary, or make
theyr abode.

Item yf any such rebel or treytour shal fortune hereafter to arryue viij.
xxx in the realme or territorie of any of thesayd princes, that then thesayde
pryncc, in whose dominiõ thesayd traytour or rebel is so arryued, at ẏ
instance & request of the other prince to whom the offence & crime was
committed, shalbe bound incontynently to deliuer thesaid rebel or trei-
tour to thesayd demaunder wythout fraude or male engyne.

Item that al Scottishmẽ now inhabytyng in Englande, & sworne ix.
to the kyng of Englande, shall & may there inhabyte and tarye, so that
their names wythin.xl.dayes after the date of thys league be certified
to the kyng of Scottes, or to hys Chauncelour, by the kyng of Englãd
or the warden of the marches.

xl Item yf duryng thesayde amitie and peace, it shal fortune any of the x.
wardeyns of thesayd princes without cõmaundement, assent or know-
ledge of hys souereygne lord & mayster, to inuade & reyse an armye in
the dominiõ of the other pryncc, and there to sley, burne or spoyle, ẏ thẽ
thesayd pryncc, to whome thesayde wardeyn is or shalbe subiect & vas-
sal, shal within.vj.dayes next after the facte done & perpetrate, declare

thesayde wardein a treytour and rebell, and therof shal make certificat to the other prince to whom the iniurie was cõmitted within.xij.daies after thesayd declaracion made and denounced.

xi. Item that in euery saueconduict to be graunted by either of thesaid princes, thys clause to be added: Prouided alwaies that ỹ obteyner of thys saueconduyt be no treytour nor rebel to his prynce.

xij. Item yf during this amitie and truce, any of the subiectes of either prince do presume or attempt to aide, help, mainteine or serue any other prynce againste any of the sayde contractoures: Then it shalbe lefull to ỹ prynce and his subiectes against whom he shewed him selfe enemy & aduersary to apprehende and attache thesaid subiecte, goyng, cõmyng or tariynge any acte, article or clause in thys league to the contrary cõprehended notwythstanding.

xiij. Item it is agreed, apointed and accorded that in this treatie & amitie shalbe comprehende the frendes obliged and confederates of bothe the princes if they list to entre and accepte the league, and therupon to declare their pleasurs within.vj.monethes next ensuing, and specially for ỹ kynge of Englands parte wer named for confederates. The king of Castell and Lyon, The kyng of Arragon, The kyng of Portyngall The Archeduke of Austryche and Burgoyne and the duke of Britain. On ỹ part of the king of Scottes were named for confederates, Charles the French kyng, Jhon kyng of Denmarcke and Norwey & ỹ duke of Geldres and Britayne.

xiiij. Item it is agreed and cõcluded betwene the parties aforesayd that the lordship of Lorne in the realme of Scotlãd, nor the Iland of Londay liynge in the ryuer of Seuerne in the realme of Englande, shal not be taken nor comprysed within this league, but to stãd at large as they dyd before.

xv. Item that this concorde, peace and amitie shalbe published, proclaimed and deuulged the fyrst day of October next ensuyng in the moost notable & famous cities & tounes of both the realmes & regyons. And conseruatours were apoynted for the sure obseruation of thys league and amitie on both partes, whose names folowe.

For the kynge of England.

Jhon Earle of Lyncolne
Henry erle of Northumberland
Raufe lord Neuel
Raufe lord Greystocke
Richard lord Fitz Hugh
Jhon lord Scrope
Thomas lord Scrope of Massan
Sir Chrystopher Moresbey
Wyllyam Clapton, esquier
Homfrey lord Baker
Sir Richard Ratclyffe
Sir Jhon Conyers
Sir Edmond Hastynges
Sir Robert Donstable
Sir Hugh Hastynges
Sir Wylliam Euers
Sir Jhon Huldeston
William Mulgraue, esquier
Richard Salkeld, esquier.

For the

not remẽbryng the tyranny that he had executed agaynst his brothers
sonnes, the wrong & manifest iniury that he had done to his brothers
daughters, both in taking from them their dygnyte, possessyons and
lyuynge, thoughte it shoulde redounde greatelye to hys honoure and
fame, yf he promoted hys susters chylde (to whome he was nothynge
bounde in conscience to make restitucyon) to the dygnytye of a Quene
rather then to preferre hys brothers doughter, whome he hadde vn-
truely and by force disheneryted, and of all their ryght depryued, to the
maryage of a meane esquyer: suche was hys fraternall kyndenes to-
xx warde hys brother, and such was hys large conscyence towarde hys
brothers chyldren.

After this league and mariage thus concluded and agreed, the king
of Scottes disdeynyng that the stronge castell of Dombarre shoulde
remayne in thenglyshe mennes handes and possessyon, wrote a gentle
letter to kyng Richard, declaryng to hym that where in the league cõ-
cluded betwene theim, it was agreed and appoyncted that he shoulde
wythin.xl.dayes next ensuyng, expresse and declare hys opinion and
meanyng concerninge the castell of Dumbarre, whether the sayd castel
should be occupyed and stand still in the handes of thenglyshmenne du-
xx rynge the whole tyme of the truce, or elles for the terme of syxe mone-
thes onely. He nowe certefyed kyng Rychарde by hys letters that he
was contente that he and his should enioye the possession of the sayde
castel quyetelye and peaceablye durynge the sayde truce and amytye.
Neuertheless he required him for the loue and famylyaryte that nowe
bothe by treaty and alyaunce was spronge and knyt betwene theun,
that he woulde redelyuer the sayde castell into hys handes, whyche
was vntruely possessed of thenglysh nacyon by the deliuery of rebelles
and traitours, contrary to al ryght, equitie and conscience. Kynge Ri-
charde dalyed wyth pleasaunte letters and fayre woordes, and so fo-
xxx ded forthe the kynge of Scottes, that he neuer had Dumbarre dely-
uered whyle kyng Richard liued, after whose deathe, whether it were
by treason or appoyntmente, the castell was rendred to the kynge of
Scottes to hys great contentaciõ & reioysyng. Albeit by this league &
amitie thus couenaunted and concluded, it myght manifestly seme to
all persons, that all coniuracyons and confederates agaynst kyng Ri-
chard were extynct & put to scilence, and in especial consideryng that ȳ
duke of Buckyngham and hys alyes were made out of hys way, some
by death and some by banyshment and exylyng into farre countries &
regyons. Yet kyng Richard more doubtyng then trusting to his own
xl people and frendes was continually vexed, tossed and vnquieted with
feare of the retourne of the erle of Richemond and his complices & fau-
toures, whyche dayly dread and hourely agony, caused him to lyue in
doleful misery, euer vnquiet, & in maner in cõtinual calamite. Wherfore
he entending to be releued and to haue all his dolorous imaginacyon
alleuyated, determyned clerely to extirpate and plucke al the mater &

grounde of his feare and doubtes. Wherfore after longer and delibe-
rate consultacio had, nothing was for his purpose and entente thought
eyther more necessary or expedient then once agayn wyth pryce, prayer
and rewardes, to attempt the duke of Britayne in whose territory the
erle of Richemod then abode, to deliuer thesayd erle into his hades, by
whiche onely meanes he shoulde be discharged of all feare of perel, and
broughte to rest and quietnes bothe of body and mind. Wherfore inco-
tinent he sent certeyn ambassadoures to ỹ duke of Britayn, which toke
vpon theim (besyde the great and ample rewardes, ỹ they brought w
theim into Britayne) that king Richard should yerely paie & aunswere
the duke of all the reuenues, rentes and profytes, of the seignories, lan-
des and possessions aswell belonging and apperteignynge to the erle of
Richemond, as to any other nobel or gentleman, which then wer in the
erles company, yf he after that tyme would kepe them in continual pri-
son and restreyne theim from libertie.

The Oratours furnished with these and other instruccios, arriued
in Britayne and came to the dukes house, where with him they coulde
haue no maner of communicacion concerninge their weighty affaires,
by reason that he being fatigate and weakened by a long and dayly in-
firmite, beganne a litle to waxe ydle and weake in his wyt and remem-
braunce. For which cause Peter Landoyse his chiefe treasourer, a ma
both of pregnaunt wit & great auctorite, ruled and adiudged al thin-
ges at his pleasure and comaundement, for the which cause (as men set
into high auctoritie be not best beloued) he excited & prouoked against
him the malice and euil will of ỹ nobilite of Brytayne, which afterward
for diuerse great offences by him durynge his auctorite perpetrate &
committed, by their meanes was brought to death & confusyon. The-
glishe ambassadoures moued their message and request to Peter Lan-
doyse, and to him declared their maisters commaundemente, instantly
requiringe, and humblye desyryng him (in whose power it lay to do al
thing in Britayne) that he would frendely assent to the request of kyng
Richard offering to him thesame rewardes and lades, that they should
haue offered to the duke.

Thys Peter which was no lesse disdayned then hated almost of all
the people of Britayne, thought that yf he dyd assent and satisfye kyng
Richardes petition and desyre, he should be of powre and habilite suf-
ficient to wythstande and refell the malicious attemptes and dysdein-
full inuencions of hys enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he faythefully
promysed to accomplish kyng Richardes request and desire, so that he
kepte promyse with him, that he myght be hable to wythstand ỹ cacard
malice of hys secrete enemies. Thys actey he promysed to do, was not
for any grudge or malice that he bare to the earle of Richmond, for as
you haue heard before, he delyuered hym from perell of death at sainct
Malos when he was in greate doubte of lyfe & ieoperdy, but as cause
riseth we euer offende, and that cursted, hungre of golde and execrable

thyrst

Enmo to the wrong Scotch followeng

For the kynge of Scottes.

Dauid earle of Crafford and lorde lynsey.
George Earle of Huntley, lorde Gordon and Badzenath.
Jhon lorde Dorneley
Jhon lorde Kynedy
Roberte lorde Lile
Patricke lorde Hales
Lawrence lorde Oliphaunt
William lorde Borthwike
x Sir Jhon Rosse of Halkehed
Sir Gilbert Jhonson of Elphynston
Sir Jhon Lundy
Sir James Ogilly of Arly
Sir Robert Hamilto of Fingalton
Sir William Balze of Lamington
Sir Jhon Kinedy of Blarqhon
Sir Jhon Wemes
Sir William Rochewen.
Edward Crychton of Kicke paty
Jhon Dundas
Jhon Rosse of Montgrenane
these three last were esquyers

Item it is farther condiscended & agreed, that these commissioners whose names ensue shal mete at Loughmabãstane y. xviij. day of Nouember next ensuyng alwell for redresse to be had of certayne offences done on the Westmerches as also for declaryng and publishyng of the peace and amitie. xvj.

xx

Commissioners of the Englyshe parte.
The lorde Dacre
The lorde Fitz Hugh
Sir Richard Radclyffe
Sir Christopher Morsby
Sir Richard Salkeld
or three of theim.

Commissioners for the Scottyshe part.
The lorde Kenedy
The lorde Mountgomory
The lorde Lile
Jhon Maxwell Stuarde of Annerdale
Robert Crechton of Sanquhane
or three of them.

Itẽ like commissioners were assigned to mete at Roydon borne for the East marches the first day of December and also mete at Haldanestanke the. iiij. day of thesayde moneth for the middle marches. xxx xvij.

Commissioners for the kyng of Englande.
The earle of Northumberlande
The lorde Greystocke
The lorde Scrope of Massam
Sir William Gastoyn.
xl Sir Robert Constable

Commissioners for the kyng of Scottes
The erle of Huntley
The erle of Angus
The erle of Ergile
Chaunceller of Scotland
The lorde Wandale
The lorde Seton
The lorde Oliphaunt
The lorde Stobhil.

Item it is agreed that y commissioners aforesayd shall depute & assigne certayne persones to viewe and declare the boundes and limites apperteignyng to the toune of Berwike according to the true meaning of the leaguc. xviij.

xix. Item it is agreed and apoynted that no person of England or Scotland shal during thesaid truce, buyld, eare or sowe any landes or groũd beyng wythin the boũdes of the batable ground, but to suffre thesame to continue in the same condicion that it now remayneth.

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished and sealed wyth al dewe circumstaunces therunto required. Although kynge Richard iudged and demed hym selfe somwhat the more stronger and quieter by force of thys newe amitie and concluded confederacye, yet to augmente more the familyaryte begon betwene the king of Scottes & him, and to haue a double stryng for hys bow (he entreated a new x alliaunce and maryage to be concluded betwene the prince of Rothsaye eldest sonne to the kyng of Scottes, and lady Anne de la poole doughter to Jhon duke of Suffolke and lady Anne suster to kyng Richarde, whiche suster he so muche fauoured, that he studyeng all the wayes by the which he myght auaunce her offspryng and lynage, dyd not onelye procure and seke meanes, how to make her doughter a princesse and consequently a quene, but also after the death of hys sonne, he proclaymed Jhon Earle of Lyncolne hys nephewe and her sonne, heyre apparaunt to ỹ croune of England, dischencriting Kinge Edwardes doughters, whose brethren before you haue heard he shamefully killed & murxx thered.

The kynge of Scottes hauyng nede of frendes, but not so muche nede as kyng Rychard, whych was of necessitie cõpelled to seke aiders and to entreteyne fautoures, the one for fauourynge of flatterers and base borne persones, and the other not onely for tyranny and vnnaturall homicide, but also for the vsurpacyon of the croune beynge of al the realme detested and disdayned, gladly excepted and ioyously consented to kyng Richardes deuyce and coniunction of amitie, perfyghtelye remembrynge that emongest all bondes and oblygacyons of loue and amytye, that there is neyther a surer nor a more perfyghter locke, thẽ xxx the knote of coniuncyon in the Sacrament of Matrimony, whych was in the very begynnyng of the first age of man, ordeyned and instituted in the holye place of paradyse terrestiall by God hym selfe: by reason whereof, the propagacion and succession of the humane nature, stablyshed vpon the sure seate of lawfull matrimony betwene princes, maye norysh peace, concorde and vnitie, aswage, and breake the furious rage of truculente Mars and furyouse battaylle, and encreace loue, fauour and familiaryte. Wherfore thesayd princes sent theyr ambassadoures and councelours agayn to the toune of Nottyngham, where thesayde mariage was by wrytynges and instrumentes couenaũted cõdiscẽded xl and agreed, and affiances made and taken by procters and deputies on both partes, and she immediatly called princesse of Rothsay, whiche name she shortely lost by the shorte lyfe of kyng Richard her louynge vncle. Here may well be noted the vnmaturall loue and dysordered affeccyon whiche thys kynde kynseman shewed to hys blood: For he

not

thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of aucthoritie, driueth the blind myndes of couetous men and ambicious persones to euylles and mischiefes innumerable, not remembring losse of name, obloquy of the people, nor in conclusyon the punishment of God for their merites and desertes. But fortune was so fauourable to the publick wealth of the realme of England that thys deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For whiles postes ranne, and letters were sent to & fro for ỳ finishing of thys great enterprise betwene king Richard & Peter Landoyse, Jhon Morton bishop of Ely soiourninge then in Flandres, x was of al thys crafty cõueyghaũce certified by his secret & sure frẽdes: wherfore he sent Christopher Urswike (which at that very season was come out of Britayne into Flaunders) to declare the earle of Richemõd how al the decepte & crafty working was conueighed and compassed, geuyng him in charge to councell and aduyse ỳ erle in al hast possible wt al hys cõpany to retire out of Britayn into Fraunce. Whẽ these newes were brought to the erle, he then kept house in Uannes, and incontinẽt dispatched agayne Christopher Urswyke to Charles the French king requyring that he and hys myght safely passe into Fraunche, whych desyre impetrated and obteyned, the messenger shortly retourned to xx hys lorde and prince. The erle wel perceyuyng that it was expedyent and necessary wyth al spede and dylygẽce, to loke to this weighty matter, calling very few to councel, he made exploracyon and searche of all secrete and by weyes, and sent before all his noble men, as thoughe for a certayne familiaryte and kyndnes they should visit and comforte the duke, which then for recreacyon & chaunge of ayre, laye on the borders and confynes of Fraunce. And secretly he gaue charge to the Earle of Penbroke which was the leader and conducter of hys compaigny that when they approched the marches and limittes of Brytayn, they shuld dyuert and take the next way into Fraunce. The noble men somwhat xxi suspycyous of thynges newely imagened, wythout any tariyng or by ỳ iourney gasing, scouring ỳ weyes as fast as their horse would runne, or as they cõueniently myght beare and susteyn, came out of the duchy of Britayne into ỳ duchy of Angeou in the dominion of Fraunce, wher they exspected the erles commynge, whyche .ij. dayes after departed oute of Uannes onely accompaignied with .v. seruytoures, as though he had gone secretely to visit a famylyer frende of hys in a smal vyllage adioynyng. No man suspected that he woulde departe, consyderynge that a greate multitude of Englyshemen were lefte and contynued in the cyty, but after that he had passed directly fyue miles forward, he xxi daynly turned into a solitary wood next adioyning, where clothynge hym selfe in the symple cote of hys poore seruaunt, made and apointed hys sayde mynyster leader and Master hys smal compaigny, and he as an humble page dilygẽtly folowed and serued hys countrefecte gouernour neuer restyng nor theimselues refreshynge, excepte the baytyng of their horses, tyll they by wayes vnknowen, now this way, now

tur

turnyng that way, came to their company abidyng theim in angyers.

The fourth day after the earle of Richemonde was thus departed, that crafty marchaunt Peter Landoyse, truſtinge ſtill after his praye promyſed by king Richard, was ready to ſet forwarde his crew of ſouldyours, whyche he preuely had conſigned wyth certayne truſty capyteynes for that onely purpoſe appoynted and elected, to performe and acheue his pretenſed enterpryſe, diſſimulyng and feigning theim to bee conducted and hyred by hym to ſerue the Earle of Richemond, & hym to conduyte in hys retourne towarde his new coũtrey, meaning none other thyng but to apprehende him, and the other noble men in his retynue, whiche no ſuch fraude ſuſpectynge, nor yet any treaſon ymagenynge, vnware and vnprouyded and deſtitute of all ayde, and theim to caſt and detrude ſodaynly into continual captiuite and bondage to thẽtente that by thys facinorous and naughte acte, he myghte ſatiſfye the charitable requeſt and louynge deſyre of good kyng Richard, more for hys owne profyte then kyng Richardes gayne. But when this crafty diſſymuler Peter Landoyſe, whych was no wylyer then an old Fore, perceyued that the earle was departed (thynkyng that to be true that he ymagened) lord how curriоures ranne into euery coaſt, howe lyght horſemen galloped to euery ſtreyt to folowe and deteine him, yf by any poſſibilite he coulde be ſubſecuted and ouertaken, and hym to incarcerate and bryng captyue into the citee of Vannes. The horſmen made ſuche diligence, and with ſuch celerite ſet forward their iourneye, that nothing was more lykely then thei to haue obteined, yea & ſeazed their pray. For ỹ erle of Richemond was not entred into ỹ realme of Fraũce ſkace one hour, but ỹ folowers came to the limittes & confines of Britayne, and durſt auenture no farther but veinely wythout their deſyre ſorofully retourned. At which ceaſon were left at Vannes aboute the nõbre of. iij. Engliſhmen, whych not beyng called to councell & vnware of this enterpryſe, but knowyng of the erles ſodeyne departure wer ſo incontinently aſtonned, ỹ in maner they were all diſpayre bothe of him and theyr owne ſecuritie and ſauegard. But fortune turned her ſaile & otherwyſe it happened then there feare thẽ encombred. For the duke of Britayne now beyng ſomwhat recouered, was ſore diſpleaſed, and nothyng contented that the erle of Richemonde was in his dominõ ſo vncurteouſly tracted and intreated, that he ſhould be by fraud and vntruthe compelled to leaue and flye out of his duchy and countrey contrary to hys honoure. Wherfore he toke great diſpleaſure with Petet Landoyſe hys treaſourer, to whõ (although he knew not & was ignoraunt that all the dryfte was dryuen and deuyſed by hym) he laied the fault and imputed the cryme. Wherfore he ſent for Edward Wooduile and Edward Downinges valiaunt eſquyers of England, and delyuered vnto them money ſufficient for their conduyte, wyllynge theim to conuey the reſt of thenglyſhmen beynge in Britayne, to the earle of Richemondes preſence. When the Earle was thus furnyſhed & apointed

wyth

with his trusty company, and was escaped all ỹ daũgerous labirinthes and snares that were set for hym, no meruel though he were iocunde & glad of ỹ prosperous succesſe that happened in his affaires. Wherfore, lest he should seme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent diuerse of his gentlemen to the duke of Britayne, the which shuld publish & declare to him on the behalfe of the erle, that he and his, were onlye by his benefite and fauour conserued and delyuered from the imminẽt daunger ỹ they wer like to be trapped in. Wherfore at that tyme he rẽdred to him hys most harty thankes in wordes, trustyng & not doubtyng but in tyme to come liberally to recõpence hym w̃ actes & dedes.

After this, the erle tooke his iourney to Charles the French kinge lieng then at Langes vpon the ryuer of Loyre, to whom after greate thankes geuẽ for manifold gratuites by hym to the erle shewed, he disclosed & manifested ỹ cause & occasion of his exceſſe and repaire to hys person. After ỹ he required of him helpe and succour, to thentente ỹ by his immortall benefite to him at that tyme shewed, he myght sauely retourne to the nobilitie of hys realme, of whom he was generally called to take vpon him the croune and scepter of the realm they so much hated and abhorred the tyranny of King Richard. King Charles promised him aide and comfort, & bad him to be of good courage & make good chere, for he assured him that he woulde gladly shewe to him his benevolent mynd and bounteful liberalite. Which kinge from thence remoued to Mountargis, leading with him the erle of Richemond, and all ỹ noble parsonages of hys retinue and faccyon.

While the erle was thus attendaunt in the French court, Jhõ Vere erle of Oxford (which as you haue heard before was by king Edward kepte in prison wythin the castel of hãmes) so persuaded James blount capitayne of the same fortresſe, and sir Jhon Fortescewe porter of the towne of Caleys, that he him selfe was not onely dismissed and sette at libertie, but they also abandonynge and leauing their frutefull offices, condiscended to go wyth hym into Fraunce to the Earle of Rychemõd and to take his parte. But James Blount lyke a wyse Capyteyne, because he left hys wyfe remaynynge in the castell before hys departure, he fortified the same both wyth newe inuencions and new souldiours. When the Earle of Richemonde sawe the Earle of Oxforde, he was rauyshed wyth an incredyble gladnes, that he beyng a man of so hygh nobylyte, of such knoweledge and practyse in feates of warre, and so constant, trusty and assured (whyche alwaye had studyed for the maintenaunce and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by gods prouision deliuered out of captiuite & imprisonmẽt, & in time so necessary & cõuenient come to his aide, succour and auauncement, in whõ more surer then any other he myght put his truste & cõfidence, and take lesse peyne and trauaile in hys owne person. For it was not hid frõ him that such as had euer takẽ part w̃ king Edward before this time, came to do him seruice either for malice ỹ they bare to king Richard, or els for fear

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to tyme vnder his truculent rule and tempestious gouernaunce. But this man which so often tymes had personally fought in mortal battail in the querell of kynge Henry the .vi. he iudged by deuine powre and heauenly inspiracion to be deliuered out of captiuitie & emprisonment for this onely purpose, that he should haue a man of hys owne faccion and schole, to whome he might surely and faythfully communicate and credite al thinges as to his owne propre person, and therfore being enflamed with an immortall ioye for the earles commynge, he beganne to haue a good hope of the happy successe of all his pretensed enterprises.

Not long after, the Frenche kyng retorned agayn to Paris, whom ꝑ ꝺ erle of Richemond folowed, entẽding there to solicit hys matter to ꝺ conclusion. Wherupon he besought king Charles to take vpon him the whole tuicion and defence of him and his cause, so that he and his compaignye beyng by his meanes ayded and comforted, shoulde confesse & say, their wealth, vyctory and auauncemente to haue flowed and budded foorthe of hys bountyfulnes and lyberalytie, whyche they woulde God willing shortly reacquite. In the mean ceason diuerse Englishmẽ which eyther fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie good litterature and verteous doctrine, came voluntarely and submytted theimselues to the Earle of Richemonde, and vowed xx and sware to take his parte. Emongest whome was Richarde Fox a priest, a man of great wyt and no lesse learnynge, whome the erle incõtinent receyued into secrete familiaritie & in brief time erected & auaũced him to high dignitees and promocions, and in conclusyon he made hym byshop of Wynchester.

In the meane ceason kyng Richard was credibly aduertysed what promyses and othes the erle and his cõfederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the erles meanes al thinglishmen were passed out of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherfore beinge sore dismayed and in maner desperate, because hys craftye cheuesaunce toke none effect in Britayne, ymagened and deuysed how to infringe and disturbe xxx the erles purpose by another meane, so that by ꝺ mariage of lady Elizabeth his nece he should pretende no clayne nor tytle to ꝺ croune. For he thought yf that mariage fayled, the erles chief combe had ben clerly cut. And because that he beyng blinded wyth the ambicious desyre of rule before this tyme, in obteyning the kyngdome, had perpetrate and done many flagicious actes and detestable tyrannies, yet accordyng to the old prouerbe, let him take ꝺ bul that stale away the calf, he thought all factes by him committed in tymes passed, to be but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparyson of that myscheuous ymaginaciõ whiche ne nowe newely beganne and attempted. There came into his xl vngracyous mynde a thyng not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more cruell and abhominable to bee put in execucion. For whẽ he reuolued in his wauerynge mynde how greate a fountayne of mischiefe towarde hym shoulde sprynge, yf the

erle of

erle of Richmond ſhould be auaunced to the mariage of hys nece, which thinge he harde ſaye by the rumour of the people, that no ſmall nõber of wyſe & wittye perſonages entrepriſed to compaſſe & bryng to concluſion. He clerely determined to reconcile to his fauoure his brothers wife quene Elizabeth either by fayre wordes or liberall promiſes, fynely beleuynge her fauoure once obteined that ſhe would not ſticke to commite and louingly credite to him the rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughters, & ſo by that meanes the erle of Richemonde of the affinite of his nece ſhould be vtterly defrauded and beguyled. And
x yf no ingenyous remedye coulde be otherwiſe inuented to ſaue the innumerable miſchiefes whiche were euen at hande and like to falle, yf it ſhoulde happen quene Anne his wife to departe oute of thys preſente worlde, then he him ſelfe woulde rather take to wife his couſyn & nece the lady Elizabeth, thẽ for lack of that affinite the whole realme ſhould runne to ruyne, as who ſayde, that yf he once fell from hys eſtate & dignite, the ruyne of the realme muſt nedes ſhortely enſue & folowe. Wherfore he ſent to the quene beynge in ſanctuarie diuerſe and often meſſengers, whiche firſte ſhoulde excuſe and purge hym of all thinges before agaynſt her attempted or procured, and after ſhould ſo largely promes
xx promocions innumerable and benefites, not onely to her but alſo to her ſonne lord Thomas Marques Dorcet, that they ſhould bryng her yf it were poſſible into ſome wanhope, or as men ſaye into a fooles paradiſe. The meſſengers beynge men bothe of wit and grauitie ſo perſuaded the quene with great & pregnaunte reaſons, & with fayre & large promiſes, that ſhe began ſome what to relent & to geue to thẽ no deffeare, in ſomuche that ſhe faithfully promyſed to ſubmyt & yelde her ſelfe fully and frankely to the kynges wyll and pleaſure. And ſo ſhe putting in obliuiõ the murther of her innocente children, the infamy and diſhonoure ſpoken by the kynge her huſband, the lyuynge in auoutrie leyed
xxx to her charge, the baſtardyng of her daughters, forgettyng alſo ỹ feithfull promes & open othe made to the coũteſſe of Richmond mother to ỹ erle Henry, blynded by auaricious affeccion and ſeduced by flatteryng wordes, firſt deliuered into king Richards hãdes her.v. daughters, as Lambes once agayn committed to the cuſtody of the rauenous wolfe. After ſhe ſente letters to the Marques her ſonne beynge thẽ at Parys with the earle of Richmonde, willyng him in any wiſe to leaue the earle and without delaye to repaire into England, where for him were prouided greate honoures and honorable promocions, aſſerteignyng him ferther, that all offences on bothe parties were forgotten and forgeuẽ,
xl and bothe he and ſhe highely incorporate in the kynges hearte. Surely the inconſtancie of this woman were muche to be merueled at, yf all women had bene founde conſtante, but let men ſpeake, yet wemen of the verie bonde of nature wyll folowe their awne kynde. After that kynge Rycharde hadde thus with glorious promyſes and flatterynge wordes pleaſed and appeaſed the mutable mynde of quene Elizabeth

which knewe nothing lesse then that he most entended, he caused all his
brothers daughters to be conueighed into his paleys with solempne
receauyng, as though with his newe familier & louyng entreteinemēt
they should forget, and in their myndes obliterate the olde committed
iniurie and late perpetrate tyrannye. Nowe nothyng was contrariāt
and obstacle to his pernicious purpose, but that hys mancion was not
voide of his wife, which thynge he in any wyse adiuged necessary to be
done. But there was one thyng that so muche feared and dragged him
from commyttynge thys abhominable murther, because as you haue
heard before he beganne to countrefaycte the ymage of a good & well
disposed person, & therfore he was afeared least the sodeine and imma-
tured eath of his wife once openly knowen, he should lese the good and
credible opinion which the people had of him, without deserte concea-
ued and reported. But in conclusion, euyll councell preuailed in a witt
lately mynded to mischiefe, and tourned from al goodnes. So that his
vngracious desyre ouercame his honest feare. And firste to entre into ꝑ
gates of his ymagened entrepryse, he absteined bothe from the bed and
companye of his wife. After, he compleyned to dyuerse noble men of &
realme, of the infortunate sterilite and barennes of his wife, because she
brought forth no fruyte and generacion of her bodye. And in especiall
he accompted to Thomas Rotheram archebishoppe of Yorke (whome
lately he had delyuered out of warde & captiuite) these impedimentes
of his quene and dyuerse other, thinkynge that he woulde enucleate ꝑ
open to her all these thinges, trustynge the sequele hereof to take his
effecte, that she heryng this grudge of her husband, & takynge therfore
an inwarde thought, woulde not longe lyue in this world. Of this the
bishoppe gathered (which well knewe the complexion and vsage of the
kyng) that the quenes dayes were short, & that he declared to certeine
of his secrete frendes. After this he procured a cōmon rumour (but he
woulde not haue the auctho knowē) to be published and spred abroade
emong the common people that the quene was ded, to thentēt that she
takyng some cōceipte of this straung fame, should fal into some sodayne
sickness or greuous maladye, & to proue yf afterwarde she shoulde for-
tune by ꝑ or any other waies to lefe her life, whyther ꝑ people woulde
impute her death to ꝑ thought or sickness, or therof would laye ꝑ blame
to him. Whē ꝑ quene heard tell ꝑ so horrible a rumour of her death was
sprong emongest the comminaltie, she sore suspected & iudged ꝑ worlde
to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorofull agonye, she wyth
lamentable countenaunce & sorofull chere, repaired to the presence of ꝑ
kyng her husband, demaundynge of hym, what it should meane that he
had iuged her worthy to dye. The kyng aunswered her with fare wor-
des, and with dissimulyng blandimentes and flatteryng lesynges com-
forted her, biddynge her to be of good comforte, for to his knowlege she
shoulde houe none other cause. But howsoeuer ꝑ it fortuned, either by
inward thought and pensyuenes of hearte, or by intoxicacio of poyson
(which

whych is affirmed to be moſt likely) within a few daies after, the quene departed oute of this tranſitorie lyfe, and was with dewe ſolempnite buried in the churche of ſeint Peter at Weſtminſter. This is theſame Anne one of the daughters of the erle of Warwyk, whych as you haue heard before at the requeſt of lewes the French kynge, was maried to prince Edward ſonne to kynge Henry the.vi.

The kyng thus (accordyng to his long deſire) loſed out of the bōdes of matrimony, beganne to caſt a foolyſche phantaſie to Lady Elizabeth his nece, making much ſuite to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull ma-
x trimony: But becauſe all men, and the mayden her ſelfe mooſt of all, deteſted and abhorred this vnlawfull and in maner vnnaturall copulaciō, he determined to prolonge & deferre the matter tyll he were in a more quietnes. For all ỹ verie ceaſon he was oppreſſed wyth great, weightie & vrgent cauſes and buſyneſſes on euery ſide, conſiderynge that dailye parte of the nobilite ſailed into Fraunce to therle of Richmond: Other preuely fauoured & aided certeine of the coniuraciō, ſo that of his worte ende, fewe or none were in doubte. And the cōmon people for the mooſt part were brought to ſuch deſperacion, that many of theim had rather be reputed & taken of hym in the nombre of his enemies, then to abide
xx the chaunce and hazard to haue their goodes taken as a ſpoile of victorie by his enemies. Emongeſt the noble men whome he moſte myſtruded, theſe were the principall, Thomas lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gylbert Talbot and.vi.hundred other, of whoſe purpoſes although kyng Richard were ignorant, yet he gaue neyther confidence nor credence to any one of theim, and leaſt of all to the Lord Stanley, becauſe he was ioyned in matrimony wyth the lady Margarete mother to ỹ erle of Richmond, as afterward apparauntly ye maie perceaue. For whē theſayde lord Stanley woulde haue departed into his countrey to viſite his famulie, & to recreate and refreſhe his ſpirites
xxx (as he openly ſayde) but the truth was to thentent to be in a perfyght readines to receaue the erle of Richemōd at his firſt arriuall in Englād the kyng in no wiſe wolde ſuffre hym to departe before that he had left as an hoſtage in the courte George Stanley lorde ſtraung his firſt begotten ſonne and heire. While kynge Richard was thus troubled and vexed with ymaginacions of the tumulteous time that was lyke to come: Loo, euen ſodeinly he herde newes that fyer was ſpronge out of the ſmoke, and the ware, recently begonne, and that the caſtell of hammes was deliuered into the handes of the earle of Rychmonde by the meanes of the earle of Oxenforde, & that not onely he but alſo James
xl Blount capiteine of the caſtel, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Earle Henry. Wherfore he thynkynge it great pollicie to withſtande the fyrſt brunt ſent the mooſt part of the garriſon of Caleis, to recouer agayn by force the caſtell of Hammes. They which were in the caſtell perceauing their aduerſaries to approche, prepared municions & engins for their defence, and ſent alſo to the Earle of Richemonde, to aduertiſe hym of

their sodeine obsession, requirynge hym of hasty ayde & spedy succoure.
The erle slepinge not this first begonne assaute, sent the earle of Oxen-
forde with an elected company of souldioures to reise ỹ siege & reskewe
the castell: Which at their first arryuinge pitched their campe not farre
from their enemies. And while kyng Rychardes men gaue vigilaunt
ire, waytynge least the Earle of Oxforde shoulde take any aduauntage
of theim that laye on that side of the Castell. Thomas Brandon wyth
xxx. approued men of warre by a marishe whiche laye on the other syde
entred into the castell. The souldioures within greatelye animated &
muche comforted by thys newe succour and aide, greued the enemies x
by shotyng, frō the walles more then they were accustomed to do. And
they of the Castell vexed their enemies on ỹ forepart: thearle of Oxē-
forde no lesse molested and vnquieted theim on the other parte, whych
was the occasion that kyng Richardes men offred of their awne mere
mocion licence to all beinge within the castell to departe in sauetie with
bagge and baggage nothynge excepted: whyche condicion the earle of
Oxenforde commynge onlye for that purpose to delyuer hys louynge
frendes oute of all perell and daunger, & chiefely of all, his olde hostesse
Jane Blount wife to James Blount the capteine, would in no wise re-
pudiate or refuse. And so leauynge the Castell bare and vngarnysshed xx
bothe of vitaile and artillary, came safe to the erle of Richmond soiour-
nyng in Parys. Duryng this tyme, kyng Richard was credebly infor-
med of his explorators & espialles that ỹ erle of Richmonde was wyth
longe suyte in the courte of Fraunce sore fatigate & weried, & desyrynge
greate aide, coulde obteine small releue. In so much ỹ all thyng went so
farre backward, ỹ such thinges as were with great diligence & no lesse
deliberation purposed & determined to be set forward, were nowe dash-
shed and ouerthrowen to the grounde. Kynge Richarde eyther beyng
to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by hys craftie taletellers,
greatly reioysed as though he had obteyned the ouerhand of hys ene- xxx
myes with triumphe & victorie, and thought hym selfe neuer so surelye
delyuered of all feare and dreadfull ymaginacions, so that he neded
nowe no more once for that cause eyther to wake or breake hys golden
slepe. Wherefore he called home again his shippes of warre whiche he
had appoynted to kepe ỹ narowe sees, & dispatched al such souldioures
as he had deputed to kepe certeine garrisons & to stoppe certeine passa-
ges as you haue heard before. Yet least he might for lacke of prouisyon
be sodeinly trapped he streightly charged and gaue in commaundemēt
to all noble men and in especiall suche as inhabited nere to the see coaste
and on the frontiers of wales, that accordyng to the vsage of the coun- xl
trey, they should kepe diligēt watche & stronge warde, to ỹ entent ỹ his
aduersaries in no wise should haue any place apte or opportune easely to
take lande without defence or rebuttynge back. For the custome of the
countreyes adioyning nere to ỹ see is (especially in the tyme of war) on
euery hill or high place to erect a bekon w̄ a greate lāterne in the toppe,

which maie be sene and discerned a great space of. And when the noyes is once bruted that the enemies approche nere ỹ land, they sodeinly put fyer in the lanthornes & make showtes & outrages frō toune to toune & from village to village. Some ronne in post frō place to place admonisshyng the people to be ready to resist the ieopardy, and defende the perell. And by this pollecy ỹ fame is sone blowen to euery citie & toune, in somuch that aswell the cytezens as the rural people be in short space assembled and armed to refell and put back the newe arryued enemies.

Nowe to retourne to our purpose, kyng Richarde thus alleuiate of
x his accustoned pēsiuenes, beganne to be some what more merier & toke lesse thought and care for outwarde enemies then he was woont to do, as who saie, that he with polletique prouision shoulde withstand the desteny which honge ouer his hed, & was ordeined in briefe tyme sodeinly to fall. Suche is the force and puissaunce of deuyne iustice, that euerye man shall lesse regarde, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubte of all thynges, when he is moste nerest punishment, and next to hys mishaunce for hys offences and crymes.

Aboute this reason, while the earle of Richmond was desiryng ayde of the Frenche kyng, certeyne noble men were there apointed to rule ỹ
xi realme of Fraunce duringe the minorite of kyng Charles which emongest theim selfes were not of one opinion. Of which dissencion, Lewes duke of Orlyaunce was ỹ chiefe sturrer, whiche because he had maryed lady Johanne suster to the Frenche kynge, toke vpon hym aboue other the rule and administracion of the whole realme. By reason of whyche controuersie, no one manne only was suffred to rule all, wherfore ỹ erle of Rychemond was compelled to make suyte to euery one of ỹ councell seuerally one after another, requiring and desirynge theim of aide and releue in his weightie busynes, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. Durynge which tyme, Thomas Marques Dorset which was
xxx as you haue heard entised by his mother to retorne againe into Englād partely despayring in the good successe of thearle of Richmōd, & partely onerate & banquesshed with the faire glosynge promyses of kynge Richard: secretly in ỹ night ceason stale oute of Parys, & with all diligent expedicion toke hys iourney toward Flaunders. When relacion of his departure was made to the erle of Richmond & theother noble men, no maruell though thei were astōnyed & greately amased. Yet ỹ notwithstādyng they requyred of the French kyng that it might be lefull to thē in his name & by his commaundement to take & steye their cōpaignion, confederate, and partaker of all their councell, in what place within his
xi realme and territorye so euer they coulde fynde hym. Whiche peticion once obteined, thei sent out curriers into euery parte, emongest whom Homfrey Cheiny pleiyng the parte of a good blood hunde, folowed the tract of ỹ flyer so euen by the sent, that he ouer toke & apprehended him not farre from Cōpeigne & so what ẅ reason & what ẅ faire promises beyng persuaded, he retourned againe to his cōpaignions. Thearle of

Richmond vnburdened of this misauenture, least by procrastinacion of daies & prolongyng of time, he might lese ỹ great oportunite of thyngs to him offred and ministred: also least he should ferther wounde or moleste the myndes of his feithfull and assured frendes which daily did aspect & tarie for his cõmyng, determined no lenger to protract & deferre ỹ time, but with all diligence & scelerite to attempte his begonne entrepryse & so obteinyng of kyng Charles a small crewe of men, & borowyng certeyn sommes of money of him & of diuerse other his pryuate frẽdes (For the which he left as debter or more likelyer as a pledge or hostage lorde Thomas Marques Dorsett whome he halfe mistrusted & Sir Jhon Burchier) he departed from ỹ French court & came to the citee of Roan. While he taryed there makyng prouisiõ at harflete in the mouth of the ryuer of Seyne for all thynges necessary for hys nauy and nauigacion, tydynges were brought to hym that kyng Richard beynge wout childzen and now wydower, entended shortely to mary with Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the ladye Cicile her suster to a man founde in a cloude and of an vnknowen lignage and familie. He toke these newes as a matter of no small momente, and so all thynges considered, it was of no lesse importaunce then he toke it for. For this thynge onlye tooke aweye from all hys compaignions their hope and courage that they had to obteine an happie enterprice. And therfore no maruell though it nypped hym at the verie stomacke when he thought that by no possibilite he might attayne the mariage of anye of kynge Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foundaciõ of his buyldyng, by reason whereof he iudged that all his frendes in England woulde abandon and shrynke from hym. Wherefore, makynge not many of his councell, after dyuerse consultacions he determined not yet to set forwarde, but to tarye & attempte howe to get more ayde more frendes and more stronger succoures. And emongest all other, it was thought mooste expedient to allure by affinite in hys ayde as a compaignyon in armes Sir Walter Herbert a man of an aunciente stocke and greate powre emongest the Welshemen, whyche had wyth hym a fayre Ladye to hys suster, of age mature and ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the acheuing of this purpose, messengers were secretely sent to Henry Earle of Northumbrelande (whiche had before maried another suster of Sir Walter Herbertes) to thentent that he shoulde set forward all this deuyce and purpose, but the waies were so narowly watched and so many spies laide that the messenger proceded not in his iourney and busynes. But in the meane ceason, ther came to the Earle a more ioyfuller message from Morgan Kydwelly learned in the tempozall lawe, whiche declared that Ryce ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valyauntnes then actyuitee, and Jhon Sauage an approued Capteyne, woulde wyth all their powre be partakers of hys quarell. And that Reignolde Breye had collected and gotten together no smal some of money for the payment of the wages to the souldioures and

men

men of warre: admonishynge him also to make quicke expedicion and to take his course directely into Wales. The Earle of Richmonde because he woulde no lenger lynger and weerye hys frendes lyuynge continually betwene hope and feare, determyned in all conuenient hast to sett forwarde, and caried to hys shippes armoure, weapons, bitayle and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre. And shortely to speake, all thynges he prepared whiche are wont to be necessarye and profitable to the variable chaunces and incerteine accidentes and ieopardies of warre, whiche requyreth preparacion of many instrumentes & thinx ges chargeable.

After that the erle had made his humble peticion and deuoute praier to allmightie God, beseechynge him not only to sende him moost prosperous wynde and sure passage in hys iourney, but also effecteously deliryng hys goodnes of ayde & comforte in hys necessite & victorye & supremitie ouer hys enemies, only accompaignied with.ij.thousand men and a small nombre of shippes, weyed vp his ancres and halsed vp hys sailes and in the calendes of August he sailed from harflet with so prosperous a wynde that the.vij. daye after his departure he arryued in Wales in the euenyng at a porte called Mylford Hauen, & in continent xx tooke lande and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard saye that a certeine company of his aduersaries were leyed in garrison to defend his arryuall all the last wynter. And ỹ earle at the sonne rysyng remoued to harfford west, beyng distant from dalle not fully ten myle, where he was applauded and receaued of the people with greate ioye, and he arryued there so sodeinly that he was come & entred the toune at the same tyme when the cytezens had but knowlege of hys commynge. Here he heard newes which were as vntrue as they truly were reported to hym in Normandie, that Rice ap Thomas & Jhon sauage wyth body and goodes were determined to aide kynge Richard. While he & xxx his compaignie were somewhat appalled of these newe tydynges, ther came such message from thinhabitaũtes of the toune of Penbroke that refresshed and reuyued their frosen heartes & daunted courages. For Arnold Buttler a valiaunt capitain, which first askynge perdon for his offences before tyme committed against the earle of Richmond, & that obteyned, declared to hym that the pẽbrochians were ready to serue & geue their attendaunce on their naturall & immediat lord Jasper erle of Penbroke. The erle of Richmond hauing his armie thus encreased, departed from Herforde west to the toune of Cardygan being.v.myle distant from thence. While the souldioures were refreshynge & trimxl mynge theim selues in their campe, straunge tydynges sprong emonge them wt̃out any certeine authour, ỹ sir Walter Herberd whiche laye wt̃ a greate crewe of men at Carmarden, was nowe wyth a great armye ready to approche and byd theim battail. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and euery man assaied his armure and proued hys weapon and were prest to defende their enemies. And as they were in

this timerous doubte, certeine horlemen which ỹ erle had sent to make
exploracion and searche, retourned and reported all the countrey to be
quiete and no let nor impedimente to be laied or caste in thier iourney.
And euen at that same tyme the whole armye was greately recõforted
by reason that the commynge of Rycharde Gryffyth, a man of greate
nobilite, the which notwithstandynge that he was conferate with Sir
Walter Harbert and Richarde app Thomas, yet at that verie instante
he came to the Earle of Richemond with all hys compaignye, whyche
were of no greate nomber. After hym, thesame daye came Jhon Mor-
gan wyth his men. Then the Earle auaunced forwarde in good haste, ꝛ
makynge no repose or abode in any one place. And to thentent to passe
forwarde with sure & shorte expedicion, he assauted euery place where
his ennemies had set anye men of warre, whyche with small force and
lesse difficultie he briefely dyd expugne and vanquisshe. And sodeynlye
he was by his espialles asserteyned that Sir Walter Harbert & Rice
app Thomas were in harnes before hym ready to encountre wyth his
armye and to stoppe their passage. Wherefore lyke a valyaunt capteyn
he firste determyned to sett on theim and eyther to destroye or to take
theim into his fauoure, and after with all hys powre and puyssaunce
to geue battaile to hys mortall enemye kynge Richarde. But to then- ꝛꝛ
tent hys frendes shoulde knowe wyth what dexterite his attempted
entrepryce proceded forwarde, he sente of his moste secrete and feithfull
seruauntes with letters and instruccions to the ladye Margarete his
mother, to the Lorde Stanley and hys brother, to Talbote & to other
his trustie frendes, declarynge to theim, that he succoured and holpen
wyth the ayde and relcue of his frendes entended to passe ouer the ry-
uer of Seuerne at Shrewsburie, and so to passe directely to the citie of
London, requirynge theim as his especiall truste and confidence was
perplanted in the hope of their fidelite, that they would occurre & mete
hym by the waye with all diligent preparaciõ to thentent that he & thei ꝛꝛꝛ
at tyme propice and place conueniẽt might communicate together the
profundyte and depnes of all his dubious & weightye busynes. When
the messengers were disparcled with these cõmaundementes & admo-
nicions, he marched forward toward Shrefburye, and in his passynge
there met & saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bãd of Welsh-
men, which makyng an othe and promyse to the erle, submitted himself
whole to his ordre & commaundement. For the earle of Richemond. iij.
daies before made to him promes ỹ if he would sweare to take his part
and be obedient to hym, he woulde make hym chiefe gouernour of Wa-
les, whyche parte as he feithfully promised and graunted, so after that ꝛl
he had obteyned & possessed the realme and diademe, he liberallye per-
formed & accomplieshed the same. In the meane tyme, the messengers
that were sent, diligently executed the thinges geuen to thẽ in charge,
& laden with rewardes of theim to whom thei were sent, retourned to
hym thesame daye that he entred into Shrewsbury, and made relaciõ
to hym

to hym that hys frendes were ready in all poyntes to do al thynges for him which either they ought or might do. The earle Henry brought in good hope with his pleasaunt message continued forth hys entended iourney and came to a litle towne called Newporte and pitchynge hys campe on a lytle hyll adioynynge, reposed hym selfe there that nyghte. In the euenynge, thesame daye came to hym sir George Talbott with the whole powre of the younge Earle of Shrewsburye then beynge in warde, whyche were accompted to the nombre of twoo thousande men. And thus hys powre encreasynge he arryued at the towne of
x Staffordе and there pawsed. To whome came Sir Wyllyam Stanley accompaignied with a fewe persones, and after that the Earle and he had communed no longe tyme together, he reuerted to hys souldiours which he had congregate together to serue the Earle, which frō thence departed to Lichefelde and laye without the walles in campe all the nyght. The nexte morenynge he entred into the towne, & was wyth all honour lyke a prynce receaued. A daie or twoo before the lord Stanley hauynge in hys bande almoste fyue thousande men, lodged in thesame towne, but herynge that the Earle of Richemonde was marchynge thetherward, gaue to hym place, dislodgynge hym and hys, and
xx repaired to a towne called Adrestone, there abydynge the commynge of the Earle, and thys wilye fore dyd thys acte to aduoyde all suspicion, beynge afrayed least yf he shoulde be sene openly to bee a fautoure or ayder to the Earle hys sonne in lawe before the daye of the battayl, that kynge Richarde whyche yet dyd not vtterlye put in hym diffidence and mystruste woulde putt to some cruell deathe hys sonne and heire apparaunt George Lorde Straunge whome kynge Rycharde as you haue heard before kept with hym as a pledge or hostage to thentent that the lorde Stanley his father shoulde attempte nothinge preiudiciall to hym.

xxx Kynge Rycharde at this ceason kepynge his howse in the Castell of Notyngham was infourmed that the Earle of Richemond with suche bannyshed men as fled oute of Englande to hym were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all thynges necessarie to hys entrepryce were vnprouided, vnpurueyed and verie weake, nothynge mete to withstande the powre of suche as the kyng had apoynted to resist him. This rumour so enflated his minde, ꝑ in maner disdeignynge to here speake of so poore a compaignye, determine at the firste to take lytle or no regarde to this so small a sparcle, declarynge the Earle to be innocente and vnwyse because that he temerariously attempted suche a greate
xl entrepryce with so small and thynne a nombre of Warlyke persones, & therefore he gaue a definityue sentence, that when he came to that poynte that he shoulde be compelled to fight agaynst his will, he eyther shoulde be apprehended alyue, or elles by all likelyhode he shoulde of necessite come to a shamefull confusion, and that he trusted to be shortely done by Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas, whyche then

ruled

ruled Wales wyth egall powre and lyke aucthoritee. But yet he re-
uoluynge and castynge in hys mynde that a small warre begonne and
wynked at and not regarded, maye tourne to a greate broyle and tu-
multeous trouble, and that it was prudente pollecie not to asperne and
disdeyne the lytle small powre and weakenes of the ennemye, be yt
neuer so small, thought it necessarye to prouyde for after clappes that
myght happen and chaunce. Wherefore he sent to Jhon duke of Nor-
folke, Henry Earle of Northumberlande, Thomas Earle of Surrey
and to other of hys especiall and trusty frendes of the nobilite, whyche
he iudged muche more to preferre & esteme hys wealthe and honoure r
then their awne riches and priuate commodite, willynge theim to mu-
stre and viewe all their seruauntes and tenentes, and to elect and chose
the mooste courageous and actiue persones of the whole nomber, and
wyth theim to repaire to hys presence wyth all spede and dilygence.
Also he wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the towre, com-
maundynge hym with his powre to come to his armye and to brynge
with hym as felowes in armes Sir Thomas Burchier and sir Walter
Hungerforde and diuerse other knightes & esquiers in whome he had
cast no small suspicion. While he was thus ordrynge hys affaires, ty-
dynges came that the Earle of Richemonde was passed Seuerne and rr
come to Shrewsbury without any detrymente or encombreaunce. At
which message he was sore moued and broyled wyth Melancolye and
doloure, and cried out, askynge vengeaunce of theim that contrarye to
their othe and promes had fraudulently deceaued hym. For whyche
cause he beganne to haue diffidence in other, in so muche that he deter-
mined hym selfe out of hande thesame daye to occurre and resyste hys
aduersaries. And in all haste sente oute explorators to viewe and
espie what waye his enemies kept & passed. They dilygentely doynge
their dewtie, shortely after retourned, declarynge to the kyng that the
Earle was encamped at the toune of Lichfelde. When he had perfight rrr
knowlege where the Earle with hys armye was soiournynge, he ha-
uynge continuall repaire of hys subiectes to hym, beganne in conty-
nently withoute delaye to marshall and collocate in order his battay-
les (lyke a valyaunt capteine and polletique leader) and firste he made
hys battayles to set forward four and foure in a ranke, marchynge to-
warde that waye where his enemyes as was to him reported entēded
to passe. In the myddle parte of the armye he appoynted the traf-
ficke and cariage apperteignynge to the armye. Then he (enuironed
with his satellytes and yomen of the crowne) with a frownynge coun-
tenaunce and truculente aspect mounted on a greate white courser, fo- rl
lowed with his footmen, the wynges of horsemen coastynge and ran-
gynge on euery syde: And keppynge thys araye, he wyth greate pompe
entred the toune of Lecester after the sonne set. The Earle of Rych-
monde reised his campe and departed from Lychefelde to the towne of
Tomwoorth therto nere adioynynge, and in the myd waye passynge,

there

chere saluted hym Sir Walter Hungerforde and Sir Thomas Burchier knightes and dyuerse other whych yelded and submytted theim selfes to hys pleasure. For they beynge aduertised that kyng Rychard had theim in suspicion and gealosye, a lytle beyonde stonye stratforde left and forsooke preuely their Capteyne Robert Brakenbury, and by nocturnall wandrying, and in maner by vnknowen pathes and vncerteine waies searchyng, at the last came to ỹ earle Henry. Diuerse other noble personages whych inwardely hated kynge Richard worsse then a toade or a serpent, lykewyse resorted to him wyth all their powre and
x strength. There happened in thys progression to the Earle of Richemond a straunge chaunce worthy to be noted: for albeit that he was a man of haute and valyaunte courage, and that his army encreased, and dayly more & more he waxed puysaunt and stronger, yet he was not a lytle afeared because he in no wyse could be assured of his father inlawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, whyche for feare of the destruction of the Lorde straunge his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For yf he had gone to the Earle, and that notefied to kynge Rychard, hys sonne had shortelye been executed. Wherefore syth the Earles feare sprange not of nothynge, he accõpaignyed wyth twentye
xi lyght horsemen lyngered in his iourney as a man disconsolate, musyng and ymagenynge what was beste to be done. And the more to aggrauate his melancolye pensyuenes, yt was shewed hym that kynge Rycharde was at hande wyth a stronge powre and a populous armye. Whyle he thus pensyue dragged behynde hys hoost, the whole armye came before the toune of Tomwoorth, and when he for the depe darcknes coulde not perceaue the steppes of theim that passed on before and had wandred hether and thether, sekynge after hys compaygnie and yet not once herynge any noyse or whysperyng of theim, he dyuerted to a very lytle village beynge aboute. iij. myles from hys armye.
xxx takynge greate thought and muche fearynge least he should be espied, and so trapped by kynge Rychardes skoute watche. There he taried all nyght, not once auenturyng to aske or demaunde a question of anye creature, he beynge no more amased wyth the ieopardye & perell that was passed, then wyth this presente chaunce, sore feared that it shoulde bee a pronostication or prodygall sygne of some infortunate plague afterward to succede. As he was not mery beynge absent from his compaignie, lykewyse hys armie muche marueled and no lesse mourned for hys sodeyne and intempestious absence.

The next morenynge earlye in the dawnynge of the daye he retour-
xi ned, and by the conduyte of good fortune espied and came to hys armie, excusynge hym selfe, not to haue gone oute of hys waye by ignoraunce, but for a pollecie deuysed for the nones he went from his campe to receaue some glad message from certeyne of hys preuy frendes and secret alies. This excuse made, he preuely departed agayn frõ his hoost to the toune of Aderstone, where the lord Stanley and sir William his

brother with their bandes were abidynge. There the Earle came first to his father inlawe in a lytle close, where he saluted hym and Sir William his brother, and after diuerse congratulacions and many frendely embracynges, eache reioysed of the state of other, & sodeinly were surprised with great ioye, comfort and hope of fortunate successe in al their affaires & doynges. Afterward they consulted together howe to geue battaile to kyng Richarde yf he woulde abide, whome they knewe not to be farre of with an houge army. In the euenyng of thesame daye sir Jhon Sauage, Sir Bryan Sanforde, Sir Symon Digby and many other, leuyng kyng Richarde, turned and came to the parte of the erle of Richmond with an elect company of men. Whiche refusall of kynge Richardes parte by men of suche experience, dyd grealy augment and encreace bothe the good hope & the puissaunce of the erle of Richmond.

In the mean ceason kyng Richard (which was appoynted nowe to finysshe his laste labour by the verye deuyne iustice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punyshemente for his scelerate merites and myscheueous desertes) marshed to a place mete for twoo battayles to encountre by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched hys felde, refreshed his souldioures & toke his rest. The fame went that he had thesame night a dreadfull & a terrible dreame, for it semed to hym beynge a slepe ỹ he sawe diuerse ymages lyke terrible deuelles whyche pulled and haled hym, not sufferyng hym to take any quyet or reste. The whyche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare but it stuffed his hed and troubled hys mynde wyth many dreadfull and busye Jmaginacions. For incontynent after, hys heart beynge almost damped, he pronosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battaile to come, not vsynge the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to do before he came toward ỹ battaile. And leaste that it might be suspected that he was abasshed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted & declared to hys famylyer frēdes in ỹ morynynge hys wonderfull vysion & terrible dreame. But I thinke thys was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience, for the conscience is so muche more charged & aggrauate as the offence is great and more heynous in degre, whyche prycke of conscience all though it strike not all waye, yet at the laste daye of extreme lyfe it is wonte to shewe and represent to vs oure faultes and offences and the paynes and punishementes which hange ouer our heddes for the committynge of thesame, to thentent that at that instāt we for our desertes beinge penitent & repentaunt may be compelled, lamentyng and bewaylyng our sinnes like forsakers of this worlde, iocund to departe oute of this miserable life. Now to retorne agayn to oure purpose, the next daye after, kyng Richard beynge furnished with men & all abilimentes of war, bringyng all his mē out of there camp into ỹ plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous lēgth, in which he appointed both horsemē & footmen

The dreame of kyng Richarde ỹ. iij.

footmē to thentēt to empȝinte in ẏ hartes of thē ẏ loked a karre of, a sodeine terroȝ & deadly fear, foȝ ẏ great multitude of ẏ armed soldiours: and in ẏ foȝe Frount he placed the archers like a strōg foȝtified trēch oȝ bulwarke: ouer this battail was captain Jhon Duke of Noȝfolke with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this lōg bātgard folowed king Richard him self, ẅ a strōg cōpaigny of chosen & appȝoued mē of war, hauing hoȝsmē foȝ winges on both the sydes of his battayl.

After that therle of Richemond was departed from the cōmunicaciō of his frends as you haue hard beforȝe, he begā to be of a better stomack x & of a moȝe valiant courage, & ẅ all diligēce pitchid his feld iuste by the cāp of his enemies, & ther he lodged ẏ night. In the moȝning betime he caused his mē to put on there armure, & appareil thē selfes redy to fight & geue battail, & sent to ẏ loȝd Stāley (which was now come ẅ his bād in a place differētly betwene both ẏ armies) requiring hym ẅ his men to appȝoch nere to his army & to help to set ẏ soldiours in array, he answered ẏ therle should set his owne mē in a good oȝder of battail while he would array his cōpaigny, and come to him in time cōueniēt. Which answere made otherwise then therle thought oȝ wold haue iudged, cōsidering ẏ opoȝtunite of the time & the wayte of ẏ busynes, & although xx he was there ẅall, a litle vexed, began somwhat to hange ẏ head, yet he ẅout any tyme delaiyng compelled of necessitie, after thys maner instructed & oȝdered his men. He made his foȝward somwhat single and slender, according to the smal nōber of his people. In ẏ Froūt he placed the archers, of whom he made captain Jhō erle of Oxfoȝd: to the right wyng of ẏ battail he appoynted, sir Gilbert Talbot to be the leder: to ẏ left wing, he assigned sir Jhō Sauage, & he ẅ the aide of ẏ loȝd Stāley accompaignied with therle of Penbȝoke hauinge a good companye of hoȝsmen and a small nomber of footmen: Foȝ al his hole nōber exceded not. v. thousand men besyde the powȝ of the Stāleys, wherof. iij. thouxxx sande were in the feld vnder the Standard of sir Williā Stanley: The kynges nomber was double so muche & moȝe. When bothe these armies wer thus oȝdȝed and al mē redy to set foȝward king Richard called his cheuetains together and to thē said. Most faithfull and assured felowes, most trusty & wel beloued frends & elected captains by whose wisdom and policy, I haue obteined ẏ croune and tipe of thys famous realm and noble regiō: by whose puissaūce & valiaūtnes I haue enioyed & possessed thestat roial & dignite of ẏ same, maugre ẏ yl wil & sedicious attemptes of all my cācard enemies & insidious aduersaries, by whose pȝudēt & politike coūsail I haue so gouerned my realm, people and subxxi iectes, ẏ I haue omitted nothing appertaining to ẏ office of a iust pȝince noȝ you haue pȝetermitted nothing belōging to ẏ duty of wise and sage counsailers. So ẏ I may say & truly affirme, that your appȝoued fidelite and tried cōstancy, maketh me to beleue firmely & thinke, ẏ I am an vndoubted kyng & an indubytate pȝince. And although in ẏ adepciō & obteynyng of ẏ Garland, I being seduced & pȝouoked by sinister coūsail

The oracion of kyng Richard the. iii.

and diabolical temptaciō did commyt a facynorous and detestable acte. Yet I haue with strayte penaunce and salt teries (as I trust) expiated and clerely purged ỹ same offence, which abhominable crime I require you of frendship as clerely to forget, as I dayly remember to deplore and lament the same. If ye wyl now dylygently call to remembraunce in what case and perplexitie we now stand, and in what doubtful perell we be now intricked: I doubt not but you in hart will thinke and with mouth confesse, that yf euer amitie and fayth preuailed betwene prince and subiectes or betwene subiecte and subiecte: or yf euer bonde of allegyans oblyged the vassall to loue and serue hys naturall souereigne & lorde, or yf any obligacion of dewtie bound any prynce to ayde and defende his subiectes: Al these loues, bondes and deuties of necessitie are this daye to be experimented, shewed and put in experience. For if wise men say trew, there is some pollicy in getting, but much more in keping The one beynge but fortunes chaunce, and the other hyghe wyt and pollicie, for whych cause, I wyth you: and you with me, must nedes this daye take labour and payne to kepe and defend with force, that prehemynence & possessyon whych by your prudēt deuyses I haue gottē and obteyned. I doubt not but you know, how the deuyl continuall enemy to humane nature, disturber of concorde and sower of sedicion, hath entred into the harte of an vnknowen Welshman (whose father I neuer knew, nor hym personally sawe) excitinge him to aspyre and conet oure realme, crowne and dignitie, and thereof clerely to depryue and spoyle vs and our posteritie: ye se farther how a cōpaygny of traytors, theues, outlawes and ronneagates of our owne nacyon be aiders & partakers of hys feate and enterpryse, redy at hand to ouercome and oppresse vs: You se also, what a nōber of beggerly Britons & faynt harted Frenchmen be wyth hym arryued to distroy vs our wyues and childrē. Which immynent myschiefes & apparaūt inconuenyēces, yf we wyl wythstōd & refel, we must lyue together lyke brethren, fyght together lyke liōs & fear not to dye together like men. And obseruing and keping this rule & precept, beleue me, the fearful hare neuer fled faster before the gredy greyhoūd, nor ỹ sylie larke before ỹ sparowhauke, nor the symple shepe before the rauenous wolfe, thē your proud braggyng aduersaries astōned & amased wyth ỹ only syght of your māly vysages will fle, ronne & skyr out of the felde. For yf you consider and wisely ponder althings in your mynde, you shall perceyue that we haue manyfest causes, and apparant tokens of tryumph and victory. And to begyn with the erle of Richmond Captain of thys rebellyon, he is a Welsh mylcksoppe, a man of small courage and of lesse experience in marcyall actes and feates of war, brought vp by my brothers meanes and myne lyke a captyue in a close cage in the court of Fraunces duke of Britaine, and neuer saw army, nor was exercised in marcial affayres, by reason wherof he neither can nor is able on hys owne wit or experience to guyde or rule an host. For in the wit and pollecy of the captayne, consisteth the chefe adeption

of the

of the victory and ouerture of the enemies. Secondarely fear not and put away al doubtes, for when ỹ traytors & runagates of oure realme shal see vs ẅ banner displayed come agaynst them, remẽbring their oth promise & fidelitie made vnto vs, as to their souereigne lord & anointed king, they shalbe so pricked & stimulate in ỹ botome of there scrupulous cõsciẽces, ỹ they for very remorse & dread of ỹ diuine plage wil either shamefully flie, or humbly submitte them selfes to our grace and mercye. And as for the Frenchmen & Brytõs, there valiaũtnes is such, ỹ our noble progenitors & your valyaunt parẽtes, haue them oftener bãquished & ouercome in one moneth, then they in the beginning imagened possible to cõpasse & finish in a hole yere. What wil you make of thẽ, braggers ẅout audacite, dronkards ẅout discrescion, ribaudes ẅout reason, towardes ẅout resistyng & in conclusion ỹ most effeminate & lasciuious people, ỹ euer shewed them selfes in Fruint of battaile, ten tymes more corragious to flye & escape, thẽ once to assaut ỹ byest of our strong & populous army. Wherfore, considering all these auaũtages, expell oute of your thoughtes all doutes & auoid out of your myndes al fear, & like valiant chãpions auaũce furth your standards, & assaye whyther your enemies can decide & trie ỹ title of batail by dent of swerd. Auaunce (I
xx say agayn) forward my captayns, in whom lacketh neither policie, wisdom nor puyssaunce. Euery one geue but one sure stripe, & surely ỹ iorney is oures. What preuayleth a hãdfull to a hole realme? desiring you for ỹ loue ỹ you beare to me, & ỹ affection ỹ you haue to your natiue and natural coũtrey, & to ỹ sauegard of your prynce & your self, ỹ you wyll this day take to you your accustomed corage & couragyous spyrytes for ỹ defence & sauegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I wil triumphe by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame. For thei be maihmed & out of ỹ palice of fame disgraded, dieg ẅout renoune, which do not as much preferre & exalte the perpetuall honor of
xxx their natiue countrey, as there owne mortall & transitory lyfe. Nowe sent George to borowe, let vs set forward, & remẽber wel that I am he which shall wyth high auauncementes, reward & preferre the valiant and hardy champions, and punische and turment the shamefull cowardes and dreadful dastardes. This exhortacion encouraged all such as fauoured him, but such as were present more for dread then loue, kissed them openly, whome they inwardely hated, other sware outwardelye to take part wyth suche, whose death they secretly compassed and inwardly imageued, other promysed to inuade ỹ kynges enemies, which fled and fought wyth fyrce courage agaynst the kyng: other stode styll
xl and loked on, entending to take part wyth the victors & ouercõmers. So was hys people to him vnsure and vnfaythful at hys ende, as he was to hys nephewes vntrew and vnnaturall in hys begynnynge.

When therle of Richmond knew by his forriders that ỹ king was so nere embatlayled, he rode aboute hys armye, from ranke to ranke,

from wyng to wyng, geuyng comfortable wordes to all men, and that finished (beyng armed at all peces sauing hys helmet) moũted on a litel hyll, so that all hys people myght se and beholde hym perfytly to there great reioysyng: For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated wyth al giftes and liniamentes of nature that he semed more an angelical creature then a terrestial personage, hys coũtenaũce and aspecte was cherefull and coragious, hys heare yelow lyke ỹ burnyshed golde, his eyes gray shininge and quycke, prompte and ready in answerynge, but of suche sobrietie that it coulde neuer be iudged whyther he ware more dul then quycke in speakyng (such was hys temperaunce.) And when he had ouerloked hys army ouer euerye syde, he pawsed a while, and after wyth a lowde voyce and bolde spirite spake to hys compaignions these or lyke woordes folowynge.

The oraciõ of kyng Henry the vii.

Yf euer GOD gaue victorye to men fyghtinge in a iuste quarell: or yf he euer ayded such as made warre for the wealthe and tuicion of their owne natural and nutritiue countrey: or yf he euer succoured thẽ whyche auentured there lyues for the relefe of innocentes, suppressynge of malefactores and apparaunt offenders: No doubt my felows and frendes, but he of hys bountefull goodnes wyl thys daye sende vs tryumphaunt victorye and a luckey iourney ouer our prowde enemyes, and arrogant aduersaryers: for yf you remember and consyder the very cause of our iuste quarel, you shall apparantely perceyue the same to be trewe, Godly, and vertuous. In the whyche I doubte not but GOD wyll rather ayde vs (yea and fyght for vs) then see vs banquyshed and prosligate by suche as neyther feare hym nor hys lawes, nor yet regarde iustice or honestie. Oure cause is so iuste that no enterprice can be of more vertue, bothe by the lawes dyuyne and cyuyle, for what canne be a more honest, goodlye or Godlye quarel then to fyght agaynst a Captayne, beynge an homicyde and murderer of hys owne bloude or progenye: An extreme destroyer of hys nobylytye, and to hys and oure countrey and the poore subiectes of thesame, a deadly malle a fyrye brande, and a burden vntollerable: besyde hym consyder, who be of hys bande and compaygnye, suche as by murther aud vntruethe commytted agaynste their owne kynne and lynage yea agaynste theyr Prynce and souereygne Lord haue dischery ted me and you and wrongefully deteyne and vsurpe oure lawfull patrymonye and lyneal inherytaunce. For he that calleth hym selfe kynge, kepethe from me the Crowne and regymente of thys noble Realme and countrey contrary to all iustice and equytye. Lykewyse, hys mates and frendes occupie your landes, cut downe your woddes and destroy your maners, letting your wifes and childzen range abroad for their liuing: which persones for ther penaunce and punishment I dout not but GOD of his goodnes wyll eyther deliuer into our handes as a greate gayne and booty, or cause them beynge greued and cõpũcted

wyth

with the pricke of ther corrupt consciẽces cowardely to flye and not a-
byde the battaylle: besyde this I assure you that there be yonder in ỹ
great battayll, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, souldy-
ours by force cõpelled and not with good will assembled, persons which
desyer rather the destruccion then saluacion of ther maister & captayn:
And finally a multitude, whereof the most part wyl be our frendes and
the lest part our enemies. For truely I doubt which is greater the ma-
lice of the souldyours toward there captayn, or the feare of hym cõcey-
ued of his people: for surely this rule is infallible, that as yl men daylye
x counte to destroy the good, so God appointeth the good to confounde
the yll, and of al worldly goodes the greatest is, to suppresse tyrauntes,
and releue innocences, wherof the one is as muche hated as the other
is beloued. If this be true (as clerkes preache) who wyll spare yoũder
tiraunt Richard duke of Gloucester vntrewely callyng him self kynge
considering that he hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God &
man, what vertue is in him which was the confusion of hys brother &
murtherer of his nephewes: what mercy is him that sleythe hys tru-
stie frendes aswell as his extreme enemies: Who can haue confydence
in him which putteth diffidence in all mẽ: If you haue no redde, I haue
xx hard of clerckes saie, ỹ Tarquine ỹ proude for the vice of the body loste
the kyngdome of Rome, and the name of Tarquine, banniched the Ci-
tie for euer: yet was not his fault so detestable as the facte of cruel Ne-
ro, which slew his owne mother and opened her entrayles to be holde
the place of hys conceptyon. Beholde youre Richard whyche is bothe
Tarquine and Nero: Yea a tiraunt more then Nero, for he hathe not
onely murdered his nephewe being his king & souereigne lord, bastar-
ded his noble brethrẽ & defamed the wombe of his verteous and wo-
manly mother, but also compased al the meanes and wayes ỹ he coulde
inuent how to stupryate and carnally know hys owne nece vnder ỹ pre-
xxx tence of a cloked matrimony, whych lady I haue swore and promised
to take to my make and wyfe as you all know and beleue. If this cause
be not iuste, and this quarel Godly, let God the geuer victorye iudge
and determine. We haue (thankes be geuen to Christ) escaped ỹ secrete
treasons in Britayne, and auoyded the subtyl snares of our fraudulẽt
enemies there, passed the troublous sees in good and quiet sauegard, &
without resistence haue penetrate the ample regyon and large coũtrey
of Wales, and are nowe come to the place, which we so muche desyred,
for long we haue sought the furious boze, and now we haue found him.
Wherfore let vs not feare to enter into the toyle where we may suerly
xl sley him, for God knoweth ỹ we haue liued in the wales of misery, tos-
syng our shippes in daungerous stormes: let vs not now dreade to set
vp our sayles in feyre whether hauing with vs both him and good for-
tune. If we had come to conquet Wales and had acheued it, our prayse
had bene great, and our gayne more: but yf we wyn this battayl, ỹ hole
ryche realme of England with the lordes and rulers of thesame shalbe

oures,the profyt shalbe oures and the honour shall be oures. Therfore labour for your gayne and swet for your ryght: while we were in Bry-tayne,we had smal lyuinges and litle plentie of wealth or welfare,now is the time come to get aboundaunce of riches and copy of profit which is the rewarde of your seruice and meryte of your payne. And this re-mẽber wᵗ your selues,that before vs be our ennemies,and on ether side of vs be such as I neither surely trust,nor greatly beleue, backarde we cannot fly: So that here we staude lyke shepe in a folde circumcepted and compassed betwene our enemies and our doubtfull frendes. There-fore let all feare be set a syde,and like sworne brethren let vs ioyne in
one,for this day shalbe thende of our trauayle and the gayne of our la-bour,either by honorable death or famous victory: And as I trust,the battayl shal not be so sore as the profyt shalbe swete . Remẽber ẏ vy-ctorye is not gotten wyth the multitude of men,but with the courages of hertes and valiauntnes of myndes . The smaller that our nõbre is ẏ more glorie is to vs yf we banquishe,if we be ouercome,yet no laud is to be attributed,to the victors,consydering that ten mẽ fought against one:and yf we so dye so glorious a death in so good a querel,neither fre-tyng tynne,nor cancarding obliuiõ shalbe able to obfuscate or race oute of the boke of fame either our names,or our Godly attempt . And this
one thyng I assure you, that in so iust and good a cause, and so notable a quarel,you shal fynde me thys day, rather a dead caryon vppon the could grounde,then a fre prysoner on a carpet in a laides chamber. Let vs therfore fight like inuincible giantes, & set on our enemies like vnto timerous Tigers & banysh al feare like rãping lions. And now auaũce forward true men agaynst traitors,pitifully persones against murthe-rers,trew inheritors agaynst vsurpers, ẏ skorges of God againste ty-raũtes,display my baner with a good courage , marche furth like strõg & robustious champions,& begin the battail like hardy conquerers,the battail is at hande,& ẏ victory approcheth,& yf we shamefully recule or
cowardely flie,we and al our sequel be destroied & dishonored for euer. This is ẏ day of gayne,& this is the time of losse,get this day victory & be cõquerers,& lese this daies battail & be villains & therfore in ẏ name of God & s. George let euery mã coragyously auaũce forth his stãdard.

These cherefull wordes he set foorth with such gestur of hys body and smiling countenaunce,as though al ready he had vanquyshed hys enemyes and gotten the spoyle.

The battayle betweue king Richard and kyng Henry the.vij.

He had scantly finished his sayenge,but the one army espyed the o-ther,lord how hastely ẏ souldyoures buckled their healmes,how quik-ly the archers bent their bowes and frushed their feathers,how redely
ẏ bilmen shoke their billes and proued their staues, redy to approche & ioyne,when the terrible trompet should sownd the bluddy blast to vic-tory or death. Betwene both armies there was a great marrisse which therle of Richemond left on his ryght hand,for thys entẽt that it shuld be on that syde a defence for his part,and in so doyng he had the some

at his

at his backe and in the faces of his enemies. When King Richard saw the earles compaignie was passed ỹ marresse, he commaunded with al haste to set vpon them, then the trompettes blew, & the souldiers showted, and the kings archers coragiously let flie there arrowes, the erles bowmẽ stode not still but payed them home agayn. The terrible shote ones passed, the armies ioined, & came to hande strokes, where neither sword nor bil was spared, at which encounter the lord Stanley ioyned with therle. The erle of Oxforde in the meane season fering lest while his compaignie was fighting, they should be cõpassed & circũuented wt
x ỹ multitude of his enemies, gaue cõmaũdemẽt in euery ranke ỹ no mã should be so hardy as go aboue. x. fote frõ ỹ standard, which cõmaundemẽt ones knowẽ, they knit thẽselfes together, & ceased a littel frõ fyghting: the aduersaries sodenly abashed at ỹ matter, & mistrustinge some fraude or deceyte, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not against the willes of many which had leuer haue had the kyng destroyed then saued, & therfore they fought very fayntly or stode still. Therle of Oxforde bringing all his bend together on the one part, set on hys ennemies freshly, agayne, the aduersaries perceyuing that, placed ther mẽ
xx slender and thyne before and thycke and brode behinde, beginnyng agaiue hardely the battayl. Whyle the two forwardes thus mortallye fought, eche entending to vanquish and conuince ỹ other, king Richard was admonished by his explorators and espialles, ỹ therle of Richmõd accompaigned with a small nombre of men of armes was not farre of, & as he approched and marched toward him, he perfitly knew his personage by certayn demonstraciõs & tokens, which he had learned and knowen of other. And being inflamed with ire & vexed wt outragious malice, he put his spurres to his horse & rode out of ỹ syde of the range of his battaile, leuyng the auantgardes fyghting, & like a hungery lion ran with spere in rest toward him. Therle of Richemõd perceiued wel
xxx the king furiously comming toward hym, and because the hole hope of his welth and purpose was to be determined by battail, he gladly proferred to encountre with him body to body and man to man. King Richard set on so sharpely at the first Broũt ỹ he ouerthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon hys standarde bearer (whiche was father to Sir Charles Brandon by kinge Henry the.viij. created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand wt Sir Jhon Cheynie, a man of great force & strength which would haue resisted him, & thesayd Jhon was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and so he making open passage by dent of sworde as he went forward therle of Richemõd wtstode his violence & kept him at the swordes poinct without auantage lõger then his compaignions other thought or iudged, which being almost in dispaire of victorie, were sodainly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, whiche came to succours with.iij. thousand tall men, at whiche very instant kynge Richardes men were driuen backe and fledde, and he him selfe manfully fightinge in the middel of hys enemyes was slayne

and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued.

In the meane season therle of Oxforde wyth the ayde of the Lord Stanley, after no long fyght discomfited the forward of king Richard, whereof a greate nomber were slayne in the chace and flyght, but the greatest nomber whych (compelled by fear of the kyng and not of their mere voluntarie mocio) came to the felde, gaue neuer a stroke, and hauing no harme nor domage sauely departed, which came not thether in hope to se the kyng prosper and preuayle, but to here that he shoulde be shamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battail died fewe aboue the nomber of a thousande persones: And of the nobilitie were slayne Jhon Duke of Norfolke, whyche was warned dy dyuers to refrayne from the felde, in so much that the nyght before he shoulde set forward towarde the kynge, one wrote on his gate. f

Jack of Norffolke be not to bolde
For Dyken thy mayster is bought and solde.

Yet al this notwithstandinge he regarded more hys othe, his honour and promyse made to king Richard, lyke a gentleman and a faythfull subiecte to his prince absented not him selfe from hys mayster, but as he faythefully lyued vnder him, so he manfully dyed wyth hym to hys ff greate fame and lawde. There were slayne beside him Water Lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Richard Radcliffe, and Robert Brakēburie Leutenaunt of the Tower and not many gentlemen mo. Sir Wyllyā Catesbey learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the chiefe coūsailers to the late king, wᵗʰ diuerse other were. ij. dayes after behedded at Leycester. Amongest them that ran away were Sir Fraunces Uicount Louell and Humfrey Stafford & Thomas Stafford hys brother which toke sanctuary in saynct Jhons at Gloucester. Of captiues and prysoners there was a greate nomber, for after the death of kyng Rychard was knowen and publysshed, euery manne in manner vnarfff mynge him selfe and castynge away hys abilumentes of warre, mekely submitted them selfes to the obeysaunce and rule of the earle of Richemonde: of the whiche the more parte had gladly so done in the begynnynge, yf they myght haue conueniently escaped from kyng Richards espialles, whyche hauynge as clere eyes as lynx, and open eares as Mydas ranged and serched in euery quarter. Amōgest these was Hēry the. iiij. erle of Northumberlande, which whether it was by the cōmaundement of kyng Richard puttyng diffidence in him, or he dyd it for the loue & fauor that he bare vnto the earle, stode still wyth a greate compaignye & intermitted not in the battayll, whych was incontinētly fl receyued into fauour and made of the coūsayll. But Thomas Hawarde erle of Surrey whiche submitted him self ther, was not taken to grace because his father was chefe coūsailer & he greatly familiar with kyng Richard, but cōmitted to the Tower of Londō, where he lōg remained & in conclusiō deliuered, & for his trueth and fidelity after promoted to

hygh

highe honors offices and dignities. On therle of Richemondes parte were slayne scace one hundred persones, amongest whome the principall was Sir William Brandon hys standard bearer.

This battail was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the. xxij. day of August in the yere of our redemption a. M. CCCC. lxxxvi. the hole conflicte endured littel aboue two houres. Kyng Richard as the fame wente might haue escaped and gotten sauegarde by flyenge. For when they which were next about his person saw and perceyued at the first enioyning of the battayll the souldioures faintly and nothing cou-
x ragiously to set on their enemies, & not onely that, but also that som wt drewe them selfes pryuely out of the preasse and departed. They began to suspect fraude and to smel treason, and not onelye exhorted but determynatly aduysed hym to saue hym selfe by flyght: and when yͤ losse of the battaill was immynent and apparante, they broughte to hym a swyfte and alight horse to conuey hym away. He which was not ignorant of the grudge & yl wil that the cõmon people bare toward him, casting away al hope of fortunate successe & happy chaunce to come, answered (as men say) that on that daye he wouldе make an end of al battailes or els there finish his life. Such a great audacitie & such a stowte
xy stomake reigned in his body, for suerlye he knew yͤ to be the daye in the which it should be decided & determined whither he should peaseably obtein & enioy his kingdom during his life, or els vtterly forgo & be depriued of the same, with which to much hardines he beynge ouercome hastely closed his helmet, and entered fiercely into the hard battaill, to thentent to obteyne that day a quiet reigne & regiment, or els to finish there his vnquiet life & vnfortunate gouernaũce. And so this miser at yͤ same very poynct had like chaunce & fortune, as happeneth to suche which in place of right iustice & honesty, folowing their sensual appetite loue, vse & embrace, mischief, tyranny and vnthriftynes. Suerly these
xy be examples of more vehemencie then mans tong can expresse, to fear and astonne such euyl persones as wyl not leue one houre vacant from doyng and exercysing crueltie mischiefe or outragious lyuyng.

When therle had thus obteigned victorie and slain his mortal enemie, he kneled doune and rendred to almighty god his harty thãkes w deuout & Godly orisons, besechyng hys goodnes to sende him grace to auaunce & defende the catholycke fayth & to maintayn iustice & cõcord amõgest his subiectes & people, by God now to hys gouernaũce cõmitted & assigned: Which prayer fynished, he replenished with incõparable gladnes, ascended vp to the top of a littel mountaine, where he not on-
xl ly praised & lawded his valiaunt souldioures, but also gaue vnto them his harty thankes, w promise of condigne recõpence for their fidelite & valiaũt factes, willing & commaunding al the hurt & wounded persons to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to yͤ sepulture. Thẽ yͤ people reioysed & clapped handes crying vp to heuen, king Hẽry, king Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good wyll and gratute of yͤ

people he toke the crowne of kyng Richard which was founde amon-
geſt the ſpoyle in the fielde, and ſet it on therles head, as though he had
bene elected king by the voyce of the people as in auncyent times paſt
in diuers realmes it hath bene accuſtomed, and thys was the firſt ſigne
and token of his good lucke and felicite. I muſt put you here in remē-
braunce how that kyng Richard puttynge ſome diffidence in the lord
Stanley, whych had w hym as an hoſtage, the lorde ſtraung his eldeſt
ſonne, whych lord Stanley as you haue hearde before ioyned not at ꝑ
fyrſt wyth hys ſonne in lawes armye, for feare that kyng Richarde
woulde haue ſlayne the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When kyng Ry- ꝑ
chard was come to Boſwoorth, he ſent a purſeuaunt to the lord Stā-
ley, commaundyng him to auaunce forward wyth hys companye and
to come to his preſence, whiche thinge yf he refuſed to do, he ſware by
Chriſtes paſſiō that he would ſtryke of his ſonnes hedde before he dy-
ned. The lorde Stanley aunſwered the purſiuaunt that yf the kynge
dyd ſo, he had more ſonnes alyue, and as to come to hym he was not
then ſo determyned: when kyng Richard harde this anſwere he com-
maunded the lorde Straunge incontinent to behedded, whyche was
at that very ſame ſeaſon when both the armyes had ſight ech of other.
The counſayllers of king Richard pondering the time and the cauſe, ꝑ
knowyng alſo the Lorde Straunge to be iunocente of his fathers of-
fence, perſwaded the kynge that it was now time to fight and not time
to execucyon, aduiſinge him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a pryſo-
ner till the battayll were ended, and then at Leyſer hys pleaſur might
be accompliſhed. So as God woulde king Richarde enfrynged hys
holy othe, and the lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kynges tē-
tes to be kept as a priſoner, whiche when the felde was done and their
maiſter ſlayne and proclamacion made to knowe where the childe was
they ſubmitted them ſelfes as pryſoners to the Lorde Straunge, and
he gently receiued them, and brought them to the new proclamed king ꝑ
where of him and of his father he was receyued wyth greate ioye and
gladnes. After this the hole campe remoued with bagge and baggage
and the ſame nyght in the eueninge kynge Henry wyth great Pompe
came to the toune and Leyceſter. Where aſwel for the refreſhinge of
hys people and ſouldioures as for preparyng all thinges neceſſary for
hys iourneye towarde London, he reſted and repoſed hym ſelfe twoo
dayes. In the meane ſeaſon the deade Corpes of kynge Richarde
was as ſhamefnllye caryed to the towne of Leyceſter, as he gorgious-
lye the daye before wych Pompe and pryde departed oute of the ſame
towne. For his bodye was naked and deſpoyled to the ſkyne, and no-
thynge lefte aboue hym not ſo muche as a clowte to couer hys pryue ꝑ
members, and was truſſed behynde a purſyuaunt of armes called
blaunche ſenglyer, or whyte boze, lyke a hogge or a calfe, the heade and
armes hangynge on the one ſyde of the horſe, and the legges ane
the other ſyde, and all by ſprynckled wyth myre and bloude, was

brought

brought to the gray fryers church wythin the toune and there lay like a myserable spectacle: but surely conſideryng his mischeuous actes & facynorous doynges, men may worthely wonder at such a caytyne, & in the sayde churche he was not wyth lesse funerall pompe, and solempnitie enterred, then he woulde to be done at the bearyng of hys innocent nephewes whome he caused cruelly to be murthered and vnnaturally to be quelled.

When his death was knowen, few lamented, and many reioised, the proude braggynge white bore (whiche was his badge) was vyolently
x raled and plucked doune from euery signe and plate where it might be espyed, so yl was his lyfe, that men wished the memory of hym to be buryed wyth his carren corps: He reygned two yeres, two monethes & one daye.

As he was small and litle of stature, so was he of body greately deformed, the one shoulder higher then the other, his face smal, but his cõtenauuce was cruel, and such, that a man at the first aspect would iudge it to sauor and smel of malice, fraude and deceite: when he stode musing he would byte and chaw besely his nether lyppe, as who saith that his fyerce nature in hys cruel body alwayes chafed, sturred and was euer
xx vnquiet: beside that, the dagger that he ware he would whẽ he studied with hys hande plucke vp and doune in the sheth to the myddes, neuer drawyng it fully out, hys wyt was pregnaunt, quicke & ready, wyly to fayne and apte to dissimule, he had a proud mynd and an arrogant stomacke, the which accompaignied hym to his deth, whiche he rather desyryng to suffer by dent of swerde, then beyng forsaken and destitute of hys vntrewe compaignions, woulde by coward flyght, preserue and saue his vncertayne lyfe: Whyche by malyce, sickness or condigne punishment myght chaunce shortly after to come to confusyon.

The discription of kyng Richarde the third.

Thus ended thys prince his mortal life with infamy and dishonor,
xx whiche neuer preferred fame or honestie before ambicion, tyranny and mischiefe. And yf he had continued still Protectoure, and suffered hys nephewes to haue lyued and reigned, no doubt but the realme had prospered, and he muche praysed and beloued as he is nowe abhorred and vilipended, but to God which knew his interior cogitacyons at the houre of his deathe. I remitte the punishment of hys offences commmytted in his lyfe.

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Wyllyam Slaughter one of the murtherers of kyng Edwardes chyldren.ij.ij.x.

FINIS.

The politique gouernaunce

of Kyng Henry. vii.



Onsidering now that I haue sufficiently declared what mischief kyng Richard the third wroughtwith in this realme after ỹ death of his noble brother kyng Edward the fourth: and how the nobilite of his kyngdom maligned and conspired against him, and abandoned and left him in maner desolate at the day of his most nede & tribulaciõ: Also how miserably he ended his lyfe at ỹ toune of Boswoorth, and how vnreuerẽtly he was enterred at ỹ toune of Leicestre, which I doubt not but is sufficiently declared vnto you. And now only resteth to shewe you what happened after his fall and confusion to hym, that both vanquished and depriued him from his princely powre and royall dignitie.

When kyng Henry had not onely obtained this triumphant battaile at the plain of Boswoorth against his malicious enemy kyng Rychard, but also by glorious victory gatt the diademe and possession of the state royall and princely prehemynence of this famous Empire and renowmed kyngdome. He hauing both the ingenious forecast of the subtyll serpent, & also fearyng the burning fire like an infant that is a litle synged with a small flame: and farther vigilantly forseeing and prudently prouidyng for doubtes that might accidentally ensue: deuysed, studied and compassed to extirpate and eradicate all interior seditions & apparant presumpcions whiche might moue any tumultuous route or seditious coniuracion against him within his realme in tyme to come. And to obsist the first likely mischiefe, he sent before his departure from Leycestre Sir Robert wylloghby knight to the maner of Sheryhoutton in the county of Yorke, for Edward plantagenet Erle of Warwike sonne and heire to George duke of Clarẽce then beyng of the age of .xv. yeres, whom kyng Rychard had kept there as a prisoner duryng the tyme of his vsurped reigne. And surely ỹ kyng was not afeard without a cause, for he muche mistrusted least by this young man, some euil disposed and enuious persons of his glory and aduauncemẽt might inuent some new occasion of renuyng of battaill against hym: which beyng euen from his infancy with many encombrances and troubles vexed & endaungered, desired nothyng more hartely then now to lyue in quyetnes, peace and tranquilitie. Sir Robert willoghby accordyng to hys commission receaued of the conestable of the castle the Erle Edward, and hym conuey-

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ghed to London, where the youngelyng borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontynent in the towre of London put vnder safe and sure custody. There was beside hym in thesame Castell of Sheryhutton the lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward, whome kyng Rychard lyghly fantasiyng and deuelyshly dotyng, dyd entende to marry as you before haue heard, but the damosell dyd not alonly disagre and repudiate that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abhominable desyre. At which most importunate and detestable concupiscence, the cõmon people of the realme so muche grudged and maligned that they did not only attribute ỹ faute & cryme to the kyng, but much more culpate & blame his preuy councellers which did not dissent, but consent to so pernicious a counsail and so shameful a conclusion: But God of his only goodnes preserued the chrysten minde of ỹ vertuous & immaculate virgin, & from that flagicious & facinerous acte, dyd graciously protect and defende: The whiche lady not long after, accompanied with a great nombre aswel of noblemen as honorable matrones, was with good spede conueighed to London and brought to her mother.

In the meane season the kyng remoued forward by iorneyes toward London, and euen as he passed, the rusticall people on euery syde of the wayes assembled in great nombres & with great ioye clapped their handes & showted, cryng, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. But whẽ he approched nere the citie, the Mayre, the Senate and the magistrates of thesame beyng all clothed in violet, met him at Shordiche, and not onely saluted & welcomed him with one voyce in generall, but euery person perticulerly preased and aduaũced him selfe, gladly to touche and kysse that victorious handes whiche had ouercome so monstruous and cruel a tiraunt, geuing laudes and praisynges to almighty God, and rendring immortall thankes to hym, by whose meane & industry the cõmen wealth of the realme was preserued from finall destruccion & perpetual calamite, and the authores of the mischief sublated & plucked away. And with great pompe & triumphe he roade through the citie to the cathedral church of S. Paule wher he offred his .iii. standardes. In the one was the ymage of S. George, in the second was a red firy dragon beaten vpon white & grene sarcenet, ỹ third was of yelowe tarterne, in thewhich was peinted a donne kowe. After his prayers said & Te deum song, he departed to the byshoppes palais and there soiourned a season, during which time, plaies, pastimes and pleasures were shewed in euery parte of the citie. And to thentent that their good mind toward God should not be put in oblicion, they caused general processions solemply to be celebrate to rendre and yelde to God their creator & redemer their hartie and humble thankes whiche had deliuered them frõ miserable captiuite & restored them to libertie and fredome. Beside this, they that fauoured and loued the kyng were inwardly ioyous to se & perceaue that their aduersaries and back frendes were all ready or lyke to be suppeditate and ouerthrowen.

When these solempnities & gratifications were done & passed: accordyng

dyng as other kynges had bene accustomed, he cõgregated together the sage councelers of his realme, in which cõsiail like a prince of iust faith and true of promes, detesting all intestine & cyuell hostilite, appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimony ỹ lady Elyzabeth heire of the house of yorke, with his noble personage heyre to ỹ lyne of Lancastre: whiche thyng not onely reioysed and comforted the hartes of the nobles and gẽtlemen of the realme, but also gained the fauour & good mindes of all the cõmen people, muche extollyng and praisyng the kynges constant fidelite and his polletique deuyce, thynkyng surely that the day was now come & that the sede of tumulteous factions and the fountaine of ciuyle dissencion shoulbe stopped euacuate and clerely extinguished.

After this, he with great pompe was cõueighed to Westmynster, and there the thirty daye of October was with all ceremonies accustomed, enoynted & crouned kyng by the whole assent aswel of the cõmons as of the nobilite, & was named kyng Henry the. vii. of that name, which was in the yere of our redemption. M.cccc.lxxxvi. Frederyke the. iii. then beyng Emperour of Almayne, Maximilian his sonne then beyng newely elected kyng of Romanes, Charles the. viii. reigning ouer the Frenche nacion & Iames the. iii. rulyng the realme of Scotland. Whiche kyngdome he obtayned & enioyed as a thyng by God elected & prouided, and by his especiall fauoure & gracious aspecte compassed and acheued. In so muche that men cõmonly repoxt that. vii. C. xcvii. yeres passed, it was by a heauenly voyce reueled to Cadwaladet last kyng of Brytons that his stocke and progeny should reigne in this land and beare dompnion agayn: & herupõ most men were persuaded in their awne opinion that by this heauẽly voice he was prouided and ordeined long before to enioye and obteine this kyngdome, whiche thing kyng Henry the. vi. did also shewe before as you haue heard declared. Wherefore he beyng by right and iust tytle of temporall inheritaunce, & by prouision of deuyne puruetaunce thus crouned and proclaimed kyng: First of all vsyng the antique example of the Athenienses, whiche is to perdon and put out of memory all crymes and offences before tyme agaynst hym or his lawes perpetrated or cõmitted, he called his high court of parliamẽt at Westmynster the. vii. daye of Nouembre for thestablishyng of all thinges aswell cõcernyng the preseruacion and maintenaunce of his royall person, as the adminystracion of iustice and preferment of the cõmon wealth of this realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaimed that all men were perdoned, acquyted and clercly discharged of all offences, peynes of death and executions, and should be restored to their landes and mouable goodes whiche would submit them selfes to his clemency and by othe be obliged truly to serue and obeye hym as their souereigne lorde, & who woulde be obstinate & refuse to retorne to his parte, should be accepted and taken as a publike enemy to hym and his countrey. By reason of whiche proclamacion, a great nombre that came out of diuerse sanctuaries and priuileged places obteyned grace, forgetting clerely

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Hall. 12. a

the diuersite of factions & voice of partakyng. After this, he began to remember his espetall frendes and fautours, of whome, some he auaunced to honour and dignite, and some he enriched with possessions & goodes, euery man according to his desert & merite. And to beginne, Jaspar his vncle Erle of Penbroke, he created duke of Bedforde, Thomas lorde Stanley he promoted to be Erle of Darby, and the lorde Chandew of Bryteine his especial frend he made erle of Bathe, sir Gyles Dawbeney was made lorde Dawbeney, sir Robert Willoughby was made lorde Broke which be in their degre barons and peres of the realme. And Edward stafford eldest son to Henry late duke of Buckingham, he restored to his name, dignitie and possessions, which kyng Rychard did confiscate and attainted. Besyde this, in this parliament was this notable acte assented to and concluded as foloweth.

acan. 10. B. 15. a

ou. 15. a

a. 11. a

» To the pleasure of almighty God, wealth, prosperite & suretie of this
» realme of England, and to the synguler comfort of all the kynges sub-
» iectes of thesame, in aduoydyng all ambyguities & questions: Be it or-
» deyned, establyshed and enacted by this present parliament, that the in-
» heritaūce of the croune of this realme of England and also of Fraunce
» with al the preheminence and dignitie royall to thesame apperteignyng
» and all other seignyories to the kyng belonging beyond the sea, with the
» appurtenaunces therto in any wyse dewe or apperteigning, shal rest, re-
» mayne and abyde in the most royall person of our nowe souereigne lord
» kyng Henry the. vii. and in the heires of his body lawfully cōmyng, per-
» petually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other.

- 12 b

And beside this acte, al attainders of this kyng, enacted by kyng Edward & kyng Rychard were adnichilated, and the record of thesame adiudged to be defaced & put out of memory, and al persons attainted for his cause & occasion, were restored to their goodes, landes & possessions. And in cōclusion, diuerse of the actes made in the tyme of kyng Edward and kyng Richard were adnulled & reuoked, & other more expedient for the vtilitie of the cōmen wealth were subrogated and concluded. When all thynges necessary were discretely ordred and the parliament for the tyme dyssolued, the kyng thought it not necessary to put in obliuion his frendes and hostages beyng beyond the sea, wherfore with all diligent celeritie he redemed the Marques Dorcet & sir Jhon Bourchier whom he had lefte as pledges at Parys for money there before borowed. And sent also into Flaunders for Jhon Morton bishop of Ely.

ccc

ccc. 15. a

These actes perfourmed, he stablished in his house a graue counsaill of wyse and politique men, by whose iudgement, ordre and determinacō the people might be gouerned accordyng to iustice and equitie, and that all causes might be finyshed and ended there, without great bearyng or expence in long sute. And for hearyng and decydyng these causes iustly and spedely, he sware of his counsaill dyuerse noble and discrete persones, whiche for their polecy, wit and synguler grauitie, were highly esteemed and renowned, whose names folowe, Jaspar duke of Bedforde,

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Jhon

Jhon erle of Oxford, Thomas Stanley erle of Darby, Jhon bishop of Ely, sir Willia stanley lord Chāberlein of his houshold, sir Robert Willoughby, lord Broke, lord Stuard of his houshold, Gyles lord Dawbeney, Jhō lord Dynhā after made treasorer of Englād, sir Reignold Brey, sir Jhon Cheiney, sir Richard Guyldford, sir Richard Tunstall, sir Rychard Egecombe sir Thomas Louel, sir Edward Pownynges, sir Jhō Risley, with diuerse othet wyse men, whiche as the tyme required he called to his counsaill and seruice nowe one and nowe another.

Although by this election of wyse and graue councellers all thynges ℞ seined to be brought to a good ⁊ perfight conclusion, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe to set al the strynges in a monacorde and tune, which was the matrimony to be finished betwene the kyng and the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyng Edward, whiche lyke a good prynce accordyng to his othe and promes, he did both solempnise and consummate in briefe tyme after, that is to saye on the. xviii. date of January. By reason of whiche mariage peace was thought to discende out of heauen into England, consyderyng that the lynes of Lancastre ⁊ Yorke, being both noble families equiualent in ryches, fame and honour, were now brought into one knot ⁊ conneyed together, of whose two bodies one heire might ℞ succede, whiche after their tyme should peaceably rule and enioye the whole monarchy and realme of England. Bar. 16 B.

These thynges thus passed, albeit that apparauntly all thynges semed to be reduced to a good pointe and set in a sure steye: Kyng Henry beyng made wyse and expert with troubles and mischiefes before past, remembred that it was wisdome to feare ⁊ prouide for the craftie wyles and lurkyng trappes of his secrete enemies, remembring all men for the moost part embrued and exercised in plantyng of diuision and sowyng dissencion, can not lightely leaue their pestiferous appetite and seditious occupacion. Wherfore, for thesauegarde and preseruacion of his awne ℞ body, he cōstituted ⁊ ordeyned a certayn nomber aswell of good archers as of diuerse other persons being hardy, strong and of agylitie to geue dayly attendaunce on his person, whom he named Yomen of his garde, which president men thought that he learned of the Frenche kyng when he was in Fraunce: For men remembre not any kyng of England before that tyme whiche vsed suche a furniture of dayly souldyours. Yet forasmuche as to auoyde and eschewe all doubtfull daungers and perelles vnloked for, lytle auayleth outward warre, except there be a sure staye, and a stedfast backstande at home, aswel for the sauegarde ⁊ securite, as for the good gouernaūce of such as be left behinde: He therfore commo- ℞ ned agayne his great courte of parliament, wherto he would that there should be elected the most prudent ⁊ grauous persons of euery countie, cytie, porte and borough, and in especiall such as he in all his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumultuous affayres, vsed, trusted and fauoured, as partakers, councelers, and compaignions both of his woo and aduersitie, and also of his triumphe and glorious victory, whose mindes Bar. 10 L. The first Yomē of ꝑ gārde

and studyes he perfightly knewe to be fixed and set in the polytique regiment and prudent gouernaunce of the publique wealth of his realme and dominion. Not forgettyng, but hauyng in fresh memory that he for that cause principally was so sore delyred, & instantly called of the Englishe nacion his naturall countrey men: Estemyng it as a chiefe & principal part of his duetie to se his realme both adourned and decored with good and proffitable lawes & statutes, and also to florysshe in vertteous operacions and good and cyuile maners, whiche should be an occasion to cause all men to hope that all thyng would contynually amend, from euyll to good, from good to bettre, and from bettre to the best. This sure foundacion kyng Henry laide at the beginning of hys reigne, entending theron continually to builde.

¶ The second yere.



In this same yere a newe kynde of sickues came sodenly through the whole regiõ euen after the first entring of the kyng into this yle, which was so sore, so peinful & sharp ỹ the like was neuer harde of, to any mans remẽbraunce before that tyme: For sodenly a deadly & burning sweate inuaded their bodies & vexed their bloud w̃ a most ardent heat, & infested ỹ stomack & the head greuously: by ỹ tormenting & veraciõ of which sickenes, men were so sore handled & so pamfully pangued that if they were laied in their bed, being not hable to suffre the importunat heat, they cast away the shetes & all the clothes lyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell & vestures, they would put of all their garmentes euen to their shirtes. Other were so dzie ỹ they dzanke ỹ colde water to quenche their importune heate & insaciable thirst. Other ỹ coulde or at the least would abide the heate & stynche (for in dede the sweate had a great & a strõg sauoure) caused clothes to be laied vpõ theim asmuch as they could beare, to dziue out the sweate if it might be. All in maner assone as the sweate toke them, or within a short space after, yelded vp their ghost. So that of all them that sickened there was not one emongest an hundreth that escaped: In somuch, that beside the great nombre whiche deceased within the cytie of London, two Mayres successiuely dyed of thesame desease within. viii. dayes & vi. Aldermẽ. And when any person had fully & completely sweat. xxiiii. houres (for so long did the strength of this plague hold them) he should be then clerely deliuered of his desease: yet not so cleane ryd of it, but that he might shortly relaps & fall again into thesame cuil pit, yea again & twise againe as many one in dede did, which after the third tyme died of thesame. At the length by study of the Phisicians & experience of the people, dziuen therunto by dzeadfull necessitie, there was a remedy inuented: For they that survived, considering therstremitie of the peyne in them that deseased, deuised by thinges mere cõtrariaunt, to resist & withstãd the furious rage of that burning furnesse, by luke warme dzinke, temperat heate, & measurable clothes. For suche persons as relapsed again into the flame after the first deliueraunce, obserued

Zaran-8. E

The sweating sycknes.

serued diligently & marked suche thinges as did theim ease & confort at their first vexacio, & vsing thesame for a remedy & medicine of their peine, addyng euer somwhat therto that was sanatyue & wholsome. So that if any person euer after fell sycke again, he obseruing the regiment that emongest the people was deuysed could shortly helpe him selfe, & ealely tempre and auoyde the strength and malyce of the sweate. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present & a spedy remedy for thesame desease and malady, thewhiche is this: If a man on the daye tyme were plagued with the sweate, then he shoulde straycht lye downe x with all his clothes and garmentes and lye stil the whole. xxiiii. houres. If in the night he were taken, then he should not ryse out of his bed for the space of. xxiiii. houres, & so calle the clothes that he myght in no wyse prouoke the sweate, but so lye temperately that the water myght distille oute softely of the awne accorde, & to absteyne from all meate if he might so long sustayne and suffre hungre and to take no more drynke neyther hote nor colde, then wyll moderately quenche and delaye his thrustye appetyde. And in this his amendyng, one poynte dylygently aboue all other is to be obserued and attended, that he neuer put his hand or fote out of the bed to refresh or cole him selfe, thewhich to do is no lesse peine xx then short death. So you may plainly see what remedy was by the daily experience excogitated and inuented for this straunge and vnknowē desease, thewhich at that tyme vexed and greued only the realme of England in euery toune and village as it did diuerse tymes after. But. lv. yere after, it sailed into Flaunders and after into Germany, where it destroyed people innumerable for lacke of knowlege of the English experience. This cōtagious & euell plague chaunced in the first yere of kyng Henryes reigne as a token and a playn signe (if to the vaine iudgement of the people whiche cōmonly cōmen more fantastically then wysely, any faith or credite is to be had, geuē or attributed) that kyng Henry should xx haue a harde and sore beginning, but more truly if vayne superstition can set furth any truthe, it pretended & signified that kyng Henry to the extreme pointe and ende of his naturall life should neuer haue his spyrite and mynde quiet, consyderyng that nowe in the very beginnyng of his newe obtayned reigne, he was (as you shall shortly heare) with sedicion and cōmocion of his people, troubled, vexed and vnquieted, and it was in maner a manifest proue that hereafter he should liue in smal rest and great mistrust of suche rebellious and seditious cōspiracies. These were the phantasticall iudgementes of the vnlettred persones whiche I ouerpasse, and returne to my purpose.

xl When all thinges by ỹ kyng were appeased at London & that he had set & appoynted all his affaires in good ordre and sure state, as he with him selfe cōiectured, he thought it best to make a peregrinacio & take his progresse into ỹ other quarters of his realme, ỹ he might wede, extirpate and purge the myndes of mē spotted & cōtaminate with the contagious smoke of dissencion & preuy faccions, and especially the coūtie of Yorke

R a. 17.

which were pzeuy fautoures and cõfozters of the contraty part, and not without a cause. Foz kyng Richard moze loued, moze esteined & tegarded the nothern men then any subiectes within his whole realme, which thyng to kyng Henry was not vnknowē. Wherfoze he the moze studied to kepe thē in dew obeisaunce & faithfull obsequy, whō he knew of long custome to haue bozne their hartes & fauourable myndes to his aduersaries: therfoze in the pzime time of the yere he toke his iozney towardes Yozke, & because the feast of Easter appzoched, he diuerted to the citie of Lyncoln, where he taried during the solempnite of that high feast: & makyng there his abode, he was certified ỹ the lozd Louel & Homfrey Stafford were departed out of sanctuary in Colchestre: but to what place oz whether, no man as yet could tell. Foz which cause the kyng lytle tegardyng the tale went fozthe his appointed iozney to Yozke. And assone as he was there receaued & settled, it was bzuted, and openly shewed to the kyng hym selfe that Fraunces lozde Louell was at hande with a strong and mighty powze of men, and would with all diligence inuade the cytie: also that the foznamed Homfrey Staffozd and Thomas his bzother were in wozcettre shyze and there had rayled a great bande of rude and rusticall people, & had cast lottes what parte should assaute the gates, what men should scale the walles of the cytie of Wozcestre, & who pp should kepe the passages foz letyng of reskewes and aiders.

At the firste heryng of this, the kyng estemed it foz vayne & vncertain, and therfoze was with it but litle moued: but after that he was ceztified by the letters of credence sent frō his frendes, that all was true that was by the cōmen voice spoken and published, he was afflicted with no small feare. And surely not without a cause, foz he wysely cōsidzed that he had neither a competent army ready pzepared, noz harneis noz weapons foz them that were pzesent. And also he was now in such a doubtfull place, where he nether might noz could cōueniently gather an hoost together, cōsideryng that in thesame cytie, the memozy of kyng Richard his moz- pp tall enemy was yet recent and lyuely & not all fozgotten of his frendes, but because the matter requyzed dylygent celerytie, least that by long tariyng the powze of his aduersaries by daily aides might be encreased and multiplied, he commaunded the duke of Bedfozd with .iii. thousand men not strongely armed to do a great entrepzyce (foz their bzest plates foz the most part were made of tanned lether) to encountre and set vpon them with all hast and diligence, and made him pzeuy what he him selfe entended to doo. After this, the kyng congregated together an hoost in euery place where he myght retayne theim. The duke settyng fozwarde after the fassion of an eger & fierce captaine came nygh to the tentes and rl campe of his enemies where he consulted and communicated his minde with certayn captaines and sage souldiours of his compaigny, by what waye he might treyne & allure theim to peace, without battaill oz bloodshedding. After whiche deliberacion and aduisement had, yt was decreed that the Heraulde should pzoclayme openly, that all such should

haue

haue grace and pardon that would caſt doune their weapons and harneys, and as faithfull ſubiectes ſubmyt them ſelfes to their naturall ſoueraigne lord. The which proclamacion auayled & muche proffited: For the lord Louel, either for ſome feare or diffidence that he had in his people and ſouldiours, or fearyng hym ſelfe on his awne behalfe, fled preuily in a nyght from his compaignie and left them without ahead, as a flocke of ſhepe without a ſhephard, which departure when it was to his armye diſcloſed, they put of their armure and came directly to the duke, euery man humbly ſubmittyng hym ſelfe and deſiryng pardon for their offences, wholy truſting in the kynges mercy and fauourable goodnes.

So by this politique wiſdome & ingenious meanes of the good duke, this great rage and fierce route of ſturdy and valyaũt traitours whiche was prepared againſt the kyng, and were lyke to haue bene the ſlaughter of many a man, were pacifyed & repreſſed and brought to good conformitie and obedient ſubiection. And the lorde Louell cheuteyne and chiefe leader of this tumult and rebellion, fearing more peril and daungier, then deſiryng renoume or fame of chiualry, neuer tariyng ỹ doubtfull chaunce of battayle, fled in all poſt haſte into Lancaſhire, and there for a certayne ſpace loytred and lurked with Sir Thomas Broughton knyght, whiche in thoſe quarters bare great ſwynge, and was there in great aucthoritie. Homfrey Stafford alſo hearyng of this myſchaunce happened to the lord Louell, in a great dolor and agony, and for feare, in lyke maner fled and tooke ſanctuary in a village called Culnaham, two myles from Abyndon. But becauſe the ſanctuary was not a ſufficient defence (as it was proued before the iuſtices of the kynges benche) for traytoures, he was taken by force frõ that place, and brought to the towre, and from thence conueighed to Tyborne and there put to execution: But his yoũger brother Thomas, that was with hym, was pardoned & remitted becauſe he was thought not to haue done it of his awne wyll and malicious mynde, but thorowe the euell counſaill and miſchieuous perſuaſion of his Elder brother.

After that the kyng had thus by pollecy of his cõſaill appeaſed and repreſſed this tumulteous ſedicion which greatly vexed and vnquyeted his ſpirites, and had reduced to reaſon and cõformitie the rude and baſe blyng people of the north parties, and in eſpeciall thinhabitaũtes of the countye of Yorke, he returned to London, & ſhortly after that to Wyncheſtre, where quene Elizabeth his wyfe was deliuered of a fayre prynce named Arthur at his baptyme. Of whiche name Engliſhmen nomore reioyſed then outwarde nacions & foreyne prynces trymbled and quaked, ſo muche was that name to all nacions terrible & formidable: And from Wynchеſtre he returned back agayn to London.

The birth of prince Arthur

In this meane tyme, of a ſmal matter, and theſame altogether beyng falſe & feyned, ther was an open pathe & apparaunt high weie made for a greater inconuenience to enſue. The which matter for the ſubtyll iuggelyng & craftie cõueighaunce of theſame, no leſſe deceptfull then ligier

de meyne

de mayne in the hand of a tuggeler, was to be estemed emongest al wyse men at the first a very bold & ouer presumpteous an acte to be attepted: but the tyme wel weied & considred it was not so monstrous that it were worthy great wondering & admiracion, considring that many persons of late, either borne in the wõbe of continual discencion, or norished with the mylke, or suckyng the pappes of ciuyle seditiõ, could not liue well in rest, & lesse forbeare their vsual custome of mouing strife & daily debate. But they somtime sytting at home cõpassing & ymagining hurte & dãmage toward suche as they in their hattes disdeyned, somtyme remembryng that by the libertie & priuilege of warre, al is fishe that cõmeth to þ the net, euer delityng in spoylyng, robbyng & reuinge, vehemently thristyng for the distruccion & losse of such as thei would be reuẽged of, willyng to liue without lawe in tyme of peace & warre, wisshyng the world neuer to be at a bettre staye. And as persons only dedicate & geuẽ to mischief & scelerous inuencions, either for hatred, euill wil or malice of thẽ that they fauoured not, or for some emolumẽt, proffite and cõmoditie of such þ they thought to set vp & auaunce, were by fraude, couyn & crafty collusion prone & ready to disquiet euery day the kyng & his whole realme, thinking þ heauẽ had to much peace & quietnes, & hel to litle trouble and vexacion. And there was furtherers & setters on, none lackyng, in so þ much that .xx. persons would soner pricke them forward with a sharpe spurre, then one plucke thẽ back wt a dullsnaffle. Emong the which mõstres & lymbes of the deuell, there was one sir Richard Symond priest, a man of a base & obscure familie, which from his birth delited in fraude and craftie conueighyng, & yet was he well learned, but not so well learned as wilye, nor so wilye as vngracious. Which sir Richard Symond had elected a scoler, called Lambert Symenell, one of a gentle nature & pregnaunt wyt to be the organe and conduytie by whom he would conuey his false feigned enterprice and attempt. The deuell chiefe master of mischiefe put in the wicked mynde and venemouse brayne of this moost þ pernicious disloyall and trayterous person, to commente, feigne & deuise how he might make his childe and scolar Lambert to be the right inheritour to the croune of England, & so therof to make hym kyng & to promote him self to the chiefe Archebyshopryke or some high potestate wtin the realme. The chiefe foundacion of his occasion was (by the whiche he was the more bolde) that the fame went and many men surely supposed kyng Edwards children not to be dead, but to be fled secretely into some straunge place & there to be liuing, & that Edward erle of Warwike son and heire to the duke of Clarence, either was or should be put to death shortly. These rumoures although they were friuolous & vayne & with þ out all likelyhode of veritie or truthe, animated & encouraged this priest much, to thinke and iudge the tyme to be come that this Lambert might assume & take vpon hym the person & name of one of kyng Edward the fourthes chyldren, and to clayme and make title both to the realme and kyngdome, hauyng sure knowlege that neyther frendshyp should want

A Prouerbe.

nor aide

noz aide should lacke: and consydering that cancard hatred roted and
foũded vpon facinozous faccions & seditious deuisions be so perdura-
ble and in maner euerlasting that they can neuer be clerely extirpate oz
digged out of their rotté hartes, but that they wille with hande and fote
toothe and nayle further if they can their pretensed entreprice. And this
pooze priest brought into this foolysche paradice through his awne fan-
tasticall ymagination, informed and taught the child diligently at Ox-
forde where he went to scoole, both instructyng him with princely beha-
ueour, cuyple maner and fruitefull literature, declaryng to him of what
x high parentage and of what noble progeny he was lyneally descended,
thus persuadyng, and teachyng him his lesson clerckly and crattely, foz
his purpose, that the people hearing the chyld thus rehersing his lesson
so tagely, might the rather geue credite to his deceitfull pretence & talse
coloured inuencion: Sone after the rumour was blowen abzoade that Ban. 22. E
Edward the young erle of Warwike was brokẽ out of prison. And whẽ
sir Symõd heard of this, he now intending therby to bring his inuented
purpose to a cõclusion, chaũged ỹ chyldes name of baptime & called him
Edward after ỹ name of the poũg erle of Warwike, ỹ which were both
of one yeres & of one stature, & then he wt his pupille sailed into Irelãd,
xi there openyng his mynd, & declaryng his matter to certayn of the Irishe
nobilitie, whõ he knew by true fame and repozt to beare but litle fauour
to kyng Henry noz his partakers & hauing othe and promes of aide to
him swozne & made he shewed them that he had saued and preserued the
duke of Clarence son from death, & had foz very good will brought him
into that countrey & region where he knew that both kyng Edward and
all his stock were fauoured & loued aboue all other. This matter was
beleued straight of the nobilitie whiche so shewed & published this feig-
ned fable and ymagined iuggeling from one to an other til at the last it
xx was accompted to be as true as the Gospell without any controuersye,
ambiguitie oz question. In so muche that the lozd Thomas Geraldine 23
chauncelour of all ỹ country defrauded by his illusion vnder the colour Bacon Deputy
of playn truthe receaued him into his castell and with honoure & reue- Ireland & Erle
rence him entreteyned as one that descended frõ the high progeny of the of Kildare
sangue royal, and began much to aide and helpe him. First calling toge-
ther all his frendes & louers & suche other as were of bande oz affinitie,
declaring first to them the cõmyng of this chyld, & after affirmyng that
the croune and sceptre of the realme of rycht appertayned to this young
prynce as sole heyze male lefte of the ligne of Rychard duke of Yozke:
Exhoztyng and desyzyng them both foz the chyldes sake and his awne,
xl as he was true inheritoure to the croune, to helpe and assyst hym to ob-
teine the garland and possession of thesame by his graundfather to hym
lyneally descended. And so after communicatyng thesame matter with
other of the nobilitie, euery man promysed accozdyng to hys powze,
aide of monye, menne and municions. By thys meanes thesame was
shortely bruted throughout all Irelande, and euery man was wyllyng

to take

to take his part and submyt them selfes to him, callyng hym of all han-
des kyng. So that nowe they of this secte thus compassed and sorty-
thought to haue in other places their compaignions and furtheters of
their malicious purpose and most pestiferous factiō, and straight forth
they sent into Englād certayne preuy messengers to despye theim, whom
they knewe to haue bene true faythfull and frendes to kyng Rychard,
now to cōtinue in their accustomed loue and faithfull frendship toward
his nephewe and to helpe the childe with treasure & substaunce as farre
as they conueniently might. And that his powre might be the stronger
to ouercome his enemies & to obteyne his pretensed purpose, he and his
confederates sent messengers into Flaunders to the lady Margaret su-
ster to kyng Edward and late wyfe to Charles the duke of Bourgoyne
to further his purpose with al her powre and helpe. This duke Charles
hauing no childzen by this lady Margret, left one sole daughter named
Mary behynd hym, begotten of his first wyfe daughter to the duke of
Burbone, whiche was maried to Maximilian sonne to Frederick the
Emperour, on whiche wife he had engendred two childzen, the one Phi-
lip, and the other Margaret. The whiche two chyldzen after the death
of the lady Mary their mother, this lady Margaret late wyfe to duke
Charles so entierely beloued, so tenderly brought vp, and so motherly
norysshed, besyde the dayly peyne that she toke in ordryng their affaires
and busynes for the mayntenaunce of their honoure and preferment of
their profite, that she both for her motherly loue toward the young chil-
dren, & also for the good administracion of iustice in their countries was
highly reputed and esteemed & bare great aucthoritie & swynge through
all Flaunders and the lowe countries thertō adiacēt. This lady Mar-
garet, although she knewe the family and stocke of the house of Yorke
to be in maner destroied & vtterly defaced by her brother kyng Richard,
yet not being satiate nor content with the long hatred and cōtinual ma-
lice of her parentes which subuerted and ouerthrew almost the progeny
and lignage of kyng Henry the. vi. and the house of Lancaster, nor yet
remembryng the new affinitie and strong alliaunce that was lately con-
cluded, by the whiche the heires of bothe the houses and progenies were
vnited & coniopned together in lawfull matrimony, lyke one forgettyng
both God & charite, inflamed with malice & diabolicall instinctiō, inuen-
ted & practised all mischiefes, displeasures and dāmages that she could
deuyse against the kyng of England. And farther in her fury and fran-
tyke moode (accordyng to the saiyng of the wise man, there is no malice
equiuolent nor aboue the malice of a woman) she wrought all the waies
possible how to sucke his bloud and cōpasse his destruccion as the prin-
cipall head of her aduerse parte & contrary faccion, as though he should
be a dewe sacrifice or an host immolated for the mutuall murder & sha-
mefull homicide cōmitted and perpetrated by her brother and progeny.
So behement, so full of poyson and so strong is the powre of ciuile dis-
sencion and preuy hatred, that some tyme it will auerte and withdrawe
the wisest

the wisest and moost sapient men from goodnesse, honestie & their bounden allegeaunce. Therfore this lady knowyng of this tumulteous secte and conspiracy, prepared and sodenly deupsed against kyng Henry (although she knewe it to be but a feigned & peinted mattre and not woorth two strawes) yet (hauyng suche an occasion to worke her malyce vpon) she promised gladly to the messengers not only to mainteyne, ayde, further and succoure their purposed entent with money and substaunce, but wyth all the labour & peyne that she might, to encourage, stomacke and entyce many other to be aiders, assisters, & partakers of thesame conspiracy, and shortly to ioyne with the chyeueteines of thesaide enterprice.

When king Henry was certified of these doynges by messengers sent into Englande, no meruel although he was none other wise then he had occasion, sore vexed & moued, cõsideryng that by the disceate and fraude of suche a dongehyll knaue and vyle borne villeyne, so great a sedicion should be excited and sturred against hym: Neuertheles, he lyke a circũspect, ingentous and prudent prynce, well consideryng and pollitiquely forseynge, ymagined that if this entreprice came to passe, that the finall ende would be the bluddy darte of mortall warre, & yf they should ioyne and combate in open battaile, in the which for the mooste parte, the large campe of all mischiefe is commonly opened and shewed, many innocent menne on both partes should perishe and come to ruyne and confusyon without desert or offence. For which reason, before all thynges he determyned to attempt and proue yf that he might without anye battayle or stroke stryken (thende whereof is euer ambiguous and doubtfull) pacefye and reduce these rebels to rule, reason, & dewe subiection, before that this euell newly planted wede should straye and wander ouer the good herbes of his whole realme. Therfore he called his whole coũsaill together at the Charterhouse beside hys royall manner called Richemonde, and there consulted how to pacefye thys sodeyne rage secretly begonne, wythout any more disturbaunce or open trouble whyche mocion of all menne was thought mete, necessary and proffitable to be assayed & prosecuted wyth celerite and effecte. And that before any other thynge were attempted and begonne, that a generall pardon should be published to al offenders that were content to receaue thesame & after would be true, louyng & obedient to the kyng their souereigne lorde accordyng to their bounden dutie and allegiaunce: Thinkyng that yf that pardõ were any lenger space procrastened or prolonged, that in the meane ceason (as the prouerbe sayth, taryenge draweth and leopardeth perell) Sir Thomas Broughton knyght whiche had hyd and kept the lorde Louell from the kyng a great ceason, and was at hand with diuerse of his frendes, in so troublous & perelous a tyme vtterly dispeityng of pardon and remission, and as men wythout hope of all grace, settynge all on.vi.and.vii. should sodeynly moue a newe insurreccion against hym & vnquyet him in some place where he had left least resistaũce. For although they were thought to haue been conferetes and Jurates of this newe conspiracy,

yet,because there was no sure proofe nor apparaunt argument therof,yt was supposed to be mooste profitable for that tyme present, to extende no maner of extremytie nor crueltie agaynste theym by anye coloure or pretence,partely that by suche lenytie and gentle sufferaunce, the rebellyous powre should not augment and increace,and partely that if hereafter they shoulde be founde to drawebacke,and be negligent in doynge their due ductye and allegiaunce,that then by this pollitique prouision they shoulde be rewarded with punyshmēt accordyngly as they had deserued,and accordyng to the cōmen saiyng, suche breade as they bake, suche muste they eate: Whereupon the kynge gaue a generall pardon throughoute all Englande (without excepcion of any offence) yea euen to them that had commytted high treason agaynst hys maiestie and royall person.Furthermore, after longe consultacion had and all thynges maturely decyded, it was thought by the whole senate for the tyme then present mooste necessarye and conuenyent to auoyde that erronyous rumoure, rumblynge and blastynge abroade, that the sonne of the duke of Clarence was in Englande, and that he personally shoulde be shewed abroade in the cytie and other publique places whereby the vntrue opinyon falsly affyrminge that he was in Irelande might be emongest the cōmynaltye repressed, put downe,and accompted as a comment and vayne ymagyned fable.

. 25. a

In this solempne counsaill dyuerse and many thynges of the realme were there debated and concluded: and emongest other, yt was determyned that the lady Elizabeth wyfe to kynge Edwarde the.iiii.shoulde loase and forfeyte all her Landes and possessyons,because she had voluntarely submytted her selfe and her daughters wholy to the handes of kyng Richarde,contrarye to the promes made to the lordes and nobles of thys realme in the begynnyng,of the conspiracy ymagyned agaynst kyng Richard,whiche at her desyre and request lefte all that they had in Englande and fled to kyng Henry into Britteyne,and there receaued a corporall othe of him to mary her eldest daughter,which office she abode not by, but made yt frustrate and voyde, through whose double doynges yt had lyke to haue succeded, that neyther the mariage coulde take place,nor yet the noble men whyche at her request toke kyng Henrys parte,might not returne agayne wythout ieopardie of lyfe, but lyue styll in perpetuall banyshement and myserable exyle. Thys was a greueous offence and a heynous cryme: howbeyt the sequele thereof well digested, yt was thoughte by some men that she deserued not by equytie of iustyce so great a losse and so great a punyshement: For surely she dyd not so great hurte or hynderaunce to kynge Henry and hys confederates by her reconciliacion to kynge Rychard, but tenne tymes more she profyted theym and auaunced theyr cause. For her submyssyon made to hym,he neglectynge Goddes lawes, honest order and Christyan relygion, presumynge to accumulate myschiefe vpon myschiefe,delyred of her the mariage of her daughter hys naturall nyece, whyche

. 25. 26.

whyche thynge he woulde not haue thought lykely to haue obteyned: The quene and her daughters styll for feare of him contynuyng in sanctuary. Whiche vnlawful desyre (consyderynge for that entent he had ryd hys wyfe oute of the worlde) prouoked the Ire of God and the swoorde of vengeaunce agaynste hym, whereby hys fynall ruyne and fatall falle, shortely after ensued and succeded to hys myserable confusyon, and to the exaltacyon of kynge Henry and auauncement of hys whole company.

Hereby a manne may perceaue that wycked and maligne persones be not brought to ruyne by the hande of a temporall iudge, but by the wyll of God led and thereto apoynted, as menne that make hast to approche and to come to that ende that they haue deserued. By thys foly and inconstancy of the quene, she incurred the hatred and displeasure of many men, and for that cause lyued after in the Abbey of Barmandsey beside Southwarke a wretched and a myserable lyfe, where not many yeres after she deceassed and is buryed wyth her husbande at Wyndsore. Suche are all worldly chaunces, nowe in prosperyte and aboundaunce, mutable and chaungeable and full of inconstancy: and in aduersitye often chaunge from euell to good and so to bettre, to the entent that they that be in wealthe and flowe in the aboundaunce of all thynges, shall not thynke theim selfes in suretye to tary styll in that degree and state: and that they that be in misery and calamytie shall not despayre nor mystrust God, but lyue in hope, that a better daye of comforte and gayne, wyll once apere and come. And yet although fortune ruleth many thynges at her wyll and pleasure, yet one woork that thys quene hathe made cannot bee forgotten nor put in obliuion. At what tyme that kynge Edward her husband reigned, she founded and erected a notable College in the vniuersyte of Cambridge for the fyndynge of Scholers desyrous of good litterature and learnynge, and endued yt wyth sufficient possessions for the longe mayntenaunce of thesame, whiche at thys daye is called the quenes College, a name surely mete for suche a place, wherin Scholers diligently studyeng in all doctryne and sciences, proue excellent clercke̅s and come to great honoures

When all thynges in thys counsaill were seriously concluded and agreed to the kynges mynde, he returned to the cytie of London, geuynge in commaundement that the nexte sondaye ensuyng, Edward the younge Erle of Warwike to bee brought from the Towre through the moost publyke and vsuall stretes of London, to the cathedrall churche of saynt Paule. This younge gentleman (as he was commaunded) shewyng him selfe openly too euery body in the procession tyme, taried ther the hygh masse, hauynge communicacion openly wyth many noble men, and wyth theim in especially that weer suspected and thought to haue been partakers of the commocion against the kyng, to this purpose and effect, that they myght perceaue the fonde Iryshemen, for a vayne shadowe and vntrue feycyon, vnaduysedly too excytate and moue warre a- Ba.37.a

.28.C

agaynst hym and his realme, without any iust cause or laufull occasion. Howbeyt to cuell dysposed persones or brayneles men, thys medicyne nothyng auayled nor proffyted. For the erle of Lyncolne sonne to Jhon de La poole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth syster to kynge Edwarde the forth thynkyng it not mete to neglect and omyt so open an occasion of new trouble & mischiefe offred and exhibited, determined to vp holde, forteffye, & bolster the enterpryce of the Jrishemen, least that they myght be seduced, and caused to desyst & leaue of their incepted enterpryce, and attempted purpose: And doubteles the man beyng of great wyt and intelligence, and of no small iudgement, but halfe infected wyth the venemous skabbe of the late cuyle battaile, coulde not wyth a quyet mynde suffre kyng Henry beyng pryncipall head of the contrary faccion to reigne in quyet, but cõsultyng wyth sir Thomas Broughton, and certeyne other of his trusty frendes, purposed to saile into Flaũders to his aunte the lady Margaret duches of Bourgoyne late wyfe to duke Charles, trustynge by her healpe to make a puyssaunt army of men, and to ioyne with the compaignyous of the newe rayfed sedicion. Therfore, after that the kyng had dissolued the Parliament, whiche then was holden: he fled secretly into Flaunders to the lady Margarete, where Fraunces lorde Louell landed certeyne dayes before. And there they beyng altogether, euery man accordyng to his mynde reasoned, argued, and debated what was best to doo. After longe cõmunycacion had, this fynall conclusyon was agreed vpon, that the erle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louel should go to Jrelande, and there attende vpon her countrefeacte nephewe, and to honor him as a kyng, and with the powre of the Jrishemen to bryng him to Englande, and sendyng for all their frendes, shoulde without delaye geue battaile to kynge Henry: So that yf their doynges had good and prosperous successe, then the forsayde Lambert (mysnamed the Erle) shoulde by the consent of the counsaill be deposed, and Edwarde the true Erle of Warwyke to be delyuered oute of pryson, and after by the aucthoritie and aide of his frendes of the nobilitie, should be published, proclaymed, and anoynted kyng.

But kyng Henry thynkyng his nobles to be well appeased with the syght of Edward the very sonne of the duke of Clarence, nothynge mystrustyng any man to be so folishe to inuent, feigne, or countrefeate anye thynge more of him, or anye so mad or vndiscrete (especially of his realme) as to beleue that Lambert was very Edward, onely myndynge the suppressyng of the Flagicius Jrishemẽ, studied how to subdewe and represse their bolde entrepryce and sedicious coniuracion. And hearing sodeynly that the Erle of Lyncolne with other were fled & gone to hys aduersaries, beynge therwith sodeynly moued: thought euen with stronge hand and marciall powre to ouercome hys enemyes and euell wyllers, whose maliciousnes he could by no counsaill nor pollecy eschewe nor auoyde: And beyng thus determyned, he commaunded certeyne of his capitaynes to prepare an hoste of men oute of euery parte of hys realme,

and

and them to bryngе and conduyte into one place assygned, that whē his aduersaries should come forwarde, he myght with his populous multitude & great powre sodeynly set on theim, & so ouercome and banquisshe them altogether. And mystrustyng that other would folowe the Erle of Lyncoln into Flaunders, he caused the East partes, and all the borders theraboutes to be diligently kept, that none other myght escape or geue them succoure. And commyng to the toune of saynt Edmondes bury, he was certifyed that the lord Thomas Marques of Dorcet was cōmyng to excuse & purge hym selfe before hym, for certeyne thynges that he was suspected to haue done lightely when he was in Fraunce. To whom the kynge did send the Erle of Oxenford to intercept him ridyng on his torney and to conueigh him to the Towre of London, to trye his truth and proue his pacīēce. For if he were hys frende as he was in dede, he should not be miscontented to suffre so lytle a reproche & rebuke for his princes pleasure. If he were not hys frend, there to tary in sauetye that he might do no dāmage nor hurt to hym. And from thence the kyng went furth to Norwiche, & tarryng there Christmas daye, departed after to Walsyngham, and cōmyng there into the churche of oure lady, prayed deuoutly and made supplicacīōs to almighty God, that by his diuine powre and through the intercession of our lady, he might eschew the snares & preuy worckynges of hys enemies, and preserue him selfe and his country from the imminēt daungier, and to reduce agayne the streynge shepe to their right folde and true shepard, that be amysse: hys orysons fynesshed, from thence by Cambridge he returned shortly to London.

In thys meane tyme the Erle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louell, had gotten by the ayde of the layd Margaret, aboute twoo thousand Almaynes, with Martyne Swarde a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feactes verye expert, to be their cheueteyne, and so sailyng into Ireland. And at the cytie of Dyuelyn, caused younge Lambert to be proclaymed and named kyng of Englande, after the most solempne fassyon, as thoughe he were the very heyre of the bloud royall lyneally borne and discended. And so wyth a great multitude of beggerly Irishemen, allmost all naked and vnarmed sauynge skaynes and mantelles, of whom the lorde Thomas Gerardine was capiteyne and conductor, they sayled into Englande with this newe founde kyng, and landed for a purpose at the pyle of Fowdrey within lytle of Lancastre, trustyng there to be ayded with mony by Sir Thomas Broughton one of the chiefe compaignions of this vnhappy conspiracy.

The kyng not slepynge his matters, but mystrustyng and smellyng the storme that folowed, before the enemyes arryued, he dispatched certeyne horsemen throughout all the west partes of the realme, chiefely to attende the cōmyng and arryuall of his enemyes, secondarely to wayte for suche espialles as came out of Ireland, & them to apprehend & compell to shew & declare the secretes of their enemyes. When he had gathered al his hoste together, ouer the which, the duke of Bedforde & the erle

of Oxenforde, were chefe capiteynes, he went to Cōuentry, where he be-
ynge, hys light horsemen accordyng to their duetie returned & certefyed
him that ỹ erle of Lincolne was landed at Lancastre with his new king.
The which when the kyng understode was so, he consulted with his no-
bilitie and councellers to knowe if it were for the best to encountre with
theim oute of hand, or let theim dragge awhile, for this mattre bothe re-
quyred counsaill and also celerite. After they had layed their heades to-
gether and well debated the matter, it was determyned that they should
set vpō theim without any further delaye, least that their powre by lon-
ge sufferaunce & delatyng of tyme myght be augmented & greatly mul- x
tiplyed. And so after such aduysemēt takē, he remoued to Nottyngham,
and there by a lytle wood called Bowres he pytched his feelde: to whom
shortely after came the lorde George Talbot Erle of Shrewsbury, the
lorde Straunge, Sir Jhon Cheyny valeaunt capitaynes, wyth many
other noble and expert men of warre, For the kyng had cōmaunded and
geuen in charge before, that all persons of the counties adioynyng that
were hable & of strengthe to cary weapon shoulde be ready in an houres
warnynge, in case that any nede shoulde requyre. Therfore pycked fel-
lowes and hardy patsonages and suche as were lyke menne, were chosen
in all the haste, and of this sorte a great armye was coacted and gathe- xx
red together: So the kynges army was wondrefully encreased, & from
tyme to tyme greatly augmented.

In this space, the erle of Lyncoln beyng entred into Yorkeshire, pas-
sed softely on his iourney without the spoylyng or hurtyng of any man,
trustyng therby to haue some company of people resorte vnto hym: but
after that he perceaued fewe or none to folow him, and that it was to no
purpose to returne backe, consydryng his enemyes were all ready to set
vpon him, he determined firmely to trye the fortune of battaile, remem-
bryng that the chaunce of Mars dothe stand euer vpō. vi. or. vii. & that
kyng Henry not. ii. yeres before with a small powre of men vanquished xxx
kyng Richard & all his mightie armye. And herupon puttyng a sure con-
fidence vpō hys compaigny, directed his waye from Yorke to Newarke
vpō Trent, to thentent that there he (as he trusted) augmētyng his com-
paigny might set vpon the kyng, whō he knew to be but. ii. daies iorney
from hym. Albeit, before he came there, kyng Henry was in hys bosome
and knewe euery houte what the Erle did, came the night before that he
fought, to Newarke, and there approched nere hys enemyes soner then
they loked for hym, and there tarying a lytle went. iii, myles further and
pitched hys feelde & lodged there that night. The erle of Lyncolne certe-
fyed of hys commyng, was nothynge afearde, but kepte styll on his ior- xl
ney, and at a lytle village called Stoke nigh to the kynge and his army
planted hys campe. The next daye folowynge, the kynge deuyded hys
whole nombre into three battailes, and after in good arraye approched
nigh to the toune of Stoke, where was an equall and playne place for
bothe parties to darreigne the battaile,

When

When the place was apoynted and ozdeined to trye the vttermoſt by ſtroke of battaile, the erle ſet furth his army, and geuyng a token to his compaignye, ſet vpon hys aduerſaries with a manly courage deſtrynge hys ſouldyours that daye to remembze his honoure, and their awne lyues. And ſo bothe the armyes ioyned and fought earneſtly and ſharply, in ſo muche that the Almanyes beynge tryed and expert menne in warres and marciall feates, were in all thynges, alwell in ſtrengthe as pollecye egall and equyualent wyth the Engliſhemen: but as foz Martyne Swarde theyz chiefe capitayne and leader, not many of the Englyſhemen, bothe foz valyaunt courage of a ſtoute ſtomack and ſtrengthe and agilyte of body was to bee compared oz reſembled wyth hys manhoode. Of the otherſyde, the Iryſhemen, although they foughte hardely and ſtucke to it valyauntly, yet becauſe they were after the manner of theyz countrey almoſte naked, wythout harneys oz armure, they were ſtryken downe and ſlayne lyke dull and bzute beaſtes, whoſe deathes and deſtruccyons was great diſcouragynge and abaſhement to the reſidue of the company. Thus they fought foz a ſpace ſo ſoze and ſo egrely of bothe partes, that no man coulde well iudge to whome the victozy was lyke to enclyne: But at length, the kynges fozward beynge full of people and well foztefyed wyth wynges, whyche onely bothe beganne and contynued the fyght, ſet vpon the aduerſatyes wyth ſuche a foꝛce and violence, that fyrſt they oppreſſed and kylled ſuche capitaynes one by one as reſiſted theyz myght and puyſſaunce, and after that put all the other to fearfull flyght, the whyche were eyther appzehended as captyues and pzyſoners in theyz flyght tunnynge awaye, oz elles ſlayne and bzought to confuſyon in a ſmall moment. But when thys battaile was fynyſhed and fought oute to the extremytie, then it well apered what high pzowes, what manly ſtomakes, what courageous hartes and what valyaunt courage was in the kynges aduerſaryes. Foz there their chiefe capiteynes the Erle of Lyncolne and the lozde Louell, Syz Thomas Bzoughton, Martyn ſwarde & the lozde Gerardyne capiteyne of the Iriſhemen were ſlayne and founde dead. Howbeyt, ſome affyzme that the lozde Louell toke hys hozſſe & would haue fled ouer Trent, but he was not hable to recouer the fartherſide foz the highnes of the banke and ſo was dzowned in the ryuer. There were kylled at that battaile wyth their fyue capiteynes befoze reherced of that partye aboute foure thouſand: Of the kynges parte there were not halfe of them whych fought in the fozward and gaue the onſet ſlayne oz hurt: Then was Lambert the yonglynge whych was falſely repozted to be the dukes ſonne of Clarence, and hys maſter ſir Richard Symond pzieſte bothe taken, but neither of them put to death, becauſe that Lambert was but an innocẽt pooze ſoule, a bery chylde, and was not of age to do any ſuche entrepzyce of his awne deuyce, and the other was a pzieſt, which yet to thentẽt he might remẽbze that the ſtone oftẽ tymes falleth on the head of hym that caſtethe it into ỹ ayer, & that many a man maketh a rod foz his awn taile

The bateayls of Stoke.

Martyn Swardes ſlayne.

when he entendeth it for another, thys priest for penaunce was cõmitted to perpetual pryson & miserable captiuite. But this Lambert in cõclusion was made the kynges faulkener, after that he had been a turne broche and executed such vile officies in the kinges kytchin & skollarye for a space. And thus was all the high entrepryce that lady Margaret had deuised & set furthe at this tyme, turned to naught and brought to none effect & to an euell cõclusion. Of which chaunce, when she was aduertysed & enformed in the country of Flaunders, she was very sorye at the harte & much lamented and deplored, that her ymagined purpose sorted to suche an infortunate ende & effect, incontinently deuisyng, practisyng & ymagenyng some greate and more difficile enterprice, by the which she might vexe and perturbe yet once agayne the kyng of England and hys whole region: Whiche purpose, euen as she inuented yt, so she set yt forwarde as shalbe shewed herafter plainly.

After that kyng Henry had thus asswaged and appeased these matters beynge of so great a moment and weight, with no great mocion, tumulte or trouble, & had not only escaped and defaced the apparant and ymminẽt perell with a small conflict, and no great daungerous brunt or ieopardy, but also repressed & suppeditate the cyuile dissencion and interior stryfe, in maner as he woulde haue wyshed it, he might thynke hym selfe at one tyme cleane ryd & delyuered from two euelles together, both from feare present & also that was to come. For certeynly when he ponդred & diligently consydered his aduersaries (whose puissaunce he bothe in nombre and force farre did surmount and precell) at the very poynte so fiercely to ioyne and to byd hym battaile, he much suspected & no lesse mistrustedthẽ ỹ they had some preuy fautoures and secret coũcelers (the whiche when tyme and place should requyre or expostulate) would with their strength, ayde succoure and assyst them agaynst him and his puyssaunce. But when he perceaued and sawe the hoost of hys enemyes manifestli vanquished and put to flight, he cõmaunded that no man should kyll or sleye the Erle of Lyncolne, but that he should be brought to him alyue, to thentent that he might shewe & bewraye both the foũtayne and originall begynnyng, and also the confederates, aiders and comforters of his late practysed sedicious cõspiracy. But the fame is, that the souldyours woulde not so do, fearynge least paraduẽture the sauyng of hys only lyfe (as yt should haue been in dede) the lyfe of many other shoulde haue been lost, or at the least in ieopardye. Thys battaile was fought on a saturdaye beyng the .xvi. daye of Juyn the yeze of our lorde thousand foure hundreth .lxxxix. and towarde thende of the second yere of the reigne of this kynge: In the whyche yere also Thomas Burchier Archebishopp of Cauntourbury dyed, into whose roome Jhon Morton late bishopp of Ely, a manne of egall learnyng, vertue and pollecye with his predecessours, whome Alexander of that name the .vi. bishop of Roome created Cardinall, and the kynge preferred hym to thoffyce of the highe Chauncelour of Englande: Now to returne to my purpose.

After thys victory obteyned, and after the kynge had gathered and collected the prayes & spoyles of the Feelde together, and buryed theym that there were slayne, he remoued to Lyncolne, and there reposed hym selfe thre dayes, and caused euery daye one processyon to be celebrate, to rendre humble thankes to almightye God, for hys tryumphant victory and ouerthrowe of hys enemyes. Then dyd he execution of suche rebelles and traytoures as were taken in the felde, eyther at the battaile, or in the chace. And shortely after he went into Yorkeshyre, and there costed the country ouerthwart, searchynge by explorators and prieuy enquyries, where hys aduersaryes gathered theyr army agaynst hym, entendyng earnestly to wede oute, and purge his lande of all seditious seede and double harted fruyte, yf yt were possyble: and suche as were founde culpable in any one poynte, wer cõmytted to pryson, & either raunsomed by fyne or extint by deathe.

Burgh 30.

The thirde yere.



In the myddest of August entrynge into the.iii. yere of hys troubelous reigne, he by iorneyng arryued at newcastell vpõ Tyne, a very porpre towne, situate on the hyther parte of Northumberland, where he taryed the remnaunt of the somer, and beynge there, sent in Ambassade into Scotland to kyng James the thyrde, kyng of Scottes, Richard Foxe whych not longe before was made bishoppe of Excettre, and wyth hym syr Richard Edgecombe knyght comptroller of hys house. The summarye of their commyssion was to conclude a truce for a tyme, or a longe league and an amytie. For kyng Henry estemed it bothe honorable and profytable yf he myght haue perfyght peace and assured amytie wyth prynces adioynyng and hys next neighboures. And before all other with kyng James of Scotlande, to thentent that hys subiectes hauyng knowlege of the amytie, and despairyng vtterly to haue any refuge, comforte or succoure of the Scottes, or othere theyr neighboures nere and adioynyng, cõtrary to their olde vsage, trust and expectacion, myght the better be cõtinued in the faithe, duetie & loyaltie towardes their prynce and souereigne lorde. The Ambassadours whẽ they were come into Scotland to the kyng, were of him both gently entreteined & after the most louyng fassyõ receaued & fully harde. To whom at the fyrst, he shewed his good hart, his true mynde, tendre zele, and fraternall affeccyõ, that he hym selfe contynually bare, and yet dyd entende to shewe towardes kynge Henry, although his subiectes were of a contrary mynde and opinyon, playnly protestyng & declaryng to them his vassalles to be bothe by nature and wylfull disposicion, diuerse and cõtrary euer to the Englishe nature and English naciõ: thinkyng surely that they for the most part, would neuer cõsent & longe agree with the Englishmen, accordyng to their olde crafty varietie: wherfore least that he should offend or minister cause of occasiõ to them (as in dede al men were not his frendes in Scotlãd at that tyme) he desired ỹ Ambassadours to cõsent ẅ truce & abstinẽce of warre for seuen

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for seuen yeres, not onely in open audience, but on hys honor he promy-
sed firmely in secret communicacion (as secret as a confessyon made to a
preest) that he for hys parte would kepe contynuall peace with the kyng
of Englande durynge their lyues, but apparauntly he promysed that or
these .vii. yeres, shouid be passed and fully fynesshed that he would renue
agayne the truce for other .vii. yere, so that kynge Henry & he shoulde be
and lyue in peace, concorde, and moste assured amitye, duzynge their na-
turall lyues. And thys dyd kyng James conclude with kyng Henry, be-
cause that he knewe hym selfe, hys actes, yea and hys name to be had in
suche despyte and hatred of the more parte of hys dysloyall people, that p
nothynge (whatsoeuer he dyd) was estemed, regarded, well spoken of
or had in anye pryce: Suche was the malicious hartburynynge of the
Scottes agaynst their naturall lorde. The Ambassadours perceauyng
the hartye mynd and faithfull beneuolence of this kyng towardes their
master kyng Henry, accepted and assented to his offre, and ratefyed the-
same: And returnyng home shewed the kynge all the matter in ordre as
yt was proponed, assented and concluded. Wyth whyche tydynges, he
perceauynge the kynge of Scottes good mynde towardes hym, and ap-
parauntly perceauynge that as that tempestyous and stormy season re-
quyred, yt was not to hys small commoditie and profyte, reioysed mer- pp
uelously that hys Ambassade came to so good an effecte: and shortely
after reculed backe agayne from Newcastell to Yorke, and so towarde
his cytie of London. And in the waye beynge at Leycestre, dyuerse Am-
bassadours sent from Charles the Frenche kynge came to hys presence,
whyche declared and shewed to hym that theyr kyng Charles had reco-
uered manye Tounes, Cyties and garrysons whyche before that tyme
were possessed and holden of Maximilian kynge of Romanes and Ar-
cheduke of Austryce, and that he nowe moued battayle agaynst Frau-
ces duke of Bryteyne, because he kepte, ayded and succoured in hys ter-
ritorie and dominion diuerse noble prynces and hygh personages of the rrp
realme of Fraunce, whyche were treytoures and rebelles agaynste hym,
his realme and seigniory, of the which the chief leader was Lewes duke
of Orlyaunce: And therfore he desyred hym for the olde frendshyp and
familiarite practysed betwene them, that he would either ayde, assayste &
helpe hym, or elles stande neuter betwene both parties, neither helpynge
nor hurtyng any of bothe partes, lyke a cypher in algorisme that is toy-
ned to no figure but onely occupieth a place.

Kyng Henry well remembryng that although he had founde muche
frendshyp at the Frenche kynges hande in his necessitie and that by hym
partely and his he obteyned his kyngdome, yet forasmuche as he espyed rl
vpon what vnsure ground this quarell was begonne agaynst the Bry-
tones, wyth this message was not well contented nor yet pleased. For he
whyche sawe as farre in the Frenche kynges brest as hys Phisicion did
in hys vryne, knewe perfightly that he had neyther occasyon by any iust
tytle to inuade the duchy of Bryteyne, nor yet any displeasure mynistred
to hym

to hym,by reason whereof he might iustly haue any shadowe to make a quarell to the duke of Bryteyne,but onely to delate, amplifye and pro-pagate farther hys auctho3itie,domynion and possession. For the Frenche kyng and hys counsail knewe well that duke Fraunces was an impotent man,lytargious,sore deceased and well stryken in age, and had neuer anye heyre male to inheret and possede hys duchy, wherefore they determyned by some meanes easely to compasse that the duchy of Bryteyne should brcuely comebndre their iure and subiection, and so without grounde,without cause or reasonable demonstracion, bncompelled,he intymated and made open warre agaynst the duke and Brytanicall nacion.Kyng Henry perceaupnge that thys newe attempted enterprice nothyng sounded to his profit or emolument,callyng to mynd and consyderynge that yf the Duchy of Bryteyne and the people of thesame whyche had been euer frendly & louyng to Thenglyshe nacion,and was alwayes for their entrecourse to his realme both necessary and profitable,shoulde come bndre the thraldome & subiection of the Frenche kyng that daimmage more then profite were likely to ensue and folowe,determyned wyth hym selfe to ayde and take parte with the duke,perceaupng well that all hys affaires was nowe in perell and set in a broyle and hasard.The occasion that moued hym therunto was the kyndlyng of the paternall loue and tendre affeccion whyche the duke euer shewed hym, sith hys fyrst arriuall and entryng into Bryteyne,and his fidelite to hym alwaye apparauntly shewed durynge the tyme of hys there abydynge and residence. On the other parte,when he remembred the greate benefyte that he had accepted and receaued at the Frenche kynges hande by hys bountyfull and pryncely liberalitie, thought it bothe necessary, honest and consonant to reason to forgett the bngrate offence agaynst the duke of Bryteyne commytted and perpetrated, and to persuade and aduyse the Frenche kyng to desyste from berynge or inuadynge the duke of Brytayne, least anye scruple or sparke of ingratitude might insurge or kyndle bytwene them two. This matter was so doubtfull and so full of ambyguities that the kynge in longe consultacion lefte no questyon nor doubte bnalked, nor bndiscussed,and yet no aunswere nor no conclusyon coulde satisfye or please hys doubtfull mynde and gentle harte, lothe to offende anye of theim, of whome he had receaued eyther benefite or frendship:But in conclusion,he fel to this ful determaincion, that yf battayle should nedes succede and folowe,then he of very duetie was bounde and obliged not to denye nor to forsake the duke of Bryteyne,to whom he was so muche beholdyng but to aide,assist & comfort him with all hys powre, and openly to kepe from hym all wronges and iniuries, and to defende & resiste all hys aduersaries & enemyes. Yet in the meane season,least he should of the other parte make his high frend hys extreme enemy,hys aunswere was to the Ambassadoures that he would take trauayle & study,bothe to hys great peyne & cost,that betwene the Frenche kyng theire souereigne lord & the duke of Bryteyne,bothe beyng hys

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indifferent frendes, some gentle pacificacion or amicable accorde might be concluded and accepted. And so assone as the kynges Ambassadours were dimysed, he sent on message Chzistopher Urswike to Charles the Frenche kynge: First to gratulate in his behalfe the victozy that he had obteyned vpon Waxmilian kyng of Romanes. Secondarely and after to declare what tumulte and insurrection was here in England, and howe by mere force and manhood he had vanquyshed and repressed the rebelles and traytours, and eyther dystroyed or brought to subiection, the whole rablemēt and nombze. Thyrdly, offryng him selfe as a meane
x and intercessor of peace and amytie betwene the Frenche kynge Charles and the duke of Bzuteyne: geuyng hym farther in charge that yf he should perceaue the Frenche kyng to geue open eare to his request and to enclyne to hys desyze, that then he shoulde withoute delaye resorte to the duke of Bzuteyne and desyze him to be contented at his desyze to endeuer hym self to an honozable peace and concorde, rather then to warre and dubyous dissencion, which peace with Goddes grace he lytle doubted, the duke beynge wyllyng shortely to compasse and bzynge to conclusion. Whyle Chzistopher Uzswicke was traucylynge in thys cōmissyon, kyng Henry returned with great tryumphe to his cytie and cham-
xx bze of London, haupnge the victozy and ouerhand of hys enemyes and rebellious aduersaries, whereof the cytezens were very glad & reioysed hartely, consideryng that such dāmages, such oppzession, such perel and losse as they thought to haue susteyned, was by the death of such disturbers of peace & trāquillitie, as the kyng had late ouercome, cleane take away, auoyded & suppzessed. Also the kyng hym self trustyng faithfully that all the bzādes of mischiefe kyndled before against him, was by this victozy vtterly extinguished & brought to asshes, could not but be mery & reioyce. For which cause, he shewed hym selfe both lowely & corteous towardes all, rewardyng & promotyng most bountifully & liberally all
xxx such persones, which not only did hasarde their goodes, their possessiōs, liuinges and substaunce, but also their lyues and bodyes in his defence and quarell. And not longe after, he delyuered lozd Thomas Marques Dozset out of the Towze of London, acceptyng him to his high fauour and olde familiaritie, because his truth and fidelitie had been tryed and proued by sondzy & dyuerse argumētes and assaies, In which pastyme, the kyng for the perfyght loue and syncere affeccion that he bare to hys quene and wyfe lady Elizabeth, caused her to be crouned and enoynted quene on saynt Katherynes daye in Nouembze withall solempnytie to suche a high estate & degree apperteignyng. In the meane season Chris-
xl stopher Urswike was come to the Frenche kyng lyng at Tholouse, & of him after the most louyng and frendely fassyon that coulde be, receaued and entreteined. And assone as he had shewed and declared his message, the Frenche kyng shewed hym selfe outwardly, although inwardly he otherwyse entended, to be therewith contented and that very well pleased that the kyng of Englande shoud be the meane of peace and Arbiter

indifferent

indifferent betwene the duke and him. This answere made, the English Ambassadour tooke his iorney streyght thence as he was comaunded into Britteyne, and shewed the duke vpon hys Masters behalfe all thynges geuen him in charge and commission: But the duke (because him self had bene longe sycke and therby hys memory and wyt was decayed and appaired) he appoynted to heare the message with other of his councelers, Lewes duke of Orleaunce whiche was fled thether out of Fraunce. When this duke had hearde the Ambassadours declare their message, perceauynge that it touched a peace whiche he thought sounded neither to his profyt nor pleasure, wherfore he beyng somwhat tyckeled with the message answered and sayed, that it was more mete & conuenient that kyng Henry (considerynge and remembrynge the great kyndenes & humanitie that he had receaued at the dukes hand) shoulde with all the power and strength he might, helpe the duke of Britteyne beyng by the Frenchemē inuaded with yron, fyre and bloude, then to attempt or procure any fryuelous or vayne composycion or cōcorde. Yea and although he had neither receaued nor remembred any benefyte done to him by the duke, yet should he consydre that the countrey of Britteyne was in maner a bullwerck and a stronge wall for the Englishmen in defence of the Frenchemen, the which yf yt should come into the handes of the Frenche nacion, then were his continuall enemyes next to the gate of his realme, whiche thyng he would not suffre if he remembred the Prouerbe that sayth, when thy neighboures house is a fyer, thy staffe stādeth nexte the dore. Thus muche was the duke of Orlyaunce beyng of the French bloud, an enemy to hys naturall countrey, because that he beynge next of the bloud royall to the croune of Fraunce, was repulsed from the chiefe estate and gouernaunce of the realme, and the kynges suster put in highest authoritie, durynge the minorite of the kynge, he abandoned his awne natiue countrey, and hauynge onely refuge in the duchy of Brytayne for hys awne sauegarde, profyt and emolumēt, spake these woordes that he declared and opened. For well he knew, that kyng Henry was not therof all ignorant, that it was neither profitable nor cōmodious for ỹ realme of England, to haue the duchy of Britteyne possessed of the Galles, considering the sea costes of bothe the countreys, to lye directelye one agaynst the other. Then returned this Christopher agayne into Fraūce, and there taried certeyne dayes, declaryng to kyng Charles what answer was made to hym by the Britteynes, & shortly after returned into England agayn. Whyle these thinges were thus in doynge, the Frēche kyng beseged with a great puissaunce the stronge citie of Nauntes in Britteyne. And the more gredyer that he was of hys purpose, & the more haste he made for gayning hys praye, so moch the more did he exhorte ỹ kyng of England with letters, writynges and blandymētes, by sondrie and diuers messengers, for to treate and conclude a peace, vnytie & concorde betwixt the duke of Britteyne and hym, fearing least when he had almost wonne hys race, kynge Henry woulde put hym beside his sadle,

 whome

whõme he dyd halfe suspect to be a backe frende of hys, and prone and
ready to take the Brytones parte.

Wherfore he sent in Ambassade Bernarde a Scotte borne, called ꝑ
lord Daubeney, in all the hast to kyng Henry, to desyre hym in any wise
to make some ende whatsoeuer it were, of this warre and controuersy.
And therupon the kyng beyng desirous of thesame, whiche had rather
all thinges myght be ended by peace then by dynt of swearde, least that
he should be driuen to take parte wyth the Brytons agaynste the Frẽch
nacion, elected emonge all other.iii.oratours. The first was Jhon
sainct Abbot of Abyndon, Jhon Lilye borne in Luke, the bishop of Ro- x
mes collector, doctor of lawe, and Rychard Edgecõbe knyght, both for
age and prudent sagacitie, fatherly, a wyse & a graue personage, which
for renuyng of the olde amitye, were commaunded first to go to repayre
to the Frenche kyng, and after that to the duke of Brityne, to whome
he gaue a longe commission with sufficient instructions. But or euer
these Ambassadours proceded on their iorney, Jhon Lylie fel sycke on
the gowte, so that he was not able to trauayle in so long a iorney, and so
weightye a busynes, for whome was elected and chosen Chrystopher
Urswike, and so they.iii. sayled into Fraunce (as they were cõmaunded)
and when they had communed a space with the Frenche kyng, concer- xi
nyng the forme of the peace & concorde to be concluded, Rychard Edge-
combe, and Chrystopher Urswike, departed streight to the duke of Bri-
teine, thinkinge ye and nothing doubting, but they there shoulde knyt
vp the knot, and finall conclusiõ of their Ambassade, accordyng to their
awne request and desyre, but all their hope was vayne, and turned to a
vanitie. For the duke, vpon great deliberacion, constantly repudiated
and refused euery condicion by them offred or demaũded. Which thin-
ges when they succeded not accordyng to their expectacion, the Ambas-
sadours deposinge and relinquishynge all hope and esperance of any
peace or concord to sorte to any good effect or purpose, reculed backe to xxx
the Frenche kyng agayne, defrauded and spoyled of their entent and
purpose, and there to hym declared what was their aunswer and fynall
resolucion, and yet makyng there abode in Fraunce, they intimated to
the kyng of England by their letters all their actes and exployt. But,
or their letters came to the kynges hãdes, lyr Edward, lord Wooduile
vncle to the Quene, a valyaunt Capitayne, and a bolde Chãpion, either
abhorryng ease and ydlenes, or inflamed with ardent loue and affeccion
toward the duke of Britaine, desyred very earnestly of kynge Henry, ỹ
yf it were hys will and pleasure, that he with a conuenient number of
good men of warre woulde transport hym selfe into Briteine, for ỹ aide yi
and defence of duke Fraunces, the kynges assured and proued frende.
And least it should sowe or kyndle any dissenciõ or ingratitude betwene
the Frenche kyng and him, he sayde that he woulde steale priuely ouer,
and without any licence or passporte, as though no man shoulde thinke
or doubte but he were fled, & abandoned the realme without any fraude

or

or male engyn. But the kyng, which had a firme confidence, that peace
should be made by the polletique prouision and wyse inuencion of hys
elected Ambassadours, woulde in nowyse geue the brydle to hys hote,
hasty and wilde desire, but streyghtly prohibited hym to attempte anye
suche strategeme or enterprice, thinkynge that it stode not with hys ho-
nor to offende the Frenche kyng, to whome he woulde shewe as muche
amitie and humanitie as he myght, for suche a matter that coulde ney-
ther greatly profite the Brytonnes, nor yet cause hym to surceasse of his
appoynted inuasion and pretensed enterprice. Yet this lord Wooduile
hauyng playne repulse and denyall of the kynge, coulde not thus rest,
determyned to worke his busynes secretly without any knowlege of the
kyng, and went streyght into the Isle of wight, wherof he was made tu-
let and capiteyne, and there gathered together a crewe of tall & hardye
personages, to the number of.iiii.C. and with prosperous wynde and
wether arryued in Briteyne, and ioyned hym selfe with the Brytons a-
gaynst the Frenche power and nacion. The rumor of this doyng was
sone blowen into the courte of Fraũce, whiche made the Ambassadours
of Englande not smally abashed, which knowing perfightly ỹ Frenche
hartes to be prone and ready at all tymes to reuenge and do outrage
to suche as displeased them, were sodainly afraied least the commõ peo-
ple coulde not witholde their handes from quereling or fraying. Albeit
the lawe of armes, and the treuth it selfe did defende and preserue them
from iniury. But whiles the oratoures were in this perplexite and fear
of daungier, and whiles the Frenchmen suspected this facte to be done
by a cautell of kyng Henry, there came other new messengers from hym
to the Frenche kyng, to purdge hym selfe to his frend of the suspected in-
gratitude, certifiyng hym and declaring (by most euident tokens & ap-
parant argumentes) that the lord Wooduile without his knowlege or
consent, was sayled ouer into Britayne with so small a number of men,
which smal handful, neither it becõmed a prince to sende or set forward,
neither yet coulde do to the Brytaynes any great aide or succoure: To
the which message and excuse, albeit the Frenche kynge adhibited but
small credence, yet he some what mitigate of his angre and furious a-
gony, dissimuled the matter (accordyng to the Frẽch nature) with a flat-
teryng countenaunce. So the Ambassadours renuynge a league and a-
mitie betwene their kyng and him for.xii. monethes, retuned into Eng-
lande againe, and shewed the kyng al such thinges that they had either
heard or sene there. The kyng of England well perceyued by the report
of hys newly returned Oratoures, that the Frenche kynge wrought all
hys feates by subtyll craft and cloked collusion, treatyng and mocio-
nynge peace and concorde, when he desyred nothing so much as discord
and warre, and that purpose he auaunced and set forwarde with sayle &
power, to the vttermost point of his habilite. Wherfore kyng Henry be-
yng assured of all the French kynges actes and cogitaciõs, determined
now with all celerite to set forth out of hand al such thinges as here be-

foze had cõcluded, cõcerning the warre of Bzitayne, as you haue heard. Wherfoze he called his high courte of Parliament, and there fyzst consulted with the peres and cõmynaltie of hys realme, foz the aidyng of ꝑ duke of Bzitayne. Then foz the mainteinaunce of ꝑ warres, diuers summes of money were graũted and geuen, beside certayne decrees & actes made foz the vtilite of the common wealth. And assone as the Parliament was ended, he caused mustres to be had in certayne places of hys realme, and souldiours mete foz the warre to be put in a redynes. Yet least peraduenture he might seme willingly to breake the amitie, which was betwene the Frenche kynge and hym, he sente diuers notable Ambassadoures into Fraunce, to certefye the Frenche kynge, that of late he hadde kepte a solempne Parliamente, in the whiche it was condiscended and agreed by the lozdes tempozall and spirituall, and knyghtes of counties, and magistrates of cities, and bozoughes of his realme not onely conssideryng the relief, comfozte, and aide that he had receyued at the dukes hande, bothe foz the sauegard of hys lyfe, and foz the recouerying of hys enheritaunce and kyngdome, but also remembzyng that Bzytayne of auncient tyme was subiect & vassall to the realme of Englande, which counttey also hath been frendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, bothe with fozeyn powers and domesticall sedicion, to aide, comfozte and assist the Bzytishe nacion with all their strength, might and habilite againste all their enemyes, frendly admonishyng hym that he should either desist from hys warre in Bzytayne newly incepted, oz els not be greued if he did agre (as reason woulde) to the myndes, iudgement and determinacion of the pzinces and pzelates of hys realme, assuryng hym in the woozde of a kynge, that hys armye should onely discende in the duchy of Bzitayne, not to inuade oz make warre in the Frenche kynges realme oz territozyes, but onely to defend the duchy of Bzitayne, and to pzofligate and expell all the intrudozs & inuadours of the French nacion, whiche iniustly occupied and inuaded the Bzytannicall tytles and seignozies. With these commaundemẽtes the English Ambassadours departed, and declared to the Frenche kyng all the mynde and will of their kyng and souereigne lozd. Whiche message he dissimuled as litle to regarde as the byting of a flee, as thoughe the Englishmen in the battaile, whiche he knewe to be at hande, coulde do no enterpzice (as it happened in dede) either necessary to be feared, oz wozthy to be remembzed. The cause of hys so saiyng was thys, he knowynge that hys army was puyssaunt and stronge in Bzitayne, and that the Bzitaynes had but a few Englishmen with the lozde Wooduile, of whome he passed litle, and seyng that Englãd had not yet sent any army thether foz the dukes succour, iudged surely that hys army woulde do some great exployte (as they did in dede) befoze either the duke shoulde be purueyed oz any aide ministred. And as he imagened, so it folowed, foz the Frenchmen so soze oppzessed the countrey of Bzitayne, and bzent and distroyed cities, and beleged the toune of Fõgeres, so that the duke

of

of Bzitaine was encouraged by the duke of Dzliaunce, and other rebel-
les of the Frenche kyng manfully to fight and geue battaile to ỹ Frēch
army. And so the xxv. daye of July they set forward, & came to a toune
whiche the Frenchmen had gotten, called sainct Aulbyne. The French-
men were not ignorannt of their commyng, but put theim selfes in a re-
dynes. Of whiche armye was Capitaynes, The lorde Lewes of Tre-
uoyle, vyscount of Thonars a Gascoyn, Adrian lorde of Mountfal-
coysse. On the Bzytones parte were cheueteynes, Lewes duke of Dz-
launce, and the pzynce of Dzenge, whiche because they and other of the
Frenchemen were all on horsebacke, were mistrysted of the Bzytones,
least they woulde at their mooste nede flye.

Wherfore they discended on fote, and the duke and the pzince put thē
selfes in the battaile of the Almeynes: The Marshall of Rieux was ap-
poynted to the vauntgarde. The middle warde was delyuered to the
lord Dalebert, and the rerewarde to the lorde Chateaw Bzyand, and to
make the Frenchemen beleue that they had a great number of English-
men (notwithstandynge there were but foure hundreth with the lorde
Woodvile) they appareled a thousand and seuen hundreth Bzytons in
cotes with red crosses after the English fasshion. When bothe the ar-
myes were approchyng to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and
with suche a violence, that it sore dammaged and encombred bothe the
parties. When the shot was finished, bothe the vantgardes ioyned to-
gether with suche a force that it was maruell to beholde. The English-
men shot so fast, that the Frēchmen in the forward, were fayne to recule
to the battayle where their horsemen were. The rereward of the French
men, seyng thys fyrst discōfiture began to flye, but the Capitaynes rett-
red their men together agayn, & the horsemē set fiercely on ỹ Bzytaines,
and slewe the mooste parte of the fotemē. When the forward of the Bzy-
tones perceaued that their horsemē nor the Almanies came not forward
they prouided for thē selfes, & fled some here, and some there, where they
thought to haue refuge or succour. So that in conclusiō the Frenchmē
obteyned the victory, & slew all such as ware red crosses, supposyng thē
all to be Englishmē. In thys cōflict were slayn almost all the English-
men, & six M. Bzytones, Emongest whome were founde dead the lorde
Woodvile, & the lord James Galeas borne in Napels. And of ỹ Bzy-
tones there were slayne the lord of Leon, the lorde Mountfort, the lorde
Pontlabbe & many noble & notable persones of the Bzitish nacion. Of
the French nacīō were slayne. xii. C. persones. The pzynce of Dzenge, &
the duke of Dzliaunce were taken pzysoners, which duke (although he
were next heyre apparaūt to the croune of Fraūce) should haue lost hys
head, if lady Jane hys wyfe which was syster to Charles ỹ Frēch kyng,
had not obteynen pardō & remissiō of his trespasse & offence. Howbeit he
was lōg after kept pzysoner in the great Toure at Bourges in Berry.
This infortunate metyng chaūced to ỹ Bzitaynes on a mōday beynge
the. xxvii. day of July, in ỹ yere of our redēpcion. M. cccc. lxxxviii. & in ỹ
iii. yere of kyng Henry the. vii.

When

When these newes were brought into Englande, the kynge bigt-lantly forseyng what was like to chaunce, thought it necessary to accelerate the mattre before concluded, wherefore with all spede he sent Robert Lorde broke, Syr Jhon Cheyny, syr Jhon Middelton, syr Raufe Hilton, syr Rychard Corbett, syr Thomas Leighton, syr Richard Laton and syr Edmond Cornewall, all lusty and courageous capitaynes with viii.M. men well armed, and warlike furnyshed to ayde and assist the Brytones agaynst the Frenchemen. These tolymen of warre had suche prosperous wynde, that they arryued in Brytayne euen as they woulde wyshe or desyre. And after that they had recreated their spirites, and refreshed them selfes a litle after their labour and iourney, they puttinge thē selfes in good ordre of battaile, marshed forward toward their enemyes, and not farre from them encamped them selfes. But when the Frenchmen knew of their landyng, whome they knew by no small experience (and especially so long as they were freshe and lusty) to be in maner inuincible. And so at the beginnyng they were all blanke, & for feare kept them selfes craftily and politikly within their campe. And after that, they sent forth a small company of lighte horsemen, the whiche to wery and fatigate the stoute stomackes and haute courages of the English army, made in diuers places of the army, skyrmisshes, outcryes & alarmes. So for a certayne space they vsed thys kynde of daliyng wt the Englishmen, but euer the losse turned to the Frenchmen, & they bare the woorse away, by reason of the archers that so sore galled theim and theyr horsses with arowes, that their bragging incursions were sone left and done. But beholde the mutacion of this worlde, whyle this warre was thus set forward, Fraunces duke of Britayne departed out of this lyfe, so that the Englishmen were in a doubtfull labirinth, and a great ambiguyte. For the chiefe rulers of the Brytaynes, beyng some of them corrupted with money, and some sturred with desyre of deuision and controuersie, fell into deuision emonge them selfes, so that they semed not to tendre the defence and protection of their naturall countre, but rather mynded the dystruction and vttre confusion of thesame. Whiche deuision the Englishmen perceauyng, and also considerynge that it was in the myddest of wynter, in the whiche tyme it is not wholsome for men to lye in the frosty and moyst feeldes, were compelled in maner by necessitie within .v. monethes that they went forwarde, to returne backe agayn into Englande.

After thys Charles the frenche kynge hauyng thus the vpperhand of the Brytones, perceauyng that Maximilian kyng of Romanes laboured to haue in mariage, Anne sole heire to Fraūcis duke of Britaine for her younger suster was late dead, whiche he thoughte was neither for hys profyte nor aduauntage, concluded a peace with the Brytones. By whiche treatie he had the lady deliuered into hys possession, & after her deliueraunce, he refusyng and repudiatynge the mariage of the lady Margaret, daughter to the forsayd kyng of Romanes, espoused ỹ lady

Anne

Anne duches of Bzytayne, by whiche meanes the duchye of Bzitayne was annexed to the croune of Fraunce, as here after shall appere when it toke effect, whiche was not two yeres after.

¶ The. iiii. yere.

OWe to the mony layde out, as conterninge the sumptuousnes of thys battaile. It was decreed by the iii. estates (as you haue heard) in Englande before that any souldioures were sent into Bzitaine, that for the expence of that warre, euery man should be taxed and assessed at the some of hys substaūce, and should paye the tenth penny of hys gooddes, for the maintenaunce of the warre in Bzitayn. Which money the mooste parte of them that dwelt about the Bishoprike of Durham & Yorkeshire, refused vtterly to paye, either thinking thē selfes ouercharged with the greatnes of the same, and therewith greued, or excited and procured throughe the euell counsayll and sedicious persuasion of certayne persones, whiche preuely conspired agaynst the kynge, to put him to new trouble and busines. Therfore suche as were by the kinges commaundement made Collectoures and gatherers of the summe taxed, after that they coulde not get the money, accordynge to the extractes to them by the commissioners deliuered, made their complaint preuely to Henry the. iiii. Erle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the Northepartes. And he immediatly vpō the knowlege therof, signefied the kynges grace by hys letters, that the people greatly grudged and murmured, makynge open Proclamacion that they haue ben charged of late yeres with innumerable incommodities and oppressions, without any defaut or desert, and that now there was a houge some requyred of them, which neither they were hable to satisfie so great a demaunde, nor yet woulde once consent to paye any one peny of the sayde summe requyred. The kynge commaunded the erle in any wyse by distresse or otherwyse accordyng to hys discrecion, to exacte the money of the people, and by cōpulsion to enforce suche to payment as whyned moost at it, least ỹ it might appere that the decrees, actes and statutes, made and confirmed by him and hys high courte of Parliament, shoulde by hys rude and rusticall people be infrīged, despised and vilepended. The rude rashe and vnaduised people, hearynge this aunswer of the kynge, by and by violently set vpon the erle by the procurement of a simple felowe called Jhon of Chambre, whome the erle entreated with fayre woordes to come to reason, but they latyng to hys charge that he was the chiefe author & principall causer of thys taxe and tribute payynge, both hym and diuers of hys housholde seruauntes, furiously and shamefully murthered & kylled. Diuers afferme that the Northernemē bare against this erle continuall grudge, sith the death of kyng Rychard, whome they entirely loued and highly fauoured, whiche secret serpēt caused their fury to wade farther then reason coulde retract or restreyne. Although thys offence

were great and haynous, yet ther succeded after a more mischief and a greater inconuenience. For incontinent the Northenne to cloke the homicide and manslaughter, by a violence put on their armure and assembled in flockes, and elected to theim a capitayne called syr Jhon Egremonde knyght, a person no lesse seditious then factious and desirous of trouble, and ordred theim selfes lyke men of warre, and passinge by the countreys, they published and declared that they would byd battail to the kynge, onely for the tuicion and defence of their common libertye and fredome, whiche he woulde plucke, and by hys extreme power take & bereue frō thē. But when their cause should be discided with blowes & handstrokes, their fury was asswaged & refrigerate, their hartes were in their heeles, and their stomackes as coulde as any stone, & euery one wished that this tumult were retracted and quenched, which was now already not smokynge but enflamed: And in cōclusion, euery man ranne awaye, some this way, and some that way, as men amased when they lacke counsayl, skatered and dispersed in diuers places. Whē euery mā was returned, the mattre was ended as they imagened, but whyle they diligently laboured to saue their lyfes by flyght, they sought their awne destruccion. For the most parte of theim were punysshed by death or by imprysonment for thesame offence. For the kyng heryng of this tumulteous busynes, sent forth Thomas erle of Surrey, whome not lōg afore he had deliuered out of the Toure, and receaned to his grace and especiall fauour (as he was both for his wit and fidelite wel worthy) with a competent crewe of men into the Northy partes, which skyrmished with a certayne company & discomfited them, & toke a lyue Jhon a chambre the fyrst beginner of this rebellion. The kyng hym selfroade after the erle into Yorkeshire, of whose cōming the slaues & sturdy rebelles were so abashed & afrayed, that they fled more & lesse, which afterwarde were apprehended & greuously punished, accordyng to their demerites and deseruyng. Yet the kyng of his magnyficent mynde, perdoned the innocent & rurall people, & plaged & executed the inuenters of the mischief, & the furtherers of thesame. For Jhon a chambre was hanged at Yorke, vpon a gybbet set vpon a square paire of gallowes, lyke an archetraytoure, & his complyces & lewde disciples were hāged on the lower gallowes roūde about theyr mayster, to the terrible exemple of all other. But syr Jhon Egremōd, whome these seditious persons preferred to be their Capitayn, fled into Flaūders to the lady Margaret duches of Burgoyne, whiche euer enuied the prosperite of kynge Henry.

When this folysshe enterprice was thus quenched, the kyng gaue cōmission & charge to syr Rychard Tunstall knyght, a man of great wyt, pollecie & discretion, to gather and receaue the subsidie to hym dewe of the people, and he hym selfe returned shortely to London, leauynge the erle of Surrey to rule the Northpartes, perceauynge well the Englishmen, not so muche to grudge at the paymente of the taxe or tribute, as they did grone at the excessyue and importable some vpon them assessed,

remembryng

remembrynyg the olde prouerbe, loue me litle and loue me longe. And thys was the yere of our Lorde. M.cccc.xc.and the fourth yere of thys kynges reigne.

Before this tyme, Maximilian kynge of Romanes, whiche as you haue heard in the tyme of kynge Edwarde the.iiii. had contrary to the mynde and will of the French kyng espoused lady Marie, daughter & heyre to Lewes the Frenche kynge, and by her had issue, a sonne called Philip, and Margaret whiche was affied to Charles the.viii. Frenche kyng, and by hym repudiate and forsaken, was sore offended & greatly greued with the Flemynges, but moost of all with the Gauntoys and Brugians, for kepyng from hym perforce hys sonne & heyre duke Philip, whiche neither by gentle request nor cruell manace wouldc delyuer the sonne to hys naturall father and lawful parent. Wherfore the kyng Maximilian assembled a company of Almanyes & Duerlanders (for he dyd not greatly put hys confidence in the Brabanders nor Hollanders) and made sharpe warre on the Flemynges, in the whiche he lytle preuayled. For the Flemynges sent to the Frenche kynge for aide & succour, whiche beyng glad of that request, sent Philip de creuecure lorde Desquerdes, commonly called the lorde Cordes into the confines of Flaunders with a great army of men, to aide and succour the Flemynges, trustinge by that meanes to obteyne bothe the possession of ỹ yong enfaunt duke Philip, and the whole countrey of Flaunders. Wherfore Maximilian entending to allure the Flemynges from the Frenchmen, beganne fyrst to practise with them of Bruges, of whiche toune the grauous men, sone condiscended and agreed to reason, requiringe hym to come to their toune, and sent to hym with their request, the Scult called Peter Longoll with diuers other, to aduertise hym that at hys comynge thether, he should fynde hym conformable to hys wyll, pleasure and request. Upon trust wherof he entred into the toune smally accompanied, & came before the toune house, thinkyng that the lordes & senate wouldc ioyously haue receaued and welcõmed hym. But the whole turned cleane contrary, for the lyght witted persons, to whome peace was treason, and concord venemous poyson, takyng this occasion to them offred, cryed to harneys. When they whiche had brought the kyng into the toune, sawe the tumult of the people, and that no man came to their relyef, they left their lord post alone, and fled into corners. The warden of the smythes was the chief of the route, which bad the kyng to take pacience a whyle, and he should haue a gentle enprisonement, and so conueighed hym to the house of Jhon Grosse, iudge of the audience. Then the Almaines were all banished, the toune, and the lordes of Gaũt were sent for, which taried not longe. When they had the praye that they expected, fyrst diuers citizens whiche they thought fauourable to Maximilian they beheaded. Mathew Spert one of hys chiefe counsaylours and trusty frendes, was sent to Gaunt, and there put to death. James Dudenezell, & James of here, ii. wyse burgeses, notwithstandynge that

all the

all the pzieſtes and religious of the toune made interceſſion foz theim, were at Buges executed. Then Jhon Capenoll a buſy merchaunt, woulde in all haſte haue rydden to induct the French kyng as their ſouereigne lozde, to whome the mooſt parte woulde in nowyſe agree noz conſent, noz yet entended to diſinheryte the yonge duke Philippe of his graundfathers inheritaunce.

When execucion was done of the wyſe and ſad counſaylers, ỹ newe made rulers cauſed their pzynce kynge Maximilian to be bzoughte to the toune houſe, and there they layed to hys charge, that he had not obſerued the treatie, which they of Graunt and Bzuges had concluded wt the French kyng. Secondarely, they alledged that he put high Almaynes in offices and great authozite, whiche without their aſſent woulde haue chaunged and inhaunced their coyne and money to their greate pzeiudice and detriment. Many other ridiculous articles they layde to hym, whiche the eares of euery honeſt creature knowinge the ductie of the ſubiecte to hys pzince, woulde hate and abhozre, to the whiche he ſo wyſely and coldely aunſwered, that in parte he aſſwaged their malice, and mitigated their rage. In ſo much that he was moze gentler entreated then he was befoze. Foz if hys aunſwer had been to thē diſpleaſaunt, oz if he had manaced them but one woozde, I thinke in their fury they woulde haue diſpatched him out of hys lyfe and lande. The Gauſoys woulde haue deliuered hym to the Frenche kyng, but the Bzugiās woulde not aſſent. They of Gaunt deſyzed to haue him in their cuſtody in Gaunt, but ỹ citezens of Bzuges vtterly denied hys deliuery. Wherfoze the Gauntoyes in great diſpleaſure departed. After whoſe departure the Bzugians were content to ſet hym at libertie, ſo that he and diuers of hys nobilitie ſhould ſweare on the holy Sacrament, not onely to remit, pardon and fozgeue all offences perpetrated and committed by them of Flaunders, but alſo ſhoulde ſweare and pzomes, neither to remembze noz reuēge theſame. Thys othe he ſware in the great Church of Bzuges, and the lozd of Raueſton called Philip Mounſeur, and the lozd of Beuers and diuers other ſware theſame, addyng therunto, that if he did attempt any thynge cōtrary to hys othe and pzomes, then they ſwate to take parte with the good tounes of Flaunders agaynſte hym and his adherentes. And vpon this pzomes he was deliuered, and frākly ſet at libertie.

But Frederick the Emperour coulde not fozget the repzoche & deſpite that was ſhewed to hym in hys ſonne, and the great inſury & wzong that was done to his ſonne partely to hys diſhonour, ſcourged Flaunders with ſharpe warre and moztall afflictions (Maximilian lyng in quyet and nothyng attemptinge) but Philip Mounſeur, lozde of Rauеſton, the whiche toke hys othe with kyng Maximilian, to ſhewe that the warre was renouate without hys knowledge and aſſente, forſooke Maximilian hys lozde, and toke the toune of Ypere, and Sluſe, wyth both the Caſtels of theſame hauen, which he manned and victeyled, and

kept

kept two yeres agaynst the power of Maximilian, till he rendred theim to syr Edward Pownynges sent thether by the kynge of Englande, as yow shall hereafter well perceaue. Beside this, the forsayde Philip not onely exacted and stirred the Gauntoys, Brugians and other tounes of Flaunders, to rebell agaynst their souereygne lorde, but also sent to the lorde Cordes, to ayde hym to conquere suche tounes of Flaunders, as were not of their opinion and confederacy. This lord Cordes, which vntruly reuolted from duke Charles of Burgoyne, beyng hys bringer vp and chief preferrer to Lewes the Frēch kyng (as you haue heard be-
x fore) was glad of thys, and so sent to the ayde of the Fleminges. viii. M Frenchmen, willyng them to take and conquere such tounes, as were in the waye betwene Fraunce and Bruges, or Caleys and Bruges. The Capitaynes folowynge hys deuice, beseged a litle walled toune, called Dipenew, to whome came. iiii. M. Flemynges with vitayle and artil-lary, sent from Philip Mounseur. They layed siege on the Northside of the toune in a marishe groūde then beyng drye, and so depely dyched their campe, and so highly trenched it, on which trenche they layed their ordinaunce, that it was in maner impossible to entre into their campe, or to do them any displeasure or dammage. The kynge of Englande was
xx dayly aduertised of these doynges, whiche nothing lesse desyred then to haue the English pale and territory enuyroned with French fortresses. For he perceaued well that if the Frēchemē gate Dipenewe, they would afterward assaile Newport and Grauelynge, and cōsequently, what w force and what with corruption of rewardes, their purpose was to haue the possession of duke Philip and all Flaunders, whiche shoulde not be to the profite of hym nor hys subiectes. Wherfore this yere, sodeynly with great expedicion he sent ouer to the lord Dawbeney to Caleys, the lord Morley with a Crewe of valyaunt archers and souldiours, to the number of a. M. men, with preuy instruccions what they shoulde do.
xx When they were lāded, they published and sayed that they came to defende the English pale yf the Frenchemen or Flemynges would attēpt any mastryes there: But their enterprice was all otherwise. For on a Tuesdaye at the shuttyng of the gates at nyghte, the lorde Dawbeney chefetayne of the army, the lorde Morley, Syr James Tyrrell, Cappy-tayne of Guysnes, Syr Henry Willoughby, Syr Gylbert Talbot, syr Homfrey Talbot, Marshall of Caleys, and diuers other knightes and Esquyers, and other of the garrison of Hammes, Guysnes and Ca-leys, to the numbre of two. M. men or there aboute, issued preuely oute of Caleys, and passed the water of Grauelynge in the mornynge be ty-
xl mes, and left there for a stale and to kepe the passage, syr Homfrey Tal-bot with. vi. score archers, and came to Newporte, where they founde the souerayne of Flaūders with. vi. C. Almaynes, and there they commo-ned and paused that nyght,

On the next day as they came secretly toward Dipinew (se ꝑ chaūce) at a place of execucion, nere the high waye was, a Gauntoys (which was

come

come out of the army for a spye, and apprehended by them of Dipenew) led to hangyng, which emongest the Englishmē knew syr James Tyrrell, and called to hym for comfort and succoure, promisynge hym that if he woulde saue hys lyfe, he woulde guyde theim where they shoulde entre on the Gauntoys to their honour and aduauntage, and he would be the first assaylaunt of all the company. When hys promes was regarded, after request made to the Borough masters and capitaynes of the toune, he was perdoned but not deliuered. The next daye in the mornyng, after they had ordred their army, their guyde conueyghed theim out at the Southgate of the toune by a high banke set with willowes, x so that the Gauntoyses coulde not wel espie theim, and so secretly came to the ende of the campe of their enemyes, and there paused. The lorde Daubeney commaunded all men to sende their horses & wagons backe, but the lord Morley sayde he woulde ryde tyll he came to handstrokes (but he was deceaued) so they passed on tyll they came to a lowe bancke and no depe dyche, where their ordinaunce laye, and there the archers shote altogether euery man an arrowe, and so fell prostrate to ỹ ground, their enemyes discharged their ordinaunce all atones, and ouershot thē The archers roase and shot agayn, and bet them from their ordinaūce. The Almaynes lept ouer the dyche, with their morishe pykes, the Englishmen in the forefront waded the dyche, and were holpen vp by the Almanyes, and set on their enemies, and slew and toke many prisoners. The other Englishmen hasted by the cawsey to entre in at the Northgate of the campe, where the lord Morley being on horsbacke in a riche coate was slayne with a gonne. When his death was knowen, euery man kylled hys prisoner, and slew all such as did withstand theim to the numbre of .viii. M. men, in somuch that of .xi. M. that came out of Bruges (as the Flemysh chronicle reporteth) there came not home an hundred. There were slayne in the sayd place two chief Capitaynes, George Peccanet, and Anthony Newnhome. On the English parte was slayn xxx the lord Morley, and not an hundred moo. The Englishmen toke their ordinaunce and sent it to Newport with al their spoyle and great horsses. And by the waye, hearyng certeyne Frenchmē to be at Ostend, they made thetherward, but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned parte of the toune, and came agayne to Newport, where the lord Dawbeney left all the Englishmen that were hurt or wounded, and caryed with hym the dead corps of the lorde Morley, and buryed it honorably at Caleys. Thys felde was profitable to the Englishmen, for they that went forth in clothe, came home in sylke, and they that wēt out on foote, came home on great horsses, suche is the chaunce of victory. xl

The lorde Cordes, beyng at Yper with .xx. M. men, was sore discontent with this ouerthrowe, wherfore he thynkyng to be reuenged, came and beseged the toune of Newport strōgely (the which capitayne, Monseur de Merwede, before capitayne of Dipenew, and all the gentelmen of Westflaunders, and the thre principall cities of Flaunders, victoyled

the

the Frenche hooſt ſo well that all thinges was to good chepe)they without ſhot at the walles,and brake them in many places, and they within ſore greued them without with their artyllary.But the Engliſhmē that were hurt at Dirmewe felde before,and might eyther ſtande or drawe a bowe, neuer came from the walles. One daye the Frenchemen gaue a greate aſſaute to a Towre, and perforce entred it, and ſet vp the banner of the lorde Cordes:but as God woulde,duryng the tyme of the aſſaute there arryued from Caleys,a Barke with. lxxx. freſh Englyſhe archers, which came ſtraight to the Towre.The women of the toune,perceiuing the Engliſhmen come, cryed with lamentable and loude voyces, helpe Engliſhmen, helpe Engliſhmen, ſhote Engliſhmen, ſhote Engliſhmen, ſo that,what with the helpe of ſuche as before were wounded and hurte men, and of the couragious hartes of the new come Archers, and the ſtoute ſtomackes and dylygency of the women,which as faſt as the Engliſhmen ſtrake doune the enemies, the women were redy to cut their throtes,they wanne agayne the Towre,and ſlewe the Frenchmen,& rent the banner of the lorde Cordes, and ſet vp the penon of ſaynct George. Then the Frenchmen,ſuppoſing a great ayde of Englyſhmen, to haue bene come to the toune by ſea,left the aſſaulte. And the nyght folowyng the coueteous lord Cordes(which ſo ſore longed for Caleys,ỹ he would commonly ſaye that he woulde gladly lye.vii.yeres in hell, ſo ỹ Caleys were in the poſſeſſion of the Frenchmen)brake vp hys ſiege and ſhamefully returned to Heſdyng. And the Engliſhmē glad of this victory returned agayne to Caleys.

This yere alſo, the realme of Scotlande ſuffred an infectious & mortall plage, becauſe the name of James the third kyng of Scottes was ſo odyous, ſo hated and diſdayned of the whole nobylitie of the realme of Scotlande, chyefly becauſe they perceaued that he ſet more by vyle borne byleyns and lyght perſones, then by the Princes and Nobles of hys realme, as I haue declared to you in the hiſtory of kyng Edwarde the.iiii.which miſchiefe and vngrate diſcommoditie,after they had tollerated and paciently ſuffred no ſmall tyme to their great grudge & diſpleaſour. They now thought it moſt expedient for their purpoſe & welfare, euen by force of armes to recouer their priſtinate libertie and auncient fredome. Therfore makyng preuely a conturacion and conſpiracy together agaynſt their prince and ſouereigne lorde,compaſſed his death and deſtruccion. Yet that it myghte not bee thoughte that they dyd intende the deſtruccion of their natyue countrey, they made the kynges ſonne named after his father James, prince of Rothſay (a chylde borne to goodnes and vertue) their Capitayne, in maner againſt hys wyll, openly proteſting,that they purpoſed the confuſion,affliccion and depoſyng of an euell kyng and wretched prynce, and not the ſubuerſion and deſtruccion of their countrey: By whiche craftie ymagined inuencion they might either cloke or propulſe from them al ſuſpicion of their purpoſed vntruthe and ſhamefull diſloyaltie. Wherof the kyng beyng

credibly informed, was pensyfe, sorie, carefull, vexed and sore tormented in his mynd, for this cause in especiall, that he should haue cyuile dissencion with his awne subiectes and natyue countrymen, ye and agaynst his awne sonne being made Capiteyne of that vntrewe and peruerse cõpany, whome next to him selfe he loued, fauoured and honoured, ymagenyng with hym selfe that this commocyon sounded to none other effect but that the hed should fyght and stryue with the other mẽbres and partes of the natural body: And yet on the other syde, not to resyst shortly their newe incepted entrepryce might easely encourage and inflame the malicious heartes of his domesticall enemies with more boldenes & audacite to attempt farther mischiefe and inconuenience. Therfore to thentent to make a plaster for both these sores to be healed: Fyrst to appease and assuage the fury and rumour of the people, being this in a rage, he prepared an army of men. After that he sent Ambassadours to his sonne & the nobilitie assẽbled with him, for a loue, peace, cõcorde, quietnes and vnite to be concluded emongest them. Also he sent letters to the king of Englande and the Frenche kynge, requyryng them that they would vouchesafe with their good and Godly counsayll, helpe and assaye to mitigate and asswage this furious enormitie of his rude & sauage people, whiche was incepted and begonne through the perswasion and procurement of certaine pernicious and seditious persones. And besides this, he wrote to the byshop of Rome Innocẽt for thesame matter, in the whiche he earnestly obtested, desyred and prayed him that he would of his goodnes, faith and charite sende some one legate to these rebelles of his nobilitie to charge and commaunde, that they settyng aside al warre and hostilite, embrace quietnes, rest and vnite.

This miserable decrepite and aged kyng, thynkyng that bothe delayng and continuaunce of tyme, and also the entreating and hartie prayers of his frendes and alies would quenche and mollefie their inordinate wyldenes and furious rage, and perswade them to sobriete & good conformite, had rather with these, and other sembleable medecynes remedie this younge spryngyng sore, then he woulde haue it experimented and tried with ciuyle battayle and intestine destruccion, whiche he thought to be a thyng bothe vngodly, vnnaturall and execrable. For all this, no medicyne, no cõsaull, no wholsome preceptes could appease or pacefie the angry myndes and ragynge wittes of the Scottyshe nobilitie, so muche were they addicted and bent too this folye and vnreasonable madnes. In so muche, as to the messengers sent from him to the kyng their soueraygne lorde, they made this vnreasonable and vnhoneste aunswer, that is: yf he would resigne the title of his croune & realme & and depose him selfe of his royall dignitie, then they would cõmen with hym of a peace, or els their eares were stopped from heryng of any entreatie or perswasion. Thesame aunswer broughte the Ambassadour of Englande and Fraunce to their princes, whiche sore lamented and deplored the peruerse fortune and mischaunce of their frende the Scottish kyng,

kyng, as though they had bene partakers of his affliccion: But Adrian the byshop of Romes legate, of whom we will speake more hereafter came to late, and as who should saye, a daye after the faire.

When nothynge coulde moue or perce these stony hartes or frosty mynides of the nobilitie of Scotland: In conclusion they mett together in a pitched feelde, where after great slaughter of many men, the poore sely kynge fled into a Mylll for succoure, whether he was folowed and prosecuted, and there shamefully murthered, and vnreuerently, (not lyke a prynce or a crouned kynge) left starke naked lyke a styn-
x kyng caryon. Then the prynces of Scotland beyng, saciat and fylled with the bloud and slaughter of theyr souereygne Lorde and kyng (thynkyng that they had well reuenged the olde displeasures to theim done and committed by kyng James the thirde) set vp in the trone and estate royall, the prynce hys sonne, and named him James the fourth of that name.

Before this tyme as you haue heard, Innocent byshop of Rome had sent in legacie Adryan of Castella, a man of hetoria, borne in the toune of Corncte, called in the olde tyme Newcastell, whiche should haue gone to Scotlande, too haue pacefied by hys authoritie and commaunde-
xx ment thys troublesome busynes, moued and sturred betwene the kynge and his subiectes. Yet this man, although he made many great tourneys, when he came to Englande, was enformed of the kyng, to whome he hadde certayne commaundementes and messages to saye frome the Romyshe Byshop, that he came to late for too accomplyshe the commission of his legacy, assertaynynge hym that the Scottyshe kynge was dead, gentely aduysyng hym, that he should not moue one foote further but tarry styll in Englande, where he was not past two dayes, but that he was playnly certefied by the Byshoppes of Scotland of the kynges death. This Adrian taryed certayne monethes after this in England
xxi and was made muche of, and hyghly commended and lawded too the kyng by Jhon Morton Byshop of Caunterbury, whiche for the good learnyng, vertue, and humanite, that he sawe and perceaued to be in him shewed to hym all poyntes of humanite and frendshyppe, that a frende might do to a frende. And vpon his commendacion, the kynge thynkyng thys man wourthy to be looked vpon, and mete to do the kynge pleasure, muche phantasied and more fauoured this legate Adryan, in somuche as he was Oratour and solicited his cause bothe to Innocent and also to Alexander the syxt Byshops of Rome. And after this, for his diligent seruice, he so loued and fauoured him that he made him Bi-
xi shop of Herford, and shortely after that resigned and geuen ouer, he promoted hym to the Byshoprykc of Welles and Bathe. And not long after this Adryan was returned with these honoures to Rome, where he was promoted successeiuely by all the degrees of spirituall dignitees into the College and societee of Cardinalles. For Innocent fyrste made him his Collectour in Englande, and also one of the. vii. Protho-

notaries . After this Alexander the. vi. had hym as one of his priuye counsaill, and promoted hym to the degree of a Cardynall: But who is that I praye you that will merueyle at this, which aswell may be geuen to fooles and dyzerdes as to wyse and well learned men? There is another prayse of this Adryan, and thesame in maner eternall : The man was of profounde learnyng and knowlege, not vulgare, but straunge, newe and difficile, and in especiall he was a man of a rype iudgement in electyng and cholyng concinnate termes, and apte and eloquente woordes, whiche fyrste of our tyme, after that golden worde of Tully, moued men with his writyng to imitate and loue the most approbate, and allowed authours that were of eloquencie, and taught the trade & phrase to speake fyne, pure, freshe and cleane latyn, so that by his example & document, eloquence flourysheth at this houre in al places of Chrystendome, wherfore after my iudgement he is not worthie to be put in oblyuion: but nowe to my purpose.

¶ The. vi. yere.

THe Britische affaires in the meane season, because that all discorde was not pacefied and appeased, beganne againe nowe to flowe out and to trouble, and set all thynges in a newe broyle and busynes. For Maximilian kyng of Romaynes beyng without a wyfe, before thys tyme, made suite to Fraunces duke of Britayne, to haue in mariage the lady Anne hys daughter, to the whiche requeste the duke gently condiscended. And one, whyche by proxie wooed for hym : too the entent that the lady shoulde perfourme that she promised on her faith and honour, he vsed a new inuencion and tricke, after this maner: When the lady did take her chambre, the night after the affiaunce, she was layed naked in the bride bed, in the presence of dyuerse noble matrones and Prynces, called thether as witnesses . The procuratour or Deputie for the husbande whiche representeth his persone, was layde in the place of her husbande, and put one of his legges into the bed vp to the harde knee, in the syght and compaygny of many noble personages, as who said that the virgin had bene carnally knowen, and so the matrymony perfyght and consummate, and they two as man and wyfe . But this fonde newe founde ceremony was litle regarded and lesse estemed, of hym that onely studyed and watched, howe to surrept and steale this turtle oute of her newe and lodgynge . For Charles the Frenche kynge (as no man can blame hym) was desyrous and gredy too be coupled in mariage, wyth so great an inheritoure, and reputyng the mariage made with Maximilian, to be of no validite and effect, the more busely and incessantly he made sharpe warre, and skurged the Britonnes, to thentent he might bothe haue the lady and her dominions also at his wyll and pleasure. But he imagined that the kynge of Englande woulde caste a trumpe in his

in his waye, and be an impediment to his purpose by sendyng into Bri-
tayne a newe army of Englyshemen, for he had intellygence by his pre-
uy fautours.

Kyng Henry and Ferdinando kyng of Spaygne, were fully de-
creed to aide, assist and defende the duches and duchie of Briteyn, in all
ieopardies and aduentures, to thentent that they agaynst their will and
affeccion should not be by force compelled, to submit them selfes to the
subieccion and ponderous yoke of the Frenche kynge. For the whiche
cause, these two prynces were ioyned in a league and confederacy to re-
xsist and propulse this manifest wronge and apparant iniurie. Where-
fore he sent in all post hast the lorde Fraunces of Luxenborough, Char-
les Marignane, and Robert Gagine, ministre of the bone homes of the
Trinitee, to kyng Henry for a peace to be confirmed & had, which when
they came before the kynges presence, were excepted and entreteyned
after the best maner. And when they were demaunded of theffect of their
legacion, their request was that kyng Charles, as chiefe and supreme
lord ouer the seignorie and duchie of Briteyne, myght without any spot
of ingratitude to be ymagined or conceaued by kyng Henry, lawfully
ordre and dispose at his will and pleasure the mariage of lady Anne of
xx Briteyne, as his ward and orphan, without any let and disturbaunce of
the kyng of England, or any of his alies and confederates. Kyng Henry
thereto would not condiscende, but styll harped on this stryng, that the
virgyn, whiche was lawfully combyned in matrymony with Maximi-
lian kyng of Romanes, shoulde not be compelled agaynst her wyll and
promes (beyng contrary to all lawe, ryght and equitie) too take any o-
ther persone then hym to her spouse and husband, for that it was clerely
repugnaunt to all veritie and lawe, bothe of God and man. So when
they had lyngred the tyme, and consumed many dayes in vayne argu-
mentes and superfluous reasons, without any of their requestes obtey-
xxx ned: after longe debatyng and consultacion, they were resolued on thys
poynte, least it shoulde be thoughte that all their legacion had bene in
vayne and brought to no efficacie or purpose, a forme of a league and
amitie shoulde be drawen with condicions, clauses and couenauntes.
And for the farther furtheraunce of that purpose, it was thoughte ne-
cessary and expedient that the kynge of Englande shoulde sende Am-
bassadours to the Frenche kynge, whiche in hys name and by his au-
thoritee myght breuely conclude and finysche the league and treatie that
was in communicacion incepted and begonne. Whereupon kynge
Henry dismissed the Frenche Ambassadours laden with ample & large
xl rewardes into their countrey, and dispatched and sent streyghte after
them by hys commission and aucthorite. Thomas erle of Ormond, and
Thomas Goldeston, prior of Chrystes churche in Cauntourbury hys
Orators and Ambassadours, to Charles the Frenche kyng, instructing
them fully of all thinges that he would haue eyther moued or deter-
mined.

In this meane space, Alexander byshop of Rome the.vi.of that name whiche succeded after Innocent,a man full of diligence and of wit pre-
gnant,sent Lyonell byshop of Concorde legate,to the Frenche kyng for certainne matters,and emong other thinges,gaue hym in charge to con-
clude a peace and vnitie betwene kyng Charles and kyng Henry.Whē he had declared his message to the Frenche kyng fully , and had easely obteyned all thynges that he required, then he began to moue vnto the Frenche kyng and his nobles , with a longe and prolixe exhortation too make and conclude a perpetual peace, betwene him and the king of En-
glande . And when he perceaued the Frenchemen to make no greate de- x.
nyall to his request,he determyned to attempt and moue kyng Henry to consent and agree to thesame desire and petition : and toke his iourney towardes Englande, and at Caleys he encountred the Ambassadours, both of England and of Fraunce, which receaued him into the toune of Caleys,with many ceremonies and great reuerence . Where after they had communed the matter a certayn space, as concerning their affaires and busynes,they departed toward the Frenche kyng, and the byshop was transported into England . The kyng honorably receaued & gen-
tely entreteyned this Orator Lyonel,and gaue good eare to his luculēt and eloquent oration, wherein he persuaded hym with many flatteryng xx
and glosyng wordes,to entre into a league and amitie with kyng Char-
les of Fraunce,and the Frenche nacion.To the whiche request the kyng made answer that he would be glad and ioyous,if it might be compas-
sed and brought aboute, after longe trouble and pernicious dissencion to lyue in peace and mutual amitie with all christen men.Byshop Lyo-
nell,perceauing the kynges minde and intent, reculed again to Frau-
ce with al spede and diligence(and as it was mete and decent for the by-
shop of Concord) he determined to extirpate and dryue out of the kyn-
ges memory all olde reconynges and iniuries done to hym heretofore, and plant if it might be,in his harte and mynde, the very goodly & gra- xxx
cious greine of concorde and vnitie.

The Englyshe Ambassadours, then being with the Frenche kynge purposed and set forth articles and conclusions of peace.The Frenche-
men prudently made answere,so that on bothe parties the matter was pollitiquely and artificially proponed and oppugned . The Englyshe Ambassadours , to thentent that they might assente and obtayue a fewe thynges,whiche they muche desyred,required & demaunded many great and diuerse thinges.The Frenchemen on the othersyde,myndyng to as-
sent to no one demaund at thend , did denye & repudiate all Thenglish-
mens desyres , and condicions , and were sore angry and moued with al their great requestes and high demaundes . And in the meane season, trustyng more to their coffers then to their cheualry , as the maner of their countrey is for to obteyn their purpose,they spared not to disburse and launche out treasure,gyftes and rewardes innumerable, whiche is the very cause that they conquere more with crounes of gold,then with

speare

speare and shylde, or dynt of swerde in battaile. So that shortely after the Frenche kyng, sent to the noble men of Bryteyn great & many rewardes, solicityng, exhortyng and prayeng them all to be come his subiectes and vassais. And in especiall he allured and enticed with moost flatterying wordes and trappyng termes, the lady Anne by suche honorable matrones and ladies, as had the gouernaunce and educacion of her to confirme her selfe true to him in due obedience and loue, and not disdeine to be coupled in suche a noble mariage, with so high and mightie a prynce, as kyng Charles was. And leait peraventure the Damosell
x fearyng the rigour of the Ecclesiasticall lawes woulde not consent too hym for offendyng her conscience and infryngyng her promes: To aduoyde that scruple, he caused diuerse to inculcate and put in her hed and tittle in her care, that the mariage made with Maximilian was of no strength and lesse efficacy, considerying that it was concluded and made without the consent, agrement and will of him, whiche is the chiefe lorde and ought to haue the gouernaunce ouer her as his warde, & the whole duchy of Bryteyne, assurying her that she was deluded, and that the mariage with Maximilian was neuer consummate nor perfyght. And this was the very cause that no sure concorde or peace could be concluded &
xx agreed betwene these two Prynces. And where as the French kyng had long kept with hym the lady Margaret, daughter to Maximilian and her solemply espoused at Amboys, he sayde that that mariage myght be lawfully dissolued agayne, because the lady was of that age, that she coulde neither be geuen nor yet taken in mariage, for whiche cause he might lawfully repudiate and honestly put her from hym.

By this crafte and perswasion they led and entised the fayre maiden, suspectyng none euell, and brought her to this poynt, that in conclusion, she beyng proclaimed by diuers, Prynces of Bryteyne, suborned and corrupted with mede contrary to their duitie and allegeaunce, was con-
xxx tent to condissende and agree to that the Frenchemen demaunded, and not onely to submit her selfe to the French kyng, but also to take him to her make and husbande, by the reason whereof the warre might ceasse, whiche with violencie and impression of thesame, had infested and afflicted all her whole countrey. To this mariage agreed all the nobilitie of Bryteyne, whiche helde of the Frenche parte, thynkyng it verily for the auauncement of the common weale and their ease, because to trust to the power of Maximilian, which was of no puissaunce, they thought it veyne and of no efficacy. And when the French kyng had compoled and ordred hys matters of this fassion, preuely with the lady Anne, he accele-
xl rated the mariage with all the expedicion and diligence that was possible: So that the Englih Ambassadours returned agayn to their countrey, and nothyng doen or agreed vpon their matter.

Kyng Henry, still pacientlp forbearyng and suffryng till suche tyme that he perceaued more playnly what way the worlde went: and vnderstandyng before the returne of his Ambassadours, that the Frenchmen

meaned none other but playne guyle, fraude and deceypte, determined no moze with peaceable legaciõs, but with open warre to finish and determyn all controuersies and displeasures betwene him and the French kyng. Wherfoze he sommoned his courte of Parliament, and there declared first the cause why he was iustly pzouoked to make warre against the Frenche kyng: And after desyzed them of their beneuolent aide of men and money foz the maintenaunce of thesame. The cause of this battaill euery man did allowe and appzobate, and to the settynge foozth of thesame, pzompted their industrie, labour and all that they could make. The kynge commendyng them foz ther true and louynge hartes, toox thentent he myght not aggrauate the common people, with patyng of great taxes and sommes of money, whome his minde was euer to kepe in fauour, woulde first exacte money by a litle & litle of that beneuolent mynde of the ryche sozte, and this kynde of exaccion was first excogita-
A beneuolence ted by kyng Edwarde the fourth, as it apereth befoze in his stozy. Therfoze he consulted with his frendes, to inuent howe to gather together a great summe of money, and publyshed abzode that by their open giftes he would measure and searche their beneuolent hartes and louing mindes towarde hym, so that he that gaue moost shoulde be iudged to bee moost louyng frende, and he that gaue litle, to be esteemed accozdyng xx to his gifte: By this a man maye apparauntly perceaue as it were foz a great common wealth, that, that thynge that is once pzactysed foz the vtilitee of a pzince, and bzoughte too a pzesydent by matter of recozde, maye be turned to the great pzeiudice of the people, if rulers in authozitie wyll so adiudge and determyne it. So by thys meanes the kyng gathered innumerable summes of money, with some grudge of the people foz the extremitee shewed by the commissioners in dyuerse places.

You haue heard befoze how Philip Mounsure, lozd of Raueston by the aide of Bzuges & Gaunt had taken the toune & .ii. castels of Sluys xxx and was become aduersarie to Maximilian, by reason of the. iii. chiefe cyties of Flaunders: Now ye shall vnderstande that he did not onely so foztefie as well with municions as men, both the toune and. ii. Castels, but also gat into ỹ hauen diuerse shyppes and barkes, and by this meanes he spoyled and toke pzysoners all nacions, passyng eyther by sea oz by land to the mart at Antwarpe, oz into Bzabant, Zeland oz Frislande and was euer plentifully vityeyled out of Fraunce and Pycardy, to the great dammage of the Englishmen, which were spoyled dayly and taxi ken pzysoners: Which thinge Maximilian kynge of Romanes coulde not wel remedy, noz the kyng of England without great coste and losse of men. Foz to it behoued an army, bothe by sea and lande, foz when he was set foz by lande, he fled to the sea: And when he was chaced on the sea, he soughte refuge in hys twoo stronge Towers, and euer he had succours from Bzuges and Gaunt. Now was there a lytle toune twoo

myle

myle from Bruges, toward the sea called Damme, whiche was a Bulwerke to Bruges, and a hedspryng to Sluys. The kyng of Romanes did oftentyme attempt the apprehendyng of this toune, to the entent that the Brugians should haue no recourse to the hauen of Sluis, nor the Sluysians should haue no succour out of the toune of Bruges. But there were slayne a great number of Gentlemen of Germany, for they within made no sygne of defence, tyll all their enemies were in their daunger, and so slewe and confuted theim. There was a greate duke in Almayne, called duke Albert of the vpper Saxony, a greate frende
x to the kyng of Romanes, whiche made himselfe Neuter, and neuer intermitted with the affaires of Flaunders, a man of no lesse pollecy then valyaunt hardynes. This duke requred of the lordes of Bruges, that he myght entre peaceably into their toune, accordyng to his estate with a certayne nombre of menne of armes to communicate with them dyuerse matters of great weyght and no small importaunce; and sent before his cariages and herbyngers to make prouision. The estates of Bruges little doubted to admit so small a nombre into so populous a company, ye though the numbre were duplicate, and especially, because they harde saye that he woulde lodge in the toune all nyght, wherefore
xi no man thought of that craftie stratageme that he had inuented. His elected and warlike company entred into the cytie in good ordre, and he folowed, they that went before inquyred after ynnes and lodgynges as though they woulde repose themselfes there all nyghte, and so went forth still in ordre askyng for lodgyng, tyll they came to the gate that goeth directly towarde theforsayde toune of Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemysh myle, whiche is called the bulwerke of Bruges. The Capitaynes and inhabitauntes of the toune of Damme, suspectyng no harme to come out of Bruges, thynkyng that their frendes knowyng some sodeyn chaunce comming to haue sent to them aide and succours,
xii and so nothyng mistrustyng, did let them entre, and take the toune of Damme, and so that toune, whiche could not be wonne by force of armes, was by a sleight & pollecy attrapped and surprised to the great detriment and displeasure of the toune of Bruges, for now had thei no recourse to the sea, whiche stop so continuing, no doubte, but the toune of Bruges must nedes fall in ruyne and vtter exterminion.

When duke Albert of Saxony had gotte Dam, he certefied ỹ king of England ỹ he would besege Sluyse by land, if it pleased his maistie to ministre any aide by the sea. Kyng Hẽry whiche was wise, & forcasting in all his affaires, remẽbring ỹ Sluyse was the denne of theues to them ỹ
xi trauerse the seas toward the East parties, incõtinent dispatched sir Edward Pownings (a valiaũt knight & hardy Capitain) w̃ xii. shippes wel furnished w̃ bolde souldiours & strõg artillary. Which sir Edward sailed into the hauẽ, & kept Philip moũseur frõ sterting by ỹ sea. The duke of Saxõ beseged ỹ one castel, lyng in a church ouer against it, & the Englishmẽ assauted the lesse castel daily, & issued out of ỹ shippes at ỹ ebbe,

and

and although they stode in the water to the knees, yet they neuer gaue their enemies one daye to repose or playe by the space of .xx. dayes, and euery day slewe some of their aduersaries, and on the Englyshe part were slayne. Were brother to the Erle of Oxforde and fyfty moo.

The lorde Philip of Rauestone, had made a bridge of boates betwene bothe the Castels, by the whiche one might succoure the other, whiche bridge the Englyshmen in a night set on fyer. Then, he perceauing that he must nedes lese his Castels by force, & that the Flemynges could not aide hym, yelded the Castels to sir Edward Pownynges, and the toune to the duke of Saxony, vpon certayne condicions. When the duke and the Englyshe capitayne met in the toune, there was betwene them great salutacions, & sir Edward kept the Castels a while, of whom the Almaynes demaunded stipent and salary, because that the duke had nothyng to paye. Then these two Capitaines so handled them of Bruges that they were content not onely, to submit them selues to the lorde Maximilian, but also to pay and dispatche the Almaines. And so sir Edward Pownynges taryed there a long space, and returned to the kyng before Boleyne. And so they, whiche by reasonable ordre, would not bee gouerned: By vnreasonable condicions were brought to confomyte and ordre.

The. vi. daye of Apryll this present yere, the kyng commauuded all the nobilite of his realme, to assemble at the Cathedral churche of sainct Paule in London, where after Te deum solemply songe, the Cardynall of Caunterbury, standyng on the steppes before the queer dore, declared to the people, how the famous Citie of Granado, which many yeres had bene possessed of the Moores or Mawrytane nacion, beyng infydeles and vnchristened people, and now of late beseeged by a great tyme by Donfernando and Elyzabeth his wyfe, kyng and quene of Spayne, Arragon and Castell. And thesayed infydeles, by reason of this siege brought to great penurye and miserie, for lacke of vitaile and necessary viand, perceauyng that all succours were clerely estopped and prepulsed from them, and so brought into vtter despaire of aide or comfort: after longe consultacion had emongest them, determyned to rendre them selues and their cytie, to thesayed kyng, vpon diuerse couenauntes and condicions, and thereupon sent to hym dyuerse Senatours of the cytie, fully instructed of their mynde and purpose. The kyng of Spayne and his counsaill, considering and sagely pondering that wynter approched and was at hande, and that the Christen hoost had long lyen in the feldes in sore tempestes and greuous stormes (whiche they gladly suffred for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarel they made that present warre) remembryng also that the Cytie was of suche ryches, fame and estimacion, that it conteyned an hundred and fyfty thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages, and that it was replenysshed with people innumerable, and furnysshed with .lxx. thousand good fyghtyng men. And fynally, perceauyng that he myght enioye nowe the possession

possession of thelame, without assaute or effusion of Christen bloud, by the aduyse of his counsayll, be accepted, accorded and agreed to theyr offres the. xxv. of Nouember, in the yere of Christes incarnacion M. cccc. xci. then beyng the daye of saunct Katheryn. By the whiche composicion, the royall citie of Granado; with all the holdes and fortresses of the realme, and the Towres and Castels of Alpuxarare was rendred into the handes of thesayed kyng of Speygne, & that the kyng of Granado should become subiect and vassail to the kyng of Speygne, and to relynquishe and forsake the vsurped name of a kyng for euer: And & that all men of warre should franckly depart out of the cytie, and none there to remayne, but artificers and merchauntes, and all these thynges to be done before the. xxv. daie of January, but the tyme was anticipate, for the Moores on the first daye of January, sent. vi. C. notable personages out of the citie with their chyldren for hostages into the campe of the kyng of Speygne, to thentent that he should put no diffidence nor mistrust in the cytezens, but that he myght peaceably and quietly with his people entre into the cytie, and take possession of thelame. The which hostages were destributed and lodged in the tentes and pauylions of the Spanyshe armye.

& The thyrd daye of January, the lorde of Gutteryns Cardenes, greate Master and gouernour of Lyon, of the ordre of sayncte James, departed frome the armye, nobly and triumphantly accompanied with fyue hundred horsemen, and three thousande footemen, towarde the citie. And as he approched nere to the suburbes, there issued out dyuerse noble and valiaunt Capitaynes of the Moores, makyng to hym humble obeysaunce, and conductyng hym to a palace, adioynyng to the citie, called the palace of Alpaxaras, and from thence conueyghed hym to the palace royall of thelame cytie called Alhābra, whereof he toke quiet and peace able possession, to the behoue of the kyng of Speyne, whome & the Moores promysed and confessed to take and obey, as to their kyng and souereigne. And in sygne and token that they thought in their hartes, that whiche they promised by mouth, they prostrate and humbled them selues before thesayed great Master, and with dolorous lamentacion and salt teares, deliuered to hym the keyes of thesaid palace. When he had the keyes, and was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moores and pagaries, and appoynted a garrison of valiaunt and noble christians to kepe and defende thelame. And thelame daye caused a masse solemply to bee celebrate in a place of thelame palace called Melchita, whiche done and & finished, he toke possession of all the fortresses, Towres and holdes to thesayed cytie and toune of Granado, belonging or apperteining. And then he caused to be eleuated and exalted vpon the highest Towre of the palace (where it might best be sene) the signe & token of the crosse, whereon Christe for vs synners suffred his bitter passion. At the reysing whereof, were present an Archebyshop, and thre Byshops and other prelates,

whiche

whiche deuoutely sange this antheme: O crux, aue spes vnica. The sayed crosse was .iii. tymes deuoutly eleuate, and at euery exaltacion, the Moores beyng within the cytie, roared, howled, and cryed, prosternyng them selfes grouelyng on the grounde, makyng doloyours noyes and piteful outcrycs. The army encamped without the cytie, seyng these thynges, humbled them selfes mekely before the Crosse, renderyng to almyghtie God their moost humble and hartie thankes. The kyng of Spayne, beyng mounted on horsbacke, perceauyng the erection of the Crosse, discended from his Genet, and kneled doune on the bare grounde, and rendred to God, laude, honoure and prayesyng for that noble and triumphant victory. And after that the Crosse was thus set vppon the high Towre, the banner of sayncte James and the kynges banners were pytched and fyred vpon the turrets and pynacles of the cytie: A Herault standyng in the top of the high Towre, proclaimed and publyshed these woordes folowyng.

„ Sayncte James, sayncte James, sayncte James, Castill, Castil, Castill,
„ Granado, Granado, Granado: By hygh and mighty power, loyde Fer-
„ dinando and Elizabeth, kyng and quene of Spayne, haue wonne from
„ the Infideles and Moores, the cytie and realme of Granado, through the
„ helpe of our lord God and the moost glorious virgyn his mother, and
„ the vertcous Apostle sayncte James, and the holy father Innocent the
„ viii. togethers with the aide & succours of the great prelates, knyghtes
„ and other gentlemen borne, and commons of their realmes & countreis.

When the Herault had finished, the artillary sounded, the mynstrelles blewe, the people applauded and clapped their handes for gladnes, that the yearth semed to trimble and quake vndyreneth them. After this ioye ended, there issued out of the cytie in maner of procession. viii. hundred and mo Christians, aswell men as women and chyldren, whyche had bene there prysoners and lyued in bondes, seruitude and miserable captiuitie, whereof the moost parte were naked, wounded and in maner exstamyshed for hungre. To whome the kyng of his great lyberalite gaue bothe appatell, vyand and money. The poore prysoners comyng oute of the Cytie sange this Psalme. Benedictus dominus deus Israell, Quia visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebis sue. Blessed be the lorde God of Israell, whiche hath visited and redemed his people, and so syngyng forth the whole Psalme, went to the churche of sayncte Feith, whiche the kyng Ferdinando had caused to be moost sumptuously edefied duryng the tyme of the siege, beyng distant from Granado two or three myle. And as thys poore procession passed by the hoost, one espied his sonne, and another sawe his brother, and the sonne perceaued the father, and the father founde the daughter, whiche were nowe delyuered out of myserable seruitude and bondage. But they coulde not refrayne nor bridle them selues from distillyng of teares and sobbynge, seynge theyr parentes and kinsfolke restored to libertie and fredome. And when these people had sayd their Mysons in the churche of sayncte Feith, and were

come

come to the army, they kneiyng before the kyng kyssed his fote, cryinge with one voice, God graunt to the kyng of Spaygne euerlastyng lyfe.

The next daye after the lord Eueras de Mendosa, Erle of Tēdiglie was by the kyng made Capitayn of the houle royal, & principal Towre of the citie of Granado, called Alhambra, hauynge to hym appoynted and assigned one thousand men of armes, and twoo thousand fotemen. Unto the whiche Erle, the great Master deliuered the keyes of thesayd palace and Towre, and other portes and fortresses. On Saturdaye the.viii.daye of January, in the yeare of our Lorde.M.cccc.xcii. Ferdinand kyng of Spaygne, & Granado, the quene & their eldest sonne done Jhon prince of Speyne, the lord Peter of Mēdosa, archebishop of Toleth, the patriarche of Alexandry, the Cardinall of Speyne, the lord Peter Prynce of Lyon, duke of Gaditane, the Marques of Villena and Moya. The erle of Capre, the erle of Uinenna of Cifnentes, and many other Erles, Barones and nobles, whereof some were Englyshemen, whose names I haue not, with.x.thousand horsemen, and fifty thousand footemen, with greate tryumphe and royaltie entred into the cytye of Granado, and thereof tooke real possession and season, and caused masse to be songe in a great place called Meschita, where he caused a solempne churche to be buylded in the honoure of God and hys mother. When Masse was ended, the kyng and the quene repayred to the palace royall of Alhambra, the whiche was wonderfull, bothe in quantite and sumptuous buyldynge, whyche house was adourned with ryche Arras and Tapestry in euery chambre. The Erle of Tendiglie Capitayne of the palace, feasted the kynge and Quene, and all the nobilitie at hys awne costes and charges. So the kyng of Spaygne there remayned tyll the countrey was reduced too a good conformytye and order, and dyuerse Castelles, and fortresses, were made for the sauegarde and tuycion of the realme. And because thys victory obteyned, was to the glory of God, and to the publique wealth of all Chrystianite, thesayde Cardynall of Caunterbury declared to the people that the kyng had sent hym and the other nobles thether that daye, not onely to notefye and declare to them the veryte of the fact, but also to exhorte thē to geue laudes and prayslinges to almighty God, for deliuering so goodly a cytye, so plentifull a countrey, & so notable a regiō out of the handes of his enemies & persecutours of his faith & religiō. Which declaracion ended the Archebishop with ỹ clergie, & the nobles with ỹ cōminaltye in mooste deuout maner went in general processiō, rendring to God for this great acheued enterprice, glory, honour & mooste reuerent and harty thankes.

Aboute this season, Maximilian kyng of Romanes hauyng the vpper hand of the Flemynges, by aide of the kyng of Englāde (as you haue harde before) entended to reuēge hym self of the Frēch king, for ỹ he had repudiate his daughter lady Margaret, & sent her home to hym, entēdig as he thought to take to hys wife ỹ lady Anne of Bryteyn. But because he was not of sufficiēt habilite of hym self to susteyne & furnish ỹ warre,

 he determi-

he determined to desyre kyng Henry to take parte with hym. Whereupon he sent Jaines Contiba ld Ambassadoure, a man of great grauytie to exhorte and requyre the kynge of Englande, to entre hys company and societee in armes, kaythfully promising on his honoure ỹ he would in sembleable matters of hys, take parte wyth .x. M. men at the least, for the space of iiii. yeres whensoeuer he should requyre hym. And because yt is hys chaunce to trye the fortune of battaile and to intimate the warre, he promised to certefie kynge Henry .viii. monethes before that he would inuade or occupie the territory of hys enemyes. And by thys message, Maximilian greatly inflamed and set a fyer kynge Henryes hart to beare with hym. And as he was mynded before this tyme as you haue hard before, to ayde and assist the Britones in the extremetye of theyr perill, he now reconed ỹ tyme to be come, that he must collect an army to helpe them nowe at a pynche in their mooste perell and daungier, to thentent to restore agayne the Britische nacion to their auncient libertie, and to expulse the Frenche nacion, which thyrsted for the blood, death & destrucció of the poore Brytones, clerely out of that duchy and country. And he was ỹ more ardently therunto encouraged, because he perceaued Maximilian hym selfe so earnestly set and bent toward that enterprice, and therfore he made this aunswere to James the Ambassadour, ỹ he would be ashamed to be found slacke or vnprouided at any tyme of Maximilian hys felow and compaignion in armes. And so these matters well brought to effect on bothe parties, the kyng dimissed the Ambassadoure from hys presence.

The.viii. yere.

IN this very ceason, Charles the Frēche king, receaued lady Anne as his pupill into his hādes, & with great solempnite her espoused, hauing with her for her dower ỹ whole countrey of Britayne. And so by this meane ỹ Brytones became subiect to the French kyng. Maximilian beyng certefied of this, fell into a great rage & agony, for ỹ he was not cōtent with the forsaking & refusing of his daughter lady Margaret, but also had taken & rauished away frō him hys assured wife lady Anne duches of Britayne. And calling vpō God for vengeaunce & ponishmēt for such an heynous and execrable facte, cryed out & rayled on him, wishyng him a thousand deathes. Yet after that he was pacefied, and came to hym selfe agayne, and had gathered hys wyttes together, he thought it was mooste expedient to vindicate and reuenge hys honour and dignitee so manifestly touched, with the dynt of swoorde. And beyng in this mynde, sent certain Ambassadours to kyng Henry wyth hys lettres, desyrynge hym with all diligence to prepare an army, and he hym selfe woulde do likewise, to inuade the Frenche kynges realmes with fyer, swoord and blood.

Kynge Henry hearyng of this, and puttyng no diffidence in the promes of Maximilian, whome he knew to haue a deadly hatred and longe grudge agaynst the French kynge, caused a muster to be made in all the

partes

partes of his realme, and put hys men of warre in a redynes armed & weaponed accordyng to their feates: beside thys he rygged, mãned and byteiled his nauy ready to set forward euery houre, and sent curryers into euery shyre to accelerate, and hast the souldiours to the sea side, After the message was declared, there came without am delai an houge army of men, aswell of the lowe sorte and commonaltie as other noble men, harnysshed and armed to battaile, partely glad to helpe their prince and to do him seruice, and partely to buckle with the Frenchmen, wyth whome the Englishmen very willingli desyred to cope and fight in opẽ battaill. And immediatly, as monicion was geuen, euery man with hys bande of souldiours repayred to London.

After that al this army was arrayed and euen readie to set forward wherof were cheuetaynes and leaders, Jasper duke of Bedford, & Jhõ erle of Oxforde beside other, the kynge sent Christopher Urswike hys aulmoner, and syr Jhon Ryseley knyght to Maximiliã, to certefie hym that the kynge was all in a redines, and woulde shortely arryue in the continent land, assone as he were aduertised that Maximilian, and hys men, were ready and prepared to ioyne with hym. The Ambassadours sayled into Flaunders, and after their message done, they sent .ii. letters in all hast to kyng Henry, the whiche not onely sore vnquyeted & vexed hym, but also caused him to take more thought, care and study on hym then he did before: for they declared that no prince coulde be more vnprouyded or more destitute of men and armure, no more lackynge all thynges, apperteignynge to warre, then was Maximilian, and that he laye lurkyng in a corner, sore sicke of the fluxe of ỹ purse, so that he had neyther men, horses, municions, armure nor money, neuerthelesse hys mynd & will was good, if his power and habilitee had been correspõdẽt & therfore there was no trust to be put in hys aide or puissaunce. Their letters bothe appalled, and made sorowfull the kyng of Englãd, which like a prudent prince did well consider & ponder, ỹ it were both ieopardous and costly, for him alone to enterprice so great a warre. And on ỹ other parte, if he should desist and leaue of his pretensed purpose, al mẽ might call hym cowarde and recreant prynce. Beside this, he thoughte that his awne nacion woulde not take his tarying at home in good nor fauourable part, cõsideryng ỹ syth they had geuen so large money for the preparaciõ of all thynges necessary and conueniẽt for the same, they might conceaue in their heddes & ymagen, that vnder coloure & pretẽce of a dissimuled warre, he had exacted of thẽ notable summes of money, & now the treasure was once paied, then ỹ warre was done, & his cofers well enryched, & the commõs enpouerisshed. So that at thys tyme he doubted & cast perels on euery side & parte, & besyde thys, he was not a litle sory ỹ Maximiliã authour of thys warre did absent him selfe, & defraude him of his societe & assistẽce. And while he studied & mused what counsaill he shoulde best take in suche a doubtfull and sodeine case, he like a graue prince, remembring the saiyng of the wiseman, woorke by

counsayll & thou shalt not repēt the, assembled together all hys lordes, and other of his pryuate counsayll, by whose myndes it was concluded and determyned, that he shoulde manfully and couragiously perceauer and procede in thys brocched and begonne enterprice, recordynge well with them selfes, and affirming playnely that al cheualry and martial prowesses, the more difficile and heard that it is to attayne to, the more renoumed is the glory, and the faime more immortal of the banquisher and obteynet. Therfore by this counsayl of his frendes and senate, he made Proclamacion that euery man should set forward into Fraunce, and yet not openynge howe Judasly Maximilian, had deceaued hym, & least that they knowynge the whole fact, shoulde not be so courageous to go towarde that battayle and procede forward on their iorney. And therfore to prouyde and forese al perels and daungiers that might accidently ensue, he so strengthened, multiplied and augmented his army in such numbre before he toke ship, that he with his awne powre might discourage and ouercome the whole puissaunce of his aduersaries.

When he had thus gathered and assembled his armye, he sayled to Caleyes the.vi.daye of October, & there encāped him selfe, tarying there a certaine space to se his men harnessed & appareled, that neither weapō nor any engyne necessary for his iourney should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowlege by the Ambassadoure, whiche were newly returned out of Flaunders (for they did not knowe of it before) ỹ Maximilian coulde make no preparatiō for lacke of money, & therfore there was no succour to be exspected at his hand. And the which report, the Englishmen were nothing abashed nor dismaied, trusting so muche to their awne puissaūce & cōpany: but yet they merualled and wondered greatly, ỹ heard it related, ỹ Maximilian receauyng such great bilany not lōge before at the hand of kyng Charles, was not present to pricke them forward, to crye & call, to moue and excite the Englishmen, ye and if he had had.vi.hundred bodyes to put them all in hasard, rather then to leaue the Englishmē, now setting vpon his dayly enemyes & deadly aduersaries. Albeit Maximiliā lacked no hart and good will to be reuēged, yet he lacked substaūce to cōtinew warre, for he could neither haue money nor men of the dronken Fleminges, nor yet of the craking Brabanders, so vngrate people were they to their souereigne lorde.

In the meane season, although the Frenche kynge was as well with courage replenished as with men furnished mete to trye a battaile, yet al this notwithstāding he made semblaūce, as though he desired nothīg more then peace, beyng not ignorāt that peace to be obteined was of no smal valure & price, & yet he determined to make more expēce in getting of peace, then in settinge foorth of warre and hostilitee, and regarded so muche thee lesse thee treasure too be dispensed for the acquyrynge of vnitee and concord, for asmuche as he was afrayed that he beyng diligent to resist the inuasion of the Englishmen, that the Britones wherof the mooste parte bare the yoke of his subiection contrary to their hartes

and

and myndes, woulde sodeynly rebell and set them selfes at libertie, and plucke out their heddes out of his colour, and set vp another duke and gouernour. And at thesame very tyme he was inuited and desired of Lewes Skoycia duke of Millayn, to warre agaynst Ferdinand kynge of Napels, at whole desyre he was pyest and ioyous, thinkynge that he had that occasion sent to hym from God, for the whiche he long before thyrsted & sore wished. The whiche kyngdome he pretended to be dewe to hym by succession, and entended long before to acquyre and cõquere it by force of armes, as hys very right and inheritaũce. For when Rene
x duke of Angeou last kyng of Scicile, departed without any heire male of hys wyfe lawfully begotten, he did adopt to his heires of all his realmes & dominiõs, Lewes the.xi. father to the.iii. king Charles, to thentẽt that he should deliuer quene Margaret his daughter, out of the hãdes of kyng Edward the.iiii. as you haue well before perceaued, wrõgfully and without cause disheneriting his cosyn, Godsonne, and heyre, Rene duke of Lorayne & Barre. For the whiche cause he did the more busily procure & labour for ỹ amitie, fauor & frẽdship of his neighbours roũd about hym, ỹ when al thiges were appeased & set in good state at home he might the better employe his whole force & puissaũce on his warre in
xx Italy. Wherfore beyng muche desirous to haue all thynges pacefied & set in a perfite cõcorde and securite, he sent Philip Creueceur lord Cordes his chiefe coũsailer and diligent officier to entreate, moue and persuade the kyng of Englande to be reconciled & made agayne as a newe frend to the French kyng. He not forgetting his message, sent letters to kyng Henry before he passed the sea, & arriued in the ferme land, by the which he notefied to hym, ỹ he of his boũden duetie & obseruaũce, which he ought to the kyng his master, & to the profite of his realme, woulde take paine to inuent & excogitate some mean and waye, that his hignes and kyng Charles his master being disseuered in amitie, and made ex-
xxx treme enemies, onely for the cause of Maximilian newly elected king of Romanes, should be reducted & brought again into their pristine estate & consuete familiaritee, doubting not to bryng his shyp to the porte desired, if it might stand with his pleasure to sende some of his cnũsaylers to the confynes & borders of the Englishe pale, adioyning to Fraunce, there to here what reasonable offres should be demonstrated and profered: whiche condicions of peace should be so reasonable and so ample that he doubted not, but that he might with his great honoure breake vp hys campe, and retire hys army backe agayne into hys owne seignory and dominion.

xl The kynge of Englande, maturely consideryng that Britayne was clerely lost, and in maner irrecuperable, beynge nowe adioyned too the croune of Fraunce by mariage, whiche duchy hys whole mynde was to defende, protect and conferme, and that Maximilian what for lacke of money, and what for mystrust that he had in hys awne subiectes, laye styll lyke a dormouse nothynge doynge, perceauynge also that it

shoulde be bothe to his people profitable, and to hym greate honour to determine this great warre without losse or bloudshed, appoynted for commissioners the bishop of Exceter, & Gyles lorde Dawbeney to passe the seas to Caleys, to cõmen with the lorde Cordes, of articles of peace to be agreed vpon and concluded.

When the commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effectiously proceded in the r great affaires, that they agreed that an amytie and peace shoulde be assented to and concluded, so that the conditions of the league shoulde be egall, indifferent and acceptable to bothe parties as after shalbe declared.

While the commissioners were thus consultinge on the marches of Fraunce, the kynge of Englande as you haue heard, was arryued at Caleys, where he prepared all thinges necessary for such a iorney. And from thence he remoued in.iiii.battayles, nere to the toune of Boleyne, and there pytched his tentes before the toune, in a place propice and cõueniẽt and determined to geue a great assaute to the toune. In ỹ which fortresse was suche a garrison of warlike souldiours, that valiauntly defended the toune, and thesame so replenyshed with artillary and municious of warre, that the losse of the Englishmen assautyng the toune, shoulde be greater dammage to the realme of Englaud, then the cõquerynge and gaynyng of thesame shoulde be emolument or proffite. Howbeit the kynges daily shot, rased & defaced the walles of thesaied toune: but when euery man was prest and ready to geue the assaute, a sodeyne rumoure roase in the army, that a peace was by the commissioners taken and concluded, whiche brute as it was pleasaunt and mellifluous to the Frẽchemẽ, so it was to the Englisshe naciõ bitter, sowre & doloroous because they were prest and ready at all tymes to set on their enemyes, and refused neuer to attempt any enterprice, whiche might seme either to be for their laude or profyt: thei were in great fumes, angry and euel content, rayling and murmuringe emongest them selfes, that the occasion of so glorious a victory to them manifestly offered, was by certain conditions to no man, nor yet to the kyng commodious or profitable, refused, putte by and shamefully slacked: But aboute all other, dyuerse lordes and capitaynes, encoraged with desyre of fame & honoure, trustyng in this iourney to haue wonne their spurres, whiche for to set them selfes and their band the more gorgeously forward had mutuate, and borowed dyuerse and sondry summes of money, and for the repayment of thesame, had morgaged and impignorate their landes and possessions, sore grudged and lamented this sodeyne peace, and returne of them vnthought of, and spake largely agaynste the kynges doynges, saiynge and affirmyng, that he as a man fearyng and dreading ỹ force and puissaunce of his enemyes, had concluded an inconuenient peace without cause or reason: But the kynge as a wyse man and moost prudent prince, to assuage the indignacion and pacefie the murmour of the people, declared what dammage and detriment, what losse and perdiciõ

Boleyn besieged.

of many noble Capitaynes, and stronge souldiours must of necessitee happen and ensue at the assaute of a toune, and especially when it is soo well fortefied with men and municions, as the toune of Boleyne at that present tyme was: protestyng farther, that he might be iustly accused & condempned of iniquite & vntruthe, except he did preferre the sauegard of their lyues, before hys awne wealth, health and aduauntage.

When he had thus prudently cõsidered and appeased the myndes of hys men of warre, he returned backe again with his whole army, to the toune of Caleys, where he beganne to smell certain secret smoke, whiche was like to turne to a great flame, without it were wel watched & polletiquely sene to. For by the craftie inuencion and deuelishe ymagination of that pestiferus serpent lady Margaret, duches of Burgoyne, a newe ydol was set vp in Flaunders, and called Richard Plantagenet, second sonne to kyng Edward the.iiii. as though he had bene resuscitate from death to lyfe, whiche sodeyne newes more stacke and fretted in hys stomacke, then the battaile which now was set late forwarde & more paine he had (not without greate ieopardie of him selfe) to appease & quenche this newe spronge conspiracy, then in makynge peace with the Frenche kyng his enemy. And so he was content to accept and receaue (and not to offre and geue) the honest condicions of peace of his enemy proffred and oblated, except he woulde at one tyme make warre, bothe at home in his awne countrey, and also in foreyne and externe nacions. Wherefore kynge Henry forseynge all these thinges before (and not without great counsayll) concluded with the French kyng, to thentẽt that he beyng deliuered of al outwarde enmytie might the more quickly prouide for the ciuyle and domestical cõmocions, which he perceaued well to be budding out. The conclusion of the peace was thus, ỹ the peace should continue bothe their lyues, and that the Frenche kynge shoulde paie to kynge Henry a certayne summe of money in hand, accordyng as the cõmissioners shoulde appoynte for his charges susteyned in hys iourney:

Whiche (as the kynge certefied the Mayre of London, by hys letters the.ix. daye of Nouembre) amounted to the summe of.vii.C.xlv. M. ducates, whiche is in sterlynge money.i.C.lxxvi.M.ii.C.l.£. and also should yerely for a certayne space paye or cause to be payde for the money that the kyng of England had spent and expended in the tuyciõ & aide of the Britones.xxv.M. crounes, which yerely tribute, ỹ Frenche kynge afterwarde vexed and troubled with thee warres of Italy, yerely satisfiede contented and payde, euen to the tyme of hys sonne kynge Henry the.viii. to thentent to pay the whole duetie and tribute, and for the further cõseruacion and stablishyng of the league & amitie betwene bothe the realmes.

Shortely after that kyng Henry had taryed a conuenient space, he transfreted and arryued at Douer, and so came to his maner of Greenewiche. And this was the yere of our lord a.M.CCCC.xciii. and the.viii. yere of his troubleous reigne. Also in this sotournynge and besegynge

of Boleyne (whiche we spake of before) there was fewe or none kylled, sauyng onely Jhon Sauage knyght, which goyng preuely out of hys pauylion with syr Jhon Ratcley, roade about the walles to viewe and se their strength, was sodeynly intercepted and taken of hys enemyes. And he beyng inflamed with yre, although he were captyue, of his high courage disdeyned to be taken of suche vileynes, defended his lyfe to ꝑ vttermost, and was manfully (I will not saye wylfully) slayne and oppressed, albeit syr Jhon Ratcley fled frō theim & escaped their daunger.

When kynge Henry was returned into England, he first of all thinges elected into the societe of sainct George, vulgarely called the order of the garter, Alphōse duke of Calabres sonne, accordyng to hys desire whiche Alphonse was sonne and heyre to Ferdinand kyng of Napels, & after kyng of thesame realme, til he was ouercome by kyng Charles. And after, the kyng sent Christopher Urswike, Ambassadour with the gartier, coller, mantell, and other habiliamentes appertenynge too the companyons of thesaied noble ordre. Which Ambassadoure arryuing at Napels, deliuered to the duke the whole habite, with all the ceremonies and dewe circumstaunces thereunto belonging. Whiche duke very reuerently receaued it, & with more reuerence reuested hym selfe with thesame in a solempne presence, thinkyng that by this appatell and inuestiture, he was made a frende and compaygnion in ordre with ꝑ kyng of Englande, whose frendship obteyned, he feared nothing the assautes or inuasions of hys enemyes. And this was the cause that he desyred so much to be compaygnion of that noble ordre, fermely beleuyng that the kyng of England louereygne of that ordre, shoulde be aider and mainteyner of hym agaynst the Frenche kyng, whome he knew woulde passe the moūtaynes and make warre on hym. But this custome of assistēce in ordres was, eyther neuer begonne, or before clerely abholyshed: For in oure tyme there haue bene many noble men of Italy, compaignions as well of the golden Flese in Burgoyne, as of the ordre of sainct Myghel in Fraunce, that haue bene banyshed and profligate from their naturall countrey, and yet haue not bene aided by the louereygne nor cōpanyons of thesame order. For surely the statutes and ordinaunces of all thesayed ordres doth not oblige and bynde them to that case, but in certayne poyntes. After this the duke dimissed the Ambassadour, rewardyng hym moost princely.

Shortely afther this Charles, the Frenche king concluded a league with Ferdinand kyng of Spayne, and also beyng entreated and solicited with the Oratoures of diuerse princes, which persuaded and mollefied the stony hart of a frosen prince, caused him to come to communicacion and treatie with Maximilian kyng of Romanes, and to cōclude a peace with hym for a season, to the entēt that he might without disturbaunce of hys neighboures adioynynge, prosperously and safely make warre on Ferdynand kyng of Napels, and on all Italy, as he before mynded and excogitated.

And

And so Charles, beyng furnished with men of armes, horsemen, fote men, naupe, and aide of some Italians, passed throughe Italy by Rome and without any great laboure wanne the citie of Napels. When he had obteyned this victory: in hys retourne beynge assailed with the Venicians at the toune of Fornouoe, he had a great daungerous victory. And so lyke a conquerour, with great triūphe returned into his realme and countrey. After hym Lewes the.xii. beynge kynge, when he founde opportunitee and sawe the gappe open, inuaded the Italians agayne, & recouered again the realme of Naples, whiche Frederyck the sonne of
x kyng Alphonse, not longe before had gotten from the French nacion: & after that he subdued and conquered the whole duchy of Millayn. Albeit not longe after (fortune turnynge her whele) he lost bothe the kyngdome of Napels, and the fayre citie and duchy of Millayne bothe together. And so the Frenchmen warryng vpon the Italians had no better successe in their cōquestes, then their parentes and predecessours heretofore haue ben accustomed. For vndoubtedly, as many places as they vexed and sacked with murder and spoylinge, so many or more in conclusion they did enoble and decorate with their bloude and slaughter. Which smal recompēce little profited and lesse releued, suche as before
cx were robbed and spoyled of all their goodes, substaunce and ryches.
After this the Spanyardes arryued in Italy, and their puttynge too slighte the Frenchemen, obteyned the possession of the realmes of Napels and Scicile, the which they possesse and enioye at this houre. And at length a certayne nacion of Germany, called the Swytsers, called to be partakers of the spoyle of Italy, wāne certaine tounes there, whiche they possesse and enioye at this present tyme.

In this warre and tumulteous busynes in Italy, which was ỹ most terrible and sorest plague, that any man can remembre of that nacion, there was no person, no place, no priuate house, no noble familye, no
x capitayne or prince, but he was oppressed either with the heapes of the dead carcasses, or with the bloud of his frendes or subiectes, or els suffred some affliccion Iniurie or detryment. And in any wise at one tyme or another, euery man did tast and suffre all the mischeues that appertayned to the victory gotten by their enemyes. The which defacing and blottyng of the beutye of that countrey, sometyme called the quene of ỹ earth, and floure of the worlde, chaunced not of her awne selfe or her awne cause or desert, but the Italians, her awne suckyng chyldren opened the gappe, and made the waye of her destruccion. For at that tyme thus it chaunced, that when the potētates and seignories of Italy per
xi ceaued, that all thinge vnder them succeded, euen as they woulde desire and wisshe, to their great exultacion and reioysyng: by reason whereof thei sate still at home like sloggardes (as women be accustomed to do) skoldynge and brawlyng, exercisyng and practisyng preuy displeasure and malice, not againe their enemyes as they were accustomed, but emong them selfes one agaynst another, castinge out of memory & drow

nyng

nynge their aun cient renoune, glozy and honoure with desyze of rule and appetite to be reuenged, and so destroyed the common weale, and subuerted the olde monumentes and actes of their fozfathers and pze=decessozs. And because some of them, thinkyng theim selfes, not of fozce and puissaunce sufficient nough to bzing their purpose to effect, and to reuenge their quarell, they entysed, stirred and pzocured with giftes, rewardes and pzomyses, straungers and fozeine nacions to their aide and assistence. The other seynge them so desirous to haue their helpe, partely moued with their giftes, partely with desyze of rule, spoyles & pzayes, gathered tozgether a great company and entred into Italy, and pz there distroyed, spoyled and possessed the better parte of it. And so the Italians, as men out of their wit, where as they thought one to noye & hurte another with hatefull warryng, they destroyed their natyue coū=trey, beynge of nature enclosed and munyte with hygh hilles, and the mayne sea rounde aboute, and opened the waye to straungiers to their vttre ignominy and finall destruccion, which thei might haue kept out of all daunger, if they had bene their awne frēdes, and loued their awne wealth and commodite. Therfoze I maie saye: O pzogeny, aswell wic=ked as vngodly, hath discozde and dissencion pleased the so muche that thou wouldest vtterly extinguishe and confoūde the glozy and honour pp of thy natyue countrey? And in conclusion, thou thy selfe art come to the depest pyt of wzetchednes, because that thou perceauing the ruyne that thou hast caused and pzocured, thou artte moze repentaunte foz the be=gynninge of it, then glad to resist and leaue it, and so accozdynge to thy desert, thou hast thy penaunce and guardon. The grand capitaine and beginner of thys mischief was Sfozcia, whiche at that tyme ruled at his wil the duchy of millaine vnder the duke Jhon Galeas his nephew but foz a truthe this Lewes ruled al, and the duke did nothing. Wher=foze Alphons duke of Calabze, and after kyng of Napels, grudgynge that this duke Jhon his sonne in lawe, should be defrauded of hys su= pp periozite and dominiō, thzeatened soze thys Lewes Sfozcia. Where he fearyng to be put from his authozitee, solicited and by greate entreatie pzocured Charles the French kyng, to inuade the realme of Napels. By reason of whiche pzocurement, Alphonse duke of Calabze, whiche succeded his father Ferdinand in the kyngdome of Napels (which also as you haue heard, was made knight of the garter) was first deprued of his kingdome by thesaied kyng Charles, and shoztely after of hys lyfe. But Lewes Sfozce had no longe ioye after the deathe of hys enemy, foz he was betrayed and taken by the Swytzers, whiche war= pp red vnder kynge Lewes the twelfth, then beynge Frenche kynge, and pl caryed into Fraunce where he in the Castell of Lothes miserably fy=nished hys lyfe, accozdynge to the saiynge of the Gospell, woo be too hym by whome a slaundze begynneth. Thys mischiefe began=ne at that tyme when Charles came thether, and contynueth yet, whiche

whyche is the yere of oure Lorde. M.D.xliii. for an example to other, straungers inuited to a prosperous countrey be lothe to departe from the swete sauoure once therof tasted.

This yere was borne at Grenewiche lorde Henry, seconde sonne to ỹ kyng, whiche was created duke of Yorke, and after prynce of Wales, and in conclusion succeded his father in croune and dignitee. Nowe let vs returne to the newe founde sonne of kynge Edward, conjured by inennes policies from death to lyfe.

And first to declare hys lignage and beginnyng, you must vnderstād
x that the duches of Burgoyne so norished and broughte vp in the sedy-
cious and sceleratе faccions of false contryuers & founders of discorde coulde neuer cease nor be in quyet (lyke a vyper that is ready to burste with superfluyte of poyson) except she should infest and vnquyet ỹ kyng of England, for no desert or displeasure by hym to her committed, but onely because he was propagate and descended of the house of Lācastre, euer beyng aduerse & enemy to her lyne & lynage. For whiche only cause she compassed, ymagened and inuented howe to cast a scorpiō in his bo-
some, and to infect hys whole realme wyth a pestiferous discorde. To thentent that he beyng vanquyshed and brought to confusion, both the
xx boylynge heate of her malicious harte myghte be fully saciated wyth hys innocent blonde, and also auañce and preferre some darlyng of her faccion to hys Empire, rule and dignitee. And principally remembryng that the erle of Lyncoln, which was by her set foorthe and al his cōpany had small fortune & worsse successe in their progression and enterpryce, contrary to her hope and expectacion, she lyke a dogge reuertyng to her olde vomyte, beganne to deuyse and spynne a newe webbe, lyke a spy-
der that dayly weueth when hys calle is torne. And as the deuell pro-
uydeth venemous sauce to corrupt banckettes, so for her purpose she espyed a certayne younge man, of visage beutifull, of countenaunce de-
xx mure, of wit subtile, crafty and pregnaūt, called Peter Warbecke. And for hys dastard cowardnes of the Englishmen, in derision called Per-
kyn Warbecke, accordyng to the duche phrase, whiche chaūge the name of Peter to Perkyn, to pōgelinges of no strength nor courage for their timerous hartes and pusillanimitee: Whiche younge man traueylyng many countreys, coulde speake English and many other languages, & for his baseues of stocke and birthe was knowen of none almoost, and only for the gayne of hys kyuynge from his childeoode was of necessitee, compelled to seke and frequent dyuerse realmes and regions. Ther-
fore the duches thinkyng to haue gotten God by the foote, when she had
xl the deuell by the tayle & adiudgyng this yoūg man to be a mete organe to conuey her purpose, and one not vnlike to be ỹ duke of Yorke, sonne to her brother kyng Edward, whiche was called Richard, kept hym a certayne space wyth her preuely, and him with such diligēce instructed, bothe of the secretes and common affaires of the realme of Englande, & of the lignage, dissent and order of the house of Yorke, that he lyke a

good

good scholer not forgettyng his lesson coulde tell all that was taught hym promptly without any difficultie or signe of any suborneacion: and besides, he kept suche a princely countenaunce and so countrefeate a maiestie royall, that all men in maner did fermely beleue that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the Dukes of Yorke. For surely it was a gift geuen to that noble progeny as of nature in the roote planted that all the sequele of that lyne and stock did study and deuyse howe to be equyualent in honoure and fame with theyr forefathers and noble predecessors.

When this diabolical duches had framed her cloth mete for the mar-
ket, and ymagened that all thinges was ready and prepared for the con-
fusion of kyng Henry, sodeynly she was enformed that thesayde kynge
of Englande prepared a puissant army agaynste Charles the Frenche
kyng. Then she consideryng the opportunitie of the tyme, as who would
saye, a tyme wished and a daye desyred to acheue and bryng too passe
her olde malicious and cancarde inuencyons, whiche alwayes nothinge
lesse mynded then peace and tranquilite, and nothing more desired then
dissencion, ciuile warre and destruccion of kyng Henry. Wherefore she
sent Perkyn Werbeck, her newe inuented Mawmet, fyrst into Portyn-
gall, and so craftely into the realm of Irelande, to thentent that he be-
ynge bothe witty and wilye might moue, inuegle and prouoke the rude
and rusticall Irishenacyon (beyng more of nature enclyned to rebellion
then to reasonable order) to a newe conflict and a sedicious commocion.
This worshipfull Perkyn, arriuyng in Irelande, whether it were more
by hys crafty witte, or by the malycyous and beastly exortacion of the
saluage Iryshe gouernours, within short space entred so farre into their
fauours, and so seriously perswaded and allured theim to hys purpose,
that the greatest lordes and princes of the cõtrey, adhibited suche faith
and credite to hys woordes, as that thing had bene true in dede, whiche
he vntruly with false demonstracions setforth and diuulged. And as
though he had bene the very sonne of kynge Edwarde, they honoured,
exalted and applauded hym with all reuerence and dewe honoure, pro-
mysyng to hym ayde, comforte and assistence of all thinges to the feat of
warre, necessary and apperteynyng.

In the meane season these newes were related to Charles the French kyng, then beyng in displeasure with kyng Henry, which without delay sent for Perkyn into Irelande, to the entent to sende hym agaynste the kynge of Englande, whiche was inuadyng Fraũce (as you before haue heard) This Flemyng Perkyn was not a litle ioyfull of thys message, thynkynge by this onely request to be exalted into heauen, when he was
called to the familiarite and acquayntaunce of kynges and princes: &
so with all diligence sayled into Fraunce, with a very small nauy, not
so small as smally furnyshed. And commynge to the kynges presence
was of hym royally accepted, and after a princely fassion entreteyned, &
had a garde to him assigned, wherof was gouernour ỹ lord Cõgresshall.

And

And to hym at Parys resorted syr George Neuell bastard, Syr Jhon Tayler, Rouland Robynson and an hundred Englishe rebelles. But after that a peace, as before is sayde was appointed and concluded betwixt him and the kynge of England, thesayde kynge Charles dismissed the younge man, and woulde no lenger kepe hym. But some men saye whiche were there attendynge on hym, that he fearynge that kyng Charles, woulde delyuer hym to the kynge of Englande, beguyled the lorde Congreshall, and fledde away from Parys by nyght. But whether he departed without the Frenche kynges consent or disassent, he deceaued in his expectacion, and in maner in despayre, returned agayn to the lady Margaret his first foolishe foundacion.

The duches thinkynge euery houre from his departure a whole yere, vntill suche tyme she heard from hym, and effecteously desiring to knowe whiche waye lady Fortune turned her whele, herynge hym to be repudiate and abiected out of the Frenche courte, was in a greate agony and muche amased and more appalled: But when she was asserteyned of hys arryuall in Flaunders, she no lesse reuiued, then he that hathe in steade of the sworde of execucion, a perdon and restauracion of hys lyfe and degree to hym delyuered and shewed. And at hys commynge to her presence, she receaued hym with suche gladnes, with suche reioysyng and suche comforte (as in dede she coulde dissemble alone aboue all other) as though she had neuer sene nor knowē hym before, or as he were newly cropen oute of hys mothers lappe agayne, that what in trust to preferre hym to the prehemynence by her ymagened, and what for the hope that she had to destroye kynge Henry, she fell into suche an vnmeasurable ioye, that she had almost lost her wytte and senses. And that thys her gladnes myght be notified and made apparaunt to euery man, she first reioyced of her nephewes health and welfare: And secondarely she much thrusted and sore longed, not once, but dyuerse and sundry tymes in open audience, and in solempne presence to here hym declare and shewe by what meanes he was preserued from deathe and destruccion, and in what countreys he had wandered and soughte frendshippe: And fynally, by what chaunce of fortune he came to her courte and presence. To the entent that by the open declaracion of these feyned phantasyes, the people myghte be perswaded to geue credite and beleke, that he was the true begotten sonne of her brother kynge Edwarde. And after thys she assigned hym a garde of thirty persones in Surrey and blewe, and highly honoured hym as a great estate and called hym the whyte Rose, prynce of Englande.

By reason whereof, the nobilite of Flaunders were to hym diligent, & with dewe reuerence dyd him all the pleasure that laye in theyr powre or offices. And to be shorte, the more that thys poeticall and feyned inuencion was shadowed with the pretence of sincere veritie, the more faythe and vndubitate credence, was adhibited to it. In so muche that

many one thought hym to be preserued, onely by the wyll and mightie powre of almightie God, and to be conueyghed at the fyrste daungier by some faithfull frende of kyng Edward his father into some straunge country, and so escaped the violent tyranny of his vncle kyng Rychard, whiche vndoubitately hereafter should recouer his fathers possessions & kingdome. The fame & bruyte of this ruggled myracle was almoost in one moment blowē ouer all the coūtrey of Flaūders, & the territories therabouts. But in England it was blased in euery place sonet then a man could thinke or deuise it: In which coūtrey more then in other places it was receaued for an infallible veritie & moost sure truthe, & that not onely of the common people, but also of diuerse noble & worshipfull men of no small estimacion, which swate & affirmed it to be true, and no coment or fable phantastically ymagened. After this deuulgacion that Rychard sonne to kyng Edward was yet liuyng, & had in great honour emongest the Flēminges, there began sedicion to spринge on euery syde, none otherwyse then in the pleasaunt tyme of vere, trees are wonte to budde or blosome. For not onely they that were in sanctuaries, for great and heynous offences by them cōmitted, but also many other that were fallen in debte, and doubtyng to be brought to captiuitie and bondage, assembled together in a company, and were passed ouer the sea into Flaunders to their countrefeate Richard sonne to kynge Edwarde, otherwise named Perkyn Warbeke. After this many of the noble men conspired together, some through rashnes and temerite induced therunto, some beyng so earnestly perswaded in their awn conceipt, as though they knew perfightly that this Perkyn was the vndubitate sonne of kyng Edward the.iiii. solicited, sturred and allured to their opinion all suche as were frēdes & fautoures of the house of Yorke. Other through indignacio, enuye and auarice, euer grudginge and thinkinge they were not condignly rewarded for their paynes and partes taken in the kynges behalfe and quarell. Other whome it greued and vexed to see the worlde stande still in one staye, and all men to lyue in peace and trāquilitie, desyrous of some chaunge, ranne hedlinge into that fury, madnes and sedicious comuracion.

This rumour and vayne fable of this twyse borne duke Richard, deuyded all England and drewe the realme into Partakynges & seuerall factions, so that the myndes of all men were vexed either with hope of gayne and preferment, or with feare of losse and confusion. For no man was quyet in his awne mynde, but his braynes & senses daily laboured & bet about this great & weightie matter, euery man according to their intelligēce, pōdering & weiyng in egal balaūce, the incōmoditie & daungier that might hercof enlue, and the gayne & commoditte that by the same might be obteyned & gottē. Albeit the kyng, & hys coūsayll & other hys faythfull frendes, not a litle meruayled that any person (beynge in hys ryght wyt) coulde induce in hys mynde or fynde in hys hart falcely to thynke and fraudulentlye to ymagen, suche a pernycious fable

and

and fiction, beyng not onely straunge and marueylous, but also prodigious and vnnaturall, to feyne a dead man to be renated and newely borne agayne. By the whiche open fallax and vntrue surmyse setfoorth and palliated with the vesture and garment of a professed veritee. Many of the noble men (as he well then perceued) toke and reputed it, whiche was folishely and maliciously setfoorth to vnquyet & perturbe hym and his realme, to be a thinge true, iust and vnfeyned. So that he then sawe as farre as lynxe with his bright eyes, that this newe inuented coment and poeticall peynted fable, woulde make some broyle and discorde in his realme. Except it were manifestly published and openly declared to be a feyned fable, a sedicious fraude and a craftye imagened mischiefe. Other persones, to whome warre, sedicion, and stryfe, were as pleasaunt as delicate vyand or Epicures liuynge, were very ioyous of these newes, and beleued no fraude nor deceate to be hid or cloked vndre this golden tale. But whatsoeuer the fame was and the voice that ranne abrode, that they reputed, syncere, true, and as an open playne thing, thinking that to redounde both to their aduauntage, commoditee and hygh preferment and honoure, whiche thinge did greatly animate and encourage them to set vp the sayles, and lanchefoorth the owner of their pernicious and detestable enterprice. And because the matter was weighty and requyred great ayde and assistence. Therfore they determined to sende messengers to the lady Margaret, to knowe when Rychard duke of Yorke might come conuenently into England to thentent that they beyng thereof certefied might be in a redynes to helpe and succoure hym at his first arryuall.

¶ The. viii. yere.

SO by the common consent and agrement of the constituted confederates, syr Robert Clifford knight, & William Barley were sent into Flaunders, whiche declared to the duches all the secrete ententes and preuy counsailes of ỹ frẽdes and fautoures of the new founde duke. The duches thys message did gladly accept and louyngly embrace, and of their tydinges was not a litle ioyous, easely by her persuasion inducynge to their heddes, that all thinges that were spoken of duke Rychard were true & vnfeyned. And afterwarde brought them to the sight of Perkyn, the which countrefeated the coũtenaunce and the maner and fassion of Rychard duke of Yorke, prailing his vertues & qualitees, with ỹ which he was endued aboue the mone. Thesayde syr Robert Clifford, when he had sene & wel aduised the yoũg man, beleued surely that he was extracted of the blood royall, and the very sonne of kyng Edward the.iiii. and therof he wrote a lettre of credite & confidence into England to his coinpany & felowes of his conspiracy, & to put them out of all doubte he affirmed ỹ he knew hym to be kynge Edwardes sonne by his face & other lyniamentes of his body. And when these lettres came to England, the

theuetaynes of this busynes, to the entent to styrze the people to some newe commocion and tumult, and to set foozth some cause of mattre apparaunt, caused it openly to be dtuulged and published, that it was true and not feigned that was spoken & sayde abzoade of the duke of Yozke: but it was done by such a secret crafte, that no man coulde tell who was the authoure and founder of that rumoure.

When the kyng perceaued that this vayne fable was not vanyshed oute of the mad bzeynes of the commen people, he thought it expedient bothe foz the sauegarde of hym selfe and also of hys countrey, whose hurtes were ioyned and mixed together, to pzouyde some remedy to repzesse this Jmmynent mischaunce, not a litie suspectynge, that some conspiracy had bene concluded and agreed, because that syz Robert Clyffozde had late fled pzeuely into Flaunders. Wherfoze he sent certayne kayghtes that were chosen and picked men of warre, with a bonde of souldioures into euery parte to kepe the shozes and the sea costes surely, that no man might passe ouer into any fozeyn lãde beyond the sea noz repasse into this realme without serche, oz paspozte oz saue conduyte by hym geuen, and all streytes, passages and by pathes were kept and searched, so that no man vnappzehended coulde passe to the sea coaste, noz make any cõuenticle oz assemble without he were espyed and taken. And to thentent that many men, beyng both of Englãd and other places foz very malyce by this new inuencion enflamed and indurate, shoulde no farther ronne in their frenetical madnes, he secretly sent wise espialles to al the cyties of the Gaule Belgique oz lowe countrey within he Archedukes dominion, and the confynes of thesame, to searche & pzye oute of what pzogeny thys misnamed Rychарde was dissended and pzopagate, pzomysinge highly too rewarde and thanke suche persones, whiche woulde manyfest and open the secrete doubtes and deuyses of thesame matter: and besyde thys he wzote to hys trusty frendes to do thesame. So they saylinge into Fraunce, deuyded and seuered themselfes euery man into a lyuyte and pzouynce. And when certayne of them repayzed to the toune of Turnay, they were there certefyed by the testimony of many honest persons, that thys feigned duke came but of a lowe stocke, and of a base parentage, and was named there Peter Warbecke. And so shoztely after the kynges inquysitoures returned into Englande, repoztynge to the kynge what they had knowen and heарde: Of whiche thynge the kynge was also moze playnly certefyed by hys trusty and faythefull frendes, both by letters and trusty messengers.

Wherupon seyng that nowe the fraude was openly and apparaũtly manifested & espied, he determined to haue it publyshed & declared with all diligent celerite, both in the realme of Englande & also in all partes beyonde the sea, in the pzouynces of Fozeyn pzinces and straunge potẽtates. And foz thesame cause he sent to Philip archeduke of Burgoyn and to hys counsaylers (because that he was not yet of mature age,

apte and conuenient to take the regimēt of hys countreys and seigniories) Syr Edward Pownynges a valiaunt knight, and syr William Warram doctour of the lawes, a man of great modestie, learnyng and grauite, that they should opēly to thē declare, that the ponge man beyng with the lady Margaret was discended of a basse & obscure parentage, and that he had fallely and vntruly vsurped the name of Richard duke of Yorke, whiche long before was murthered with hys brother Edwarde in the Towre of London, by the commaundement of kynge Rychard their vncle as many men lyuynge can testifye. And to thinke
x and saye otherwyse then thys that apertly is knowen, it were the hyghest poynte and degree of madnes, forasmuche as it is probable by an inuincible reason and an argument infallyble, that kyng Rychard their naturall vncle in dispatchyng and destroiyng prince Edward the eldest sonne of kyng Edward his brother, was in no suertie of hys realme or vsurped dominion, yf he had permitted Richard the yoūger sonne to lyue and continew: For then myght he as next heyre to hys brother haue lawfully and by iust title claymed the sceptre and diademe royall, whiche was hys fathers and after diuoluted to hys eldet brother. And therfore they shoulde desyre the Archeduke and the prynces of his coun-
xx sayll, that it woulde please them to geue no credite, nor themselfes suffre any more to be blynded or seduced with suche mere impostures and craftie illusions beyng full of vntruthe and apparaunte falsehed, nor yet to ayde or assist suche a craftye merchaūt, whiche had falsely feigned hys name and stocke, and in especially against hym, which in few yeres passed, had succoured and releued Maximilian their lorde beynge sore oppressed, and almost ouercome bothe with the extort powre and puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, also with the cyuyle discorde and intestine rebellion of his awne subiectes and vassals. With these commaunde-
xxx mentes the Ambassadoures sayled into Flaunders, and there gētely receaued and louingely enterteyned of the Archeduke Philip and his coūsayll, And after that they were commaunded to declare the entent of their legacion, docter William Warram priest, made before theym a pleasaunt and a luculent oracion, shewyng therin discretely the mynde entent and desyre of the kynge hys master: And in the latter ende of hys oracion, he a litle rebuked the lady Margaret and hyt her of the thombes, saiynge that she nowe in her olde age within fewe yeres had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to saye Lambert (of whome rehersall was made before) and the other Perking Warbeck, And beynge conceyued of these two greate babes was not of
xl them delyuered in eight or nyne monethes as nature dothe requyre and as all other women commonly do, but in the hundreth and .lxxx. monethes she brought them forth out of her wombe: for bothe these at the least were fiftene yeres of age before that she woulde be broughte in bedde of them, and shewe them openly.

And when they were newly crept out of her wombe, they were no infan-
tes, nor suckyng chyldren, but lusty yongelinges, and of age sufficient
to byd battaile to kinges. Although these tauntes and Jestes did angre
and trouble the lady Margaret, yet Perkyn was more vexed and en-
combered with the thinges declared in thys oracion, and especiall be-
cause his fraude and false feygned iuggelinge was brought to lyght &
opened: yet the duches beynge therwith more incensed then quenched,
nothyng refreignynge her olde malyce and cancard hatred, but enten-
dyng to caste whote Sulpher to the newe kyndled fyre, determyned cle-
rely to arme and setforward prety Perkyn agaynst the kynge of Eng- E
land with speare and shilde, might and mayne.

When the Ambassadours had done their message, and the Archedu-
kes counsayll had longe debated whether Perkyn were the true sonne
of kynge Edwarde the fourthe, they aunswered the Ambassadours,
That to the entent to haue the loue and fauoure of the kynge of Eng-
lande assuredly after that tyme, the Archeduke nor they woulde neither
aide nor assist Perkyn nor hys complyces in any cause or querell.
Yet notwythstandynge, yf the lady Margaret persistynge and conty-
nuynge in her roted malyce towardes the kynge, woulde be to hym ay-
dynge and helpynge, it was not in their power to let or withstande it, FF
for because she in the landes assigned to her for her dower, might fran-
kely and freely do and ordre all thynges at her awne wyll and pleasure
without contradiccion of any other gouernour.

When thys aunswer was geuen to theim, they returned a-
gayne into Englande. After that, kyng Henry lokyng cir-
cumspectly to hys matters, purposed to pacefye the stor-
mes and blastes that he perceaued to be growyng, rather GGG
by pollecy and counsayl, then by dubious warre and man-
slaughter, if his nobilite woulde therunto condiscende. For he well con-
sidred that of one busynes riseth another, and of one small sparcle com-
meth a great flame. And therefore straight he sent foorth certayne espi-
alles into Flaunders, whiche shoulde feigne theim selfes to haue fledde
vnto the duke of Yorke, and by that meanes searche foorth and inue-
stigate, the whole intent of their coniuracion, and after what waye they
entended to procede in thesame. Other were sent also to allect and
entice syr Robert Clyfford, and William Barly to retorne into En- H
glande, promisinge to theim franke and free pardone of all offences,
and commes promitted and promocions and rewardes, for obeynge to
the kynges request. These explorators so traueyled in their affay-
res and busynes that they brought to passe all thinges to their masters
desyre. For first they had perfight knowlege of the names of certayne

conspiratours

conſpiratours agaynſt the kyng. After they perſwaded ſyr Robett Clif-
ford to leaue of that fooliſhe opinion, whyche had no ſure grounde nor
foundacion to ſtaye it ſelfe vpon. Albeit William Barley coulde not be
deduced from his begonne enterprice, but that he woulde go forwarde
hedlynge with theſame, which taried not longe in that deueliſh opinion.

For within two yeres after this, he repentinge hym of his foly, being
reclayned, and hauinge perdone geuen hym of the kyng, repaired home
to hys natiue countrey, deteſting him and hys fooliſhe blindnes.

When the eſpialles had ſped their purpoſe, one after another ſtale
away preuely from the feyned duke, and returned into Englande, bring-
ginge with them the names of certayne, which were chiefe of that con-
ſpiracy. Other taried ſtill behind to accõpany ſyr Robert Clifford, when
he returned agayne into England, whoſe taryinge meruelouſly debilita-
ted and appalled the courages, & hartes, of the coniuratours. For they
perceaued dayly that their enterprice more and more feynted, and that
they were by a litle and litle dampnified and hurted. And yet thei ſaw no
man whome they might perfightly put diffidẽce in, or yet once miſtruſt.

When the kyng had knowledge of the chief Capitaynes of thys tu-
multe by the ouerture of hys eſpilles, which were returned, he cauſed thẽ
all to be apprehended and brought to London before hys preſence. Of
the which the chief were Jhon Ratclyffe lord Fitzwater, ſyr Symonde
Mouñforde, ſyr Thomas Twhaytz knightes, Williã Dawbeney, Ro-
bert Ratclyffe, Thomas Creſſenor, and Thomas aſtwood. Alſo certain
prieſtes and religious men, as ſyr William Richeforde doctor of deui-
nitee, and ſyr Thomas Poynes, bothe freers of ſainct Dominikes or-
der, doctor William Sutton, ſyr William Worſely deane of Paules,
and Robert layborne and ſyr Richard Leſſey. Other that were giltye
of theſame cryme, hearyng that many of their company were taken, fled
and toke ſanctuary. And the other that were taken were condempned al
of treaſon, of the which there was hedded ſyr Symond Mounforde, ſyr
Robert Ratcliffe, & William Dawbeney, as aucthoures and chief Ca-
pitaynes of this buſynes. The other were perdoned, and the Prieſtes
alſo for their order ſake that they had taken, but fewe of them liued lõg
after. Alſo ſyr Jhon Ratclyffe, lord Fitzwater was pardoned of his life,
but after that he came to Caleys, and there laide in holde, he was behed-
ded, becauſe he corrupted the kepers with many promyſes to haue eſca-
ped out of theſame, entending as was thought to haue gone to Perkyn.

Kyng Henry of England, partely greued with the kyng of Romanes
for breakyng his promes, when he ſhoulde haue aſſociated hym in hys
iorney agaynſt the French kyng, and partely diſpleaſed, with the Flem-
mynges, but principally with the lady Margaret, for kepyng and set-
tyng forward Perkyn Warbeck, not onely baniſhed all Flẽmyſhe wa-
res, and marchaundiſes, out of hys realme and dominions, but alſo re-
ſtreyned all Engliſh merchaũtes, from their repaire and traffique, into
any of the landes & territories, of the kynge of Romanes, or the Arche-

duke hys sonne, causynge the marte of merchaundises and commodi-
tees of this realme to be kept at hys toune of Caleys. Wherfore the
The Marte kept at Caleis sayde kynge and hys sonne banysshed oute of their landes and seignio-
ries all Englysshe clothes, yarne, tynne, leade and other commodities
vpon great forfeytures and penalities. The restreynt made by the kyng
sore greued and hyndred the merchauntes, beynge aduenturers: For
they by force of thys cõmaundement had no occupiynge to beare their
charges and suppoꝛte their contynuaunce and credyte. And yet one
thinge sore nypped their hartes, for the Easterlynges whiche were at
libertie, brought into the realme such wares as they were wont and ac-
customed to do, and so serued their customers throughe oute the whole
realme: By reason whereof the masters beynge destytute of sale and
commutacion, neyther reteyned so many couenaunt seruauntes and ap-
pꝛentices as they before were accustomed, and in especial, Mercers, Ha-
berdasshers and Clothewoorkers, nor yet gaue to their seruauntes so
great stipende and salarie, as before that restrente they vsed to do.
For whiche cause thesayde seruauntes entendyng too woorke their ma-
lice on the Easterlynges, the Tuesdaye before saynct Edwardes daye
came to the Styliard in London, and beganne to rifle and spoyle suche
chambres and warehouses as they could get into: So that the Easter-
A riot made vpon the Easterlinges. lynges had muche a do to withstande and repulse theim oute of their
gates. And when their gates were fermed and closed, the multitude rus-
shed and bete at the gates with clubbes and leuers to haue entred, but
the Easterlynges by the helpe of Carpenters and Smythes, whiche
came to their ayde by water oute of the borough of Southwarke had
so strongly shored and fortefied them selfes that they coulde not pre-
uayle. The Mayre of London hearinge of this ryot, assembled the Ma-
gestrates and officiers of the cytie together, and so beynge furnysshed
bothe with men and weapon, set forward to warde the Styliard. Assone
as the cõminge of the Mayre was intymate and knowen to the ryotous
persones, they fledde awaye lyke a flocke of shepe howebeit he appre-
hended diuerse of the malefactours and commytted theim too seuerall
prysons. And vpon the inquyry before the kynges commissioners, there
were founde gyltie aboue. lxxx. seruauntes and appꝛentices (and not
one housholder) whiche were confederate together to make thys attẽpt
and swoꝛne in no wyse to discouer or reuele thesame: Whereof, some
that were the cheuytcynes and begynners of thys mischeuous riot, were
sent to the Towꝛe, and there longe continued. But in conclusion
because none of their Masters were inuented culpable of thys naugh-
tye acte, the kynge of hys goodnes remitted their offence, and restoꝛed
them to their libertie.

SHortely after, syr Robert Clyffoꝛd, pārtely trusting on the kynges pꝛomes, & partely mistrustyng the thing, because he knewe that diuerse that were accused to be pattakers of that faccion and conspiracy were put in execucion: & therfoꝛe perceauing that their could not be a moꝛe pernicious noꝛ moꝛe desperate begonne thinge then that deuelishe enterpꝛice, returned sodeynly agayn into England. The kynge beynge certefyed befoꝛe of his cōming, went streyght to the Towꝛe of London the moꝛow after the daye of Epiphany, and there taryed till suche tyme that syꝛ Robert Clyffoꝛd was there pꝛesented to hys person, which thinge he vsed vnder this pꝛetence, that if syꝛ Robert Cliffoꝛde had accused any of the nobilitie to be partakers of this vngracious fraternitie & diabolicall coniuracyō, that then euery suche person might be called thether without suspection of any euell, and there streight to be attached and cast in holde.

But befoꝛe I go any farther I will shew the opinion that at that tyme ranne in many mens heddes of thys kuyghtes goynge into Flaunders. Some men helde this opintou, that kyng Henry foꝛ a polecy dyd sende hym as a spye to Flaunders, oꝛ els he woulde not haue so sone receaued hym into his grace and fauour agayn: Neuertheless this is not like to be true by diuerse reasons and apparaunt argumentes, fiꝛste after that attempt begonne by syꝛ Robert, he was in no smal daūget hym selfe, and by that was not a litle noted, & hys fame blemyshed, but also hys frendes were suspected and had in a gealosy. Secondately he was not after that in so great fauour, noꝛ so estemed with the kynge as he had been in tymes past, because he was blotted and marked with that cryme and offence. And therfoꝛe he bearing his fauoure to the house of Yoꝛke entendynge in the beginning to administer displeasure to kyng Henry, sayled to the lady Margaret, beyng seduced & brought in beleke that Perkyn was the very sonne of kynge Edward. But to my purpose, when syꝛ Robert came to the pꝛesence of the kynge, he knelyng on hys knees most humblye, beseched him of grace & pardone, which he shoꝛtley obteyned. And after that beynge requyꝛed of the maner and oꝛdꝛe of the coniuracion, and what was done in Flaunders, he opened euery poynte to his knowlege, and after disclosed the names, aswell of the aiders and fautoures as of the inceptoꝛs and begynners. Emongest whome he accused syꝛ William Stanley, whome the kynge made hys chiefe chamberleyn, and one of his pꝛeuy counsayll. When he had so sayde, the kyng was greatly dismayed and greued, that he shoulde be pattaker in that greuedous offence, considerynge fiꝛst that he had the gouernaunce of his chambꝛe, and the charge and comptrolment of all suche as were next to hys bodye, and also callynge to remembꝛaunce the manyfolde gratuytes, whiche he had receaued at hys hande, but in especiall not foꝛgetynge that benefite aboue all other that onely by hys ayde and succouꝛe, he had vanquyshed and ouerthꝛowen hys moꝛtall enemy kynge Richarde. Wherefoꝛe, at the begynnynge he coulde in no wyse be induced

nor perswaded to beleue that he was such a preuy conspiratoure or malicious offender, but when the cryme was openly proued and probably affirmed, then the king caused hym to be restrayned from his libertie in his awne chambre within the quadrate towre. And there appoynted hym by his preuy counsayll to be examined. In whiche examinacion he nothinge denyed, but wysely and seriously did consent and agree to all thinge layed to hys charge, yf he were in any of them culpable or blame worthy.

The reporte is, that this was his offence. When communicaciō was had betwene hym, and this syr Robert Cliffordе, as concerning Perkyn whiche falsely vsurped the name of kyng Edwardes sonne, syr Williā Stanley sayde and affirmed there, that he would neuer fight nor beare armure agaynst the young man, yf he knew of a truthe that he was the indubitate sonne of kyng Edward the.iui. Thys poynte argueth and proueth hym at that tyme, beynge moued with melancholy, to beare no great good wyll to kyng Henry, whereof suspicion first grewe; and after this ensued the accusation of syr Robert Clyfford.

Then the kyng doubtinge what to do with hym, did cōsulte & breath with hym selfe of this sodeyne chaunce. For he feared least that his brother lorde Thomas Stanley, in whome he had founde great frendship, would take this mattre greuously. And if he should remit that fault or abusynge hys lenyte & mercy, he would be the more bolder to offende and trespace more highly. Albeit at the last, seueritee tooke place, and mercy was put backe, and sō he was arreigned at Westmynster, and adiudged to dye, and accordinge to that iudgemente was broughte to the towre hill the.xvi. daye of Februarу, and there had hys head stryke of. What was the occasion and cause why the syncere and faythfull mynde that syr William allways before bare to kyng Henry, was turned into cancarde hatred and dispite, and why the especiall fauoure that the kynge bare towardes hym was transmuted into disdeyne and displeasure, dyuerse men alledge dyuerse causes, affirmynge that when kynge Henry (what other mutuall benefites the one had receaued of the other, I wyll nowe pretermyt and ouerpasse) in that battaile, in the whiche he bereft kynge Rychard bothe of hys lyfe and hys kyngdom, beynge associate and accompanyed but with a small numbre, and circūuented by kynge Richardes army, & in great ieopardy of hys lyfe, thys syr William beynge sent from the lorde Stanley hys brother with a good company of stronge and hardy men (whiche lorde Stanley was nere the felde with a great army) came sodeynly and fortunately to the succours of kynge Henry, and saued hym from destruccion, and ouerthrewe kynge Rychard as before you haue heard. Surely thys was a benefite aboue all benefites to be remembred, by the which kyng Hēry was not onely preserued alyue, but also obteyned the croune & kyngdome, which great benefite, after the kyngdome once obteyned, he did neyther forget nor yet left vnrewarded. For the lord Thomas Stanley he

inuested

inuested with the swoorde of the countie of Darby & besyde other great giftes & officies geuen to Willia Stanley, he made him his chiefe chā-berleyn. This syr William although he were in great fauoure with the kyng, & had in great and high estimacion, more remēbring the benefite done to the kyng, then the rewardes and gratuitees of hys liberalite receaued, thinking that the vessel of oyle, (according to the Gospel) would ouerflowe the brymmes, & as some saye, desiryng to be erle of Chestre, & one thing encoraged him much, which was the ryches & treasure of king Richard which he onely possessed at the cōflict of Bosworth: By reason
x of which habundaunce of ryches & greate powre of people, he set naught by the kyng his souereygn lorde and Mastre. When the kyng perceaued that his stomack began to canker & ware rusty, he was with him not a litle displeased, and so whē bothe their hartes were enflamed with melancoly, bothe loste the fruite of their longe continued amitie & fauoure. And so it often chaūceth, that when men do not consider nor yet regard the great benefites to them exhibited, they rendre agayne hatred for liberalitee, and for breade geuen, they yelde agayne a scorpion. Nowe to returne to the matter.

At this tyme the kyng thought it best, ye and very necessary, not onely
xx to take hede about him, but also to vse some sharpe punyshmēt and correccio of the offences of his subiectes, to thentent that the late begō sedicion might the soner be repressed, and for this cause specially that some persons voyde of all honest feare & reuerent dread, had taken such courage and audacitie to them, that they feared not to speake euell of their kyng and souereygn lord, with mooste spiteful and cōtumelious wordes, as though they neyther feared nor woulde obey hym, or hys preceptes and commaundementes, expecting dayly and houreley the arriuall and landing of the keyned Richard duke of Yorke, now lately ryssen from death to lyfe. But when knowlege of the slaunderous and oppробrious
xx wordes were brought to the kynges eares, he caused dyuerse persones to suffre condigne punyshment for their heynous offences, wherby their cōplices well perceayuing that their enterprice had no prosperous succesfe nor toke any good effect, & specially such as temerarpoully begā to make mastries, and farther seyng what preparacion was made & prouyded agaynst their tumulteous commocion and frantique enterprice, they of theyr awne swynge pacefied them selfes, and beganne to turne to their kynge and naturall liege lorde.

The.xl.yere.

After the death of syr William Stanley, Gyles lord Dabeney, a man of Great fidelitie and circumspection was elected and made the kynges chiefe chamberleyne. When the kynge had thus politiquely weded out the euel & corrupt hartes of his English subiectes, and had pacefied & brought

brought all his realme to a monacorde and a quyet lyfe. Then he perceaued that it was necessary also to purge & cleuse his realme of Irelād to thentent that the venemous sede sowen & planted.ii.yeres past emongest the wilde and sauage Irish persons by Perkyn Warbeck might be cleane eradicated & plucked vp. Wherfore he sent syr Hēry Deane late Abbot of Langtonye a man of great wyt and diligēce(whome he made chauncelour of the Isle) and syr Edward Pownynges knyght,with an army of mēn into Ireland, to searche & purge all such tounes & places where Perkyn was receaued,reueled or fauoured. And yf they espied any of hys affinitee or faccion, then he would they should be punished with all extremitie to the terrible example of all other that woulde enclyne too that vnfortunate parte. And first, after their arryuall into Irelande, they called in the kynges name the nobilitee of that countrey to a counsayll, where they beyng assembled all together, the Chauncelour with a gentle exhortacion requyred them first to persist in due obedience and fidelitie towardes their kynge,and to aide hys capitayne syr Edwarde Pownynges with their might, powre and strength agaynst such rebelles whiche eyther through blyndnes & folye or elles through desyre and appetide to do euell,susteyned and aided Perkyn with harneys,menne or money. Euery man promysed openly to helpe with all their powre and might: But they promysed not so quickly, but they performed it as slowely, for fewe or none either aided or assisted him, as who woulde saye, that they loued the English nacion more with their outward countenaunce,then their inwarde hartes & myndes.But when they heard that syr Edward Powninges was come to persecute al such as were fautoures and frēdes to Perkyn Warbeck,there was no man, although he were but a litle contamynate with that seditious infeccion, but he fled oute of hand into woodes and marises for the defence and sauegarde of them selfes,there consultyng together, after the maner of their countrey, in what places they might best lye in wayte to infest and skyrmishe with the Englishmen,or els if nede should so requyre to fighte with them hand to hande.

In Ireland there be two kynd of men,one softe,gētle,ciuile and curteous: And to these people, as to the mooste rychest and best nurtured persons dothe many merchaunt men of the countreys adioyning, daily resorte.frequent contract, bergayne,and make marchaundise. But because the mooste resorte thether is of the English nacion, the Irishmen folow & coūtrefeate their ciuile maners & honest condicōs. And by reason of the cōmon trade & the entrecourse betwene thē, they haue learned the English toūg,& can both speake & vnderstād it.And al this kynde of people is vnder ỹ subiecciō & dominiō of ỹ kyng of Englād. The other kynde is cleane cōtrary frō this,for they be wylde,rustical,folish, fierce, & for their vnmanerly behauior & rude fassions,are called wilde & sauage Irishmen. And these men haue many gouernours & seuerall rulers, whiche kepe continuall battaile,and dayly warre emongest them selfes.

For

for ỹ which cause they be more fierce, more bolde & hardy then theother Irishmē, and thei be very desirous of newe thinges & straunge sightes and gasinges, & after robbery, theft & rapine, in nothing so muche delyting as with tumulteous sedicion & continual strife. And to these wilde coaltes Perkyn shewed hym selfe first, easely perswading theim to beleue that he was thesame very person whome he falsely fayned and counterfeated.

Wherefore Sir Edwarde pownynges accordinge to his commission, entending to punishe suche as haue ben aiders and auauncers of Perkyns foolish enterprice, with his whole army, marched forward against these wilde Irishmen, because ỹ al other beinge culpable of that offence fled and resorted to theim for succoure and defence, to thentent that thei bothe together mighte be able to resist & defye their enemies. But when he sawe that his purpose succeded not as he wished it, both because the Irish lordes sent him no succour accordynge to their promises, and also considerynge that his nombre was not sufficiente to set on the wylde people being dispersed emongest woodes, mountaynes and marisches was of necessitie compelled to recule and returne, fretting and vexed in his stomacke, because he suspected ỹ Geralde erle of Kildare being then the kinges deputy, was the cause & occasiō that he had no succours nor ayde sent to him, and so he was enformed of such as bare to the erle no good will. And therefore sodenly he caused the erle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his company into England: Where, when he was examined and certayne matters of treason layed to his charge, he auoyded theim all, and clerely (suche was his wytt and innocency) quyt him selfe and layed the burden in other mens neckes: Whome the kyng dimissed and sent hym into Ireland agayne, there to be his deputie and Liettenaunt as he was before. The kyng like a politique prince had many greate and weightie considerations whiche restreyned him from vsynge of any seueritie or extremitie agaynste this earle, contrary to the mindes, and willes of his malicious aduersaries. One was the great authoritie and swinge that he bare emōgest the Irysh nacion: also the condicion and state of the tyme wherein he sauoured some sedicion to be in brewing: And chiefly of all the assured hope & affiaunce that he conceiued in him.

So that now the kyng being out of all feare of battayle, dyd take his progresse into Lancashire the. xxv. daye of Juyn, there to recreate his spirites and solace him selfe with his mother the Lady Margarete wyfe to the Earle of Derby, whiche then laye at Lathome in that countrey. While these thinges were thus don in England Perkin Warbeck then beinge in Flaundres, although he had taken great care and sorow for that his crafftie conueighaunce was espied and openly knowen, and also that kyng Henry had afflicted and punished diuerse of his confederates and aiders, and therby in dispaire of al the aide and succour that was to hym promised and appoynted: Yet he determined not to leaue

the hope and truſt that he had conceaued in his madde heade to obteine the Crowne and Realme of Englande, and ſo gatheryng a greate Armye of valyaunt Capteynes of all nacions, ſome Banqueroutes, ſome falſe Englyſhe ſanctuary men, ſome Theues, Robbers and Vacabundes, whyche leauinge their bodily laboure deſyrynge onely to lyue of Robery and rapine, came to be his ſeruauntes and ſouldioures. And ſo being furniſhed with this rablemente of knaues, tooke ſuche ſhippes as his frendes had prouided for hym, and departed oute of Flaundres, entendyng to arryue in England whereſoeuer the winde brought hym. And by chaunce of fortune he was driuen vpon the Kentyſhe coaſte where becauſe ẏ ſee was calmed, he caſt his anchors and ther made his abode, and ſent certeine of his retinewe to the lande to ſignifie to all the countrey that he was ſo furniſhed of al thynges mete and cõuenient for his entrepryce, that there was no doubt but the victorye woulde encline to his parte. And by this meanes to make exploration and enquiſicion whether the Kentyſhmen would take his parte and folowe hym as theire capteyne, whiche before tymes was not timerous nor afrayed of their awne mynde in troubleous ſeaſons to moue warre againſte their princes. The Kentiſhemen hearinge that this feyned duke was come, and had hard that he was but a peinted ymage, doubtyng a ſpace what to do, whether to help him or to reſiſt his power, at the laſt remembring what euell chaunces their forefathers had, and how ſmal a profyt ſuch as haue rebelled haue gained, thought it neither expedient nor profitable for theim to ayde & aſſyſt hym that came rather to ſpoyle, deſtroye & waſt the countzy, then to conquere it for their wealth & commodity. And this thei firmely coniectured becauſe he had none other with him but Alienes and ſtraunge people, which would take & accompte euery church toune, chapell, houſe & euery priuate man as a pray and a lucre, and not as their native countrey. Wherfore they feazing the ſequele, determyned ſtill to abyde trewe to their kyng and prince, & to fall vpon ſuche as were new come to land out of their ſhippes. And while thei weze aſſemblyng of theim ſelues together, other ſhould by fayre promiſes & frẽdly woordes allure & calle vnto theim the great nombze out of the ſhippes, and ſo geue them battaill. And ſo vſing this guyle and impoſture, they, promiſed all to folowe him and to fight vnder his banner: Howbeit the prolonging of time draue Perkin into a ſuſpicion, which wel remẽbred ẏ a comminalty is not accuſtomed ſagely to conſult, but ſodeinly & temerariouſly to ronne hedlyng euer into rebellion & newe ſtirred commocio. Wherefore Perkyn determined not once to ſet foote oute of his ſhip till he ſawe al thing ſure without any ſcruple or ambiguity. And although he minded not to take land him ſelfe, yet he permitted certeine of his ſoldiours to go on land, which perſones being a prety waye frõ their ſhippes, were ſodenly circũuented & compaſſed by the Kentyſhmen, & at one ſtroke vanquiſhed and dryuen backe to their ſhippes, & ther were takẽ priſoners an hundred and .lx. perſons, whereof .v. were named capteins

Mount-

Mountfoꝛde, Coꝛbet, white belt, quyntine oꝛ otherwise Genyn. Whiche rebelles were bꝛought by sir Jhon Pechy shꝛeue of kēt, to Londō tailed in ropes like hoꝛses dꝛāwyng in a carte. And after vpon their arrayne= ment, confessed their offence, and were executed, some at London & other in the tounes adioynynge to the see coaste. Wherfoꝛe Perkyn failyng of his purpose fled back into Flaundꝛes, and there taried, cōsultyng with his frendes vntill suche tyme as he had better pꝛepared foꝛ thynges to come moꝛe pꝛudently then he had done befoꝛe tyme.

In this very ceason departed to God Cicile Duches of Yoꝛke, mo= ther to kyng Edward ỹ fourth and kyng Richard at her Castel of Bar= kamsted, a woman of small stature, but of muche honour and high pa= rentage, and was buried by her husband in the colledge of Fodꝛingey.

The kyng beyng aduertised ỹ his enemies had made entreaunce into his realme, left of his pꝛogꝛesse & purposed to returne to London again but being certified ỹ next daie after of ỹ lucky spede & foꝛtunate chaūce continued and wēt fooꝛth of his pꝛogresse, sendyng to theim sir Richard Gylforde, bothe to pꝛaise the fidelite & manhoode of the peopꝛe, and also to tendꝛe to theim his most hartie thankes foꝛ their good seruice to him done, with faithful pꝛomes not to foꝛget them hereafter in their sutes, re= questes & peticions. Also that thei might not haue any succesſe hereafter into those partes, the king cōmaunded the watches to be kept all a lōge the see coastes, and bekons to be erected accoꝛding to the auncіēt vsage and custome of the countrey.

Peter and his capiteins takyng coūcel together in Flaundꝛes, were of one assent telolued to this poinct, ỹ there was nothyng moꝛe surer to them then to pꝛocede quickly with al celerite in their incepted enterpꝛice And when they perceiued ỹ there was neither people towne noꝛ coūtrey in England ỹ would associate them in their phantastical frensey which nothyng was mitigated, least ỹ by pꝛotracting of tyme and longe space kyng Henry might foꝛtefie & defend all daungerous places, and passa= ges with soldiours & men of waꝛre, which thinge they hard say ỹ he nei= ther foꝛgat noꝛ foꝛslowed, and beside ỹ he was not a litle aferd ỹ his lōg taryeng should appalle and discōfoꝛt his pꝛeuy frēdes within ỹ realme of England. Wherefoꝛe he gathered together his vngracious cōpany, & determined first to saile into Irelād, there to augmēt his nōbꝛe. And frō thence if yt were possible to saile into ỹ west partes of England. And yf there were any let oꝛ obstacle in that place, then he determined to saile streyght into Scotlād, knowyng ỹ seldome oꝛ neuer is perfight cōcoꝛd and amitie betwene ỹ Scottes and ỹ ēglish naciō. Whē this gentle coū= cel was dissolued, and wind and wether serued, he set vp his sailes, and hauing a pꝛosperous gale after his phātasy, sailed into Irelād, where he repосed him selfe a space. And remēbꝛing ỹ the hope of victoꝛy consisted not whole in ỹ Irish nacion, which beinge naked men without harneis oꝛ armure were not hable to cōbate with the Englishmē, wherfoꝛe when ỹ winde serued hym he departed from Coꝛffe and arrыued in Scptland.

and comming to the kyngs presence, with great solempnite, framed his tale after the forme and fassion folowyng.

I thinke yt is not vnknowen to you, moost noble kyng and puissaũt prince, into what ruine the stock, house and familie of Edward ỹ fourth of that name kyng of England, is now of late brought to and fallen in, eyther by Goddes permission or by deuine punishment, whose vndubitate sonne (yf you knowe not al ready) I am, & by the power of almighty God preserued alyue to this houre from the mighty hãd of a tyraũt. For my father kyng Edward when he died appointed his brother Richard duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protectour & defendor, whome the more ỹ he loued & studied to auaunce and promote, ỹ better he thought ỹ he would loue, fauoure, and tendre his children, But alas my infortunate chaunce I may say, how hath his trust bee turned into treason, and his hope turned to hindreaunce? All men know and I feele. Oure vncle was not the tutoure and preseruer of our stocke and lynage, but the confounder and destroyer of our bloude and progeny. For that tyraunt blinded and glutted with the cupiditie of ruling and souerintie commaunded Edward my brother and me to be slayne and dispatched out of this mortall lyfe. Wherupon that person, to whome the weighty and cruell charge was committed and geuen to oppresse & destroy vs poore innocente enfantes and giltles babes, the more that he abhorred this heinous and bocherly offence the more he feared to cõmyt hit. And so wauering in minde & dubious what to doo, at the lẽgth willyng in parte to saciate the bloudy thrust of the vnnaturall tyraunt, and in parte to absteyne from so facinorous and detestable homicide, destroyed my brother and preserued me, like the good Priest Iosada which saued litle Ioas when all the children of the bloude royall were commaunded by Athalia the quene to be slayne and vtterly destroyed. And farther to thentent that my lyfe might be in a surety, he appointed one to conuey me into some straunge countrey, where when I was furthest of and had moost nede of comfort he forsooke me sodeinly (I think he was so appointed to do) and left me desolate alone without frend or knowledge of any relefe or refuge. And so kynge Richard dyd obteyne the crowne as a pray mischeuously gotten by the dispatching awaye of my brother and me. So that I thus escapinge, by reason of my tendre infancy, forgat almost my self and knewe not wel what I was, but after long wanderyng from countrey to countrey, and frõ citie to citee, I perceaued and learned a litle & litle what was my estate and degree, and so in conclusion came to mine owne aunte the lady Margaret lieng in Flaundres, whiche was somtime maried to Charles duke of Bourgoyne, whiche as ioyfully receaued and welcommed me as yf I had come out of hel into heauen, as the onely type and garland of her noble stirpe and linage but forasmuche as she being onely dowager of the duchy of Burgoine, and hauing nothyng but her dowre propre vnto her self, was not of powre to helpe me wt men & munimẽtes of warre as she

woulde

woulde gladly haue done for ỹ recouery of my fathers realme & right-
full inheritaunce, I therefore am dryuen to seke farther ayde and suc-
coure. And therefore by her councel and aduertisement, with this small
handfull of men of warre and souldiours, I am repayred to your pre-
sence for succours, of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer ỹ whole
worlde) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie profligated or dryuen
out of his countrey, region or inherytaunce, or by extorte powre and ty-
canny kept oute of the same as (I my selfe from myne infancy haue ben)
whose request was frustrate and repulsed at your hand. Therefore by
x the maiestie of youre realme and countreye I desyre, and heartely wyth
prayer as I can, I beseche and exhorte you to helpe and releue me now
in my extreme necessitie. And yf yt chaunce me by your ayd and succour
to recouer and possede my fathers realme & dignitie, not onely I but all
the kynges of our lynage which herafter shal obteyne the same, shalbe so
muche obliged and bound vnto you, that they muste nedes thynke that
doynge to you al the pleasure and benefites that they can, yet with al the
thankes ỹ can be geuen, your great kyndnes can neuer be equiualently
recompensed.

When he had thus saide, the kyng bad hym be of good comfort, and
xx promised hym that whatsoeuer he ware, yt should neuer repent hym of
his commynge to hym. And after this the kynge assembled his councell
together and demaunded of euerye man seuerallye, what they sayde, of
these thinges which perkyn had both enucleated and requyred, or whe-
ther they woulde take any farther deliberacion to aduyse theim selues
what to do in so great and weyghtie a matter. They that were of grea-
test experience and of the wisest sorte did proue by many apparaunt ar-
gumentes that his sayinges were but dreames and phantesis and of no
force or truthe, and therefore they thought it not conuenient to encom-
bre theim selues with any lengre consultacion. Another sort, which was
xx not very great neither of wyt nor experiẽce, but greater in nombre, este-
med this matter very profitable to the common wealth, considering yt
ministred to theim occason to make warre in England. And althoughe
thei had knowledge what good successe Perkin had ẽioied in al his for-
mer attemptes, yet they ẽstemed that nowe all thinges shoulde succede
accordynge to their expectacion, yf his cause (although yt were as lyght
as a fether) were assumed and taken in hand to be defended, considering
that when the warre was once intimate and begonne, and yf perkyn did
preuaile, he would deny nothyng conueniente to his frendes & helpers.
Or elles at ỹ least thei doubted not but kyng Henry would make to thẽ
xl large and ample offers & condicions of peace, rather then kynge James
shoulde take patte with his aduersary and mortall enemye.

When this councel was geuen by the more nombre, it was wel accep-
ted, and the Scottishe kynge, whether he were blinded by errour, or els
dyd dissimule the matter, begaune to haue Perkyn in great honour, and
caused hym openly to be called duke of yorke Also, that this mighte be

more apparaũt to the people ẏ he was so in dede, he caused lady Katherin daughter to Alexandre erle of Hũtlei, his nigh kinsman & of a high lignage in Scotland, to be espoused to him. And this affinite he caused to be made for this ende & purpose, partly ẏ he might extenuate ẏ euell will & malice which was lyketo succede of this matter, for that it myght be notoryously blasted & knowen abrode ẏ he had peace & ampty with ẏ king of Englãd, & partly least he might be accused of to much light credẽce if Perki were foũd & proued to be another mã thẽ he was reported

When al thynges were prepared, ordred and appoynted for ẏ warre. This Perkyn swellyng with ioye that he after his awne phantasy had made the Scottes to be his partakers. And to thentẽt that they should put no diffidence in the sequele of his enterprice, & to encourage theim ẏ more, he pronounced surely ẏ he should haue great succour & aide of his frendes in England sent euen from ẏ farthest part therof assone as euer the trumpet of warr was blowen. The Scottes although thei had but litle confidence & lesse trust in his wordes yet puttyng their hope more in ẏ gayne of spoyle then in ẏ gaynyng of the victory by bataile, armed them selues in all ẏ hast & matched toward the confines and bordres of England. Albeit ẏ Scottish kynge myndynge not to be rashe, mystrusted ẏ the Englishmen knowing Perkyn to be arryued in Scotlãd had layed some army for ẏ defence of ẏ frontiers, sent out certaine light horsmen to espy & searche if the husbandmen of the country were assembled in armure to defend their enemies. The horsmẽ rangyng ouer ẏ fieldes & playnes belongyng to their enemies, seing all thinges quiet, returned to their kyng and certified him that now was the tyme moost apte & cõuenient to inuade the realme & set on the English nation. Then ẏ Scottysh kyng marching toward England with all his puissaũce, first proclaymed openly, that al such should onely be pardoned that would take part and submit them selfes to Richard duke of yorke, and fight in his cause and quarrell. And to thentent to appalle and daunte the hartes of the poore commons, so that for very feare they shoulde be enforced and cõpelled to submitt them selfes to this new found Mawmet they made so cruell & deadly warre, that not lyke men, whose nature is to be satisfied with ẏ slaughter of men, & to be mercifull to the impotent and sycke persons, brent townes, spoyled houses and killed men and children, and allected with the swetnes of spoyle & prayes, wasted al the countrey of Northumberland, and had gone foorth farther, but that they perceaued no aide or succoure come out of England to attende vpon this new duke. And the souldiers beinge fully laden with blood and spoyle, refused to go one foote farther at that time, & the countrey toase on euery parte which made the kyng suspecte some army to approche. wherfore he determined rather to retourne with his assured gaine, then to tary ẏ nuncupatiue dukes vnsure and vncerteyne victory, and so he reculed againe into Scotland.

It is a worlde to remembre in this place of a certeyn kynde of ridiculous

culous mercye & foolyshe compassion, by the which Perkyn was so sore moued ỹ it semed hym to regarde nothyng more then the commodite of another man. For whyle ỹ Scottish kyng thus vexed & haryed ỹ poore inhabitauntes on the bordres of Northũbrelãd, so ỹ nothing was hard but toating, weping, and lamentyng. This newe inuented duke beyng returned into Scotland, euen like hym selfe, whiche wrought all thynge with fraud and deceyte, perceauing that no concurse nor resorte of Englishmen shewed them selfes in opẽ apparaunce to ministre to him aide or succour, and fearing not a lytle that the boxe of his crafty dealyng, & bagge of his secrete cõtrefeating should be elucidate & set in an open glasse by reason wherof he should be floccipended and had in cõtempt & disdeigne of the Scottish people, as though he had bene therũto prouoked by a natural inclination and paternal pitie (to thentent to hide and palliate his subtyl subornacion) cried out openly, Oh, my stony & harde frosen harte which arte not once moued nor yet afflicted with ỹ losse and slaughter of so many of thyne awne naturall subiectes & vassales. And at that glorious sighinge, he beseched the Scottysh kyng that frõ thẽce forth, he woulde not afflicte and plage his people, nor deforme and deface his naturall realme and countrey with such terrible fyer flam and hauocke. As who woulde saye, that he beinge ouercome with ỹ perfight loue of his natiue region, beganne nowe to haue compassion and to lament the cruell destruccion of thesame. The Scottysh kynge which began to perceaue whiche way the winde blewe answered him agayne, Sir me thinketh you take much peyne, and very much imagen howe to preserue the realme of another prince which is not youres (but I think you would gladly haue it) but my mind geueth me that you be as farre from the obteynynge the same, as you be nere the soyle and aspect of the countrey, considerynge that you cal England your land and realme and thinhabitauntes thetof your people and subiectes, and yet not one mã, neither gentleman nor yoman will once shewe hym selfe to ayde or assist you in ỹ warr begonne for your cause & in your name within your realme to which you be both (as you say) inheritoure, and by youre people accercited and called vnto. And so the kynge reproued ỹ lightnes of this young foundelyng, & euery day more & more neglected and lesse phãtesied & gaue credite to him, ỹ neither his woordes, with his dedes, nor the sequele of hys factes with his promises were agreable nor consonant.

The nobles inhabitinge in the northe partes herynge the clamour of the common people, and perceauing that they fled to auoyde ỹ crueltye of ỹ Scottes were sodeynly abashed, fortified their holds and manned their fortresses ready to defend their enemies, laying enbushmentes in ỹ wales, where they imagened ỹ thyr enemyes would resort. And without delay certified the kyng of Scottes of the inuasion and enterprice. The kyng was not a lytle abashed at this sodeyne chaũce, & pricked also with his awn domestical busines, not alõli fearig his outward enemies

but also his awne nobles & naturall subiectes least any of theim woulde steppe from him to the other parte, and put him to farther trouble & vexacion. Wherfore assone as he heard these newes, considering the matter to be of no smal importaunce and mete to be vigilantly forsene, with all diligence prepared opportune remedies to resist and withstand ỹ firste brunt of so greate a sourge newely begonne. But the sodeine retreyte of the Scottes agayne asswaged all the Englishe mennes swift acceleracions and spedy prouisions: For when thei were once laden with praies and spoyles, they returned home agayne or thenglishmen coulde assemble together.

¶ The xii yeare

When the king was truly certified ỹ the Scottishe kynge was returned, he geuing preise to his capteines and other inhabiting on the bordures of his realme, which had duly & truly serued him at ỹ time, did desist & leaue of for to occurre & repugne ỹ malicious inuasiõs of ỹ Scottishe king. And yet fearing least his enemies should be écouraged & inflated with this great gaine of spoiles & praies, he determined by dent of sworde and mortall warre to reuenge and reforme the manyfest iniurie and apparaunt wrong to him by kyng James and his peoplé done and committed. Wherefore he assemblinge his court of parliament, declared the cause of the instant warre, and what remedy he hym selfe had inuented and deuised, perswading with many strong argumẽtes and reasons inuincible, that it should be for the profit and vtilite of the publique and common wealth to prosecute and folow the warre by his mortall enemies begonne and attempted. To this opinion all his nobilitee (which were no lesse offended wt this proud brag of the Scottish nacion then he him selfe) dyd willingly agree and gladly assent, And to the maintenaunce of the warre and toward the charges of thesame, a certaine subsedy and taxe of money was with one assẽt by the whole parliament liberally and frely geuen and graunted: Which payment although it was but calye and small yet manye of thee common people whiche euer abhorre suche taxes and exaccions, grudged sore to paye the same.

At this parliament also and conuocatiõ ther was certeine lawes, acts and statutes confirmed and made, as were thought moost necessary and expedient for the publique weale of the realme. And thus the kynge dissoluing his court of parliament, prepared for warre out of hãd. In this meane season the kynge of Scottes not sleping hys matters because he perceaued well that the Englyshemen woulde shortely reuenge theyr losse and harme, with no lesse diligence gathered an hoost and puyssante army, that either he might withstand and resist the English powre inuadyng his realme and countrey, or els of freshe entre vppon the bordres: and goyng forth, spoyle robbe and make hauoke agayne. And so these

two

twoo valiaunt pzinces mynded nothing lesse the one to hurt and pzeiudice the other. But the kyng of England sozе pzicked and woũded with the iniurie to him committed, was so sozе moued against the Scottysh kyng, that he would not pzocrastinate noz deferre one houre tyl he were reuenged, And so pzepared a puissaunt and bigozious army to inuade Scotland, and thereof ozdeyned foz cheuetaine Giles lozd Dawbeney hys chiefe chamberleyne, a man of no lesse wytt then pollecy & of no lesse pollecy then hardines.

When the lozd Dawbeney had his army assembled together and was in his iourney fozward into Scotlande, he sodeinly was stayed and reuoked agayne, by reason of a new sedicion and tumult begonne within the realme of England foz the subsedy whiche was graunted at the last parliament foz the defence of the Scottes with all diligence and celeritee, whiche of the mooste parte was truly satisfied and payde. But the Cozнishmen inhabityng the leaste parte of the realme, and the same sterile and without all fecunditee, compleyned and grudged greatly, affirmyng that they were not hable to paye suche a greate somme as was of theim demaunded. And so what with angre, and what with sozowe, forgettynge their due obeysaunce, beganne temeratiously to speake of the kyng him selfe. And after leuyng ỹ matter, lamentyng, yellyng & crieng malitiously, sayd that the kinges coũsaile was the cause of this polling and shauing And so being in this rage menaced to deathe the aucthoures (as thei imagined) of this mischiefe and sozowe, whome thei threatened shoztely to dispatche oute of this wozlde. And so beyng in aroaze. ij. of the same affinitee, the one called Thomas Flamock gentlemã, lerned in the lawes of the realme, and theother Wighell Joseph a smyth, mẽ of high courages & stoute stomackes, toke vpon theim to be capteines of this vngracious flocke and sedicious company. And although thei perceued their cõpany to be accẽsed & inflamed with fury & malice ynough, yet to augmẽt & encrease their madnes, thei cast oyle & pitche into a fyze & ceased not to prouoke & pzick them fozward like frantique persons to moze mischiefe cryenge out openly & pzonouncynge ỹ it was shame (foz a smal cõmocion made of ỹ Scottes, which was asswaged & ended in a moment, foz they thought pooze foliche and ignoraunt fooles, ỹ al thinges was ended and asswaged whẽ it was euẽ at the whotteste & moste ferуent) thei should be exacted and polled, and suche great exaccions laied vpon their necks, and especially on ỹ Cozнishmen, which they affirmed to bee but pooze men, and being in a sterile & vnfruitefull countrey gate their liuing hardly by mining and digging tynne and mettall out of the grounde bothe day and night labouring and turmoylyng. And therefoze they had rather dye and suffre extreme punyshment, then lyue in suche calamite and wzetchednes, And they layed the faulte and cause of this exaction to Jhon Moxton Archebyshop of Cauntourbury, and Sir Reignold Bzey, because they weze chiefe of the kinges pzuey coũsail. Such rewardes haue thei that be in gzeat aucthozite with kings &

pzinces

pzynces. Foz yf any thinge succede well accozdynge to ỹ mynd and pleasure of the comminalty, that is euer refezred and gratified to the king oz gouernour. But contrariwise, yf any thing be done, either by chaune oz by councell that soundeth not well in their eares, oz is contrary to their opinion oz fantesy they will laye it streyght to the councell sayenge that they haue perswaded him to do this and ỹ. Therefoze if all men woulde well remembze and diligently pondze in theiz myndes what is the reward and guerdon, fewe would labour and affecteously desire to moũte so high, oz aspire to that place of dygnite. But now to the matter.

These capiteines exhozted the commõ people to put on harneys, and not to be afeard to followe them in this quarrell, pzomising theim that they should do no damage to any creature, but onely to se ponyshement and cozrection done to suche persons which were ỹ aucthozs & causers that the people were molested and vexed with such vnreasonable exactions, and demaundes. And if thei perceaued any person (as they espied many in dede) which dyd impugne and repzoue their mad, vnreasonable and sedicious councell, affirming that it was the highest poinct of madnes foz a mã to put his life in hassard foz that thing, which he ought mekely and humbly to requyre and desyze of his pzince and souereigne lozde, then they called theim dastardes, fooles, & cowardes, & taunted & rebuked theim with most shamefull reproches, and cõtumelious inuections. So these vnhappy capiteynes nothyng moze desired then to bzing their flock and them selues to small perdicion and vttre cõfusion. With these bzagges and mociõs a great part of the people were eleuate and encouraged, and condiscended to do as the capiteines and ỹ moost multitude would agre and appoinct. Then the capiteines pzaysinge muche the hardines of the people, when al thinges were pzepared mete foz their vnfoztunate iourney, set fozward with their army, and came to Tawnton, where they slewe the pzouost of peryn which was one of the commissioners of the subsedy, and from thence came to welles, and so entending to go to London where the kyng then soiourned.

When the king was aduertised by his collectours, and officers, of all these doinges, and atemptes, he was meruelously astõned and especially because at that one time he was ẽuironed with double warre, both externe and intestine. And because perell dyd depende on bothe, he was in great doubte which of both he should moost regard. And as he was musing of this matter, he was asserteyned that James Twichet lozd Awdeley and diuers other of the nobilitie were associate with the Coznishemen, and were in great hast and no good spede marching towarde London. The kyng perceauing the cyuyle warze to appzoche and draw pl nerer and nerer, almost to his very gates, determined with al his whole powre to resist and repzesse the same. And after that tumult appesed and suppeditate, he would with al expediciõ set vpõ Scotlãd. Wherfoze he reuoked agayn the lozd Dawbeney which as you haue hard. was with a puyssaunt army goyng into Scotland, whose army he encreased and multipli-

multiplied with many picked and freshe warriers, that he might ẏ better, and with lesse laboure ouercome these rebelles. Also mistrustinge that the Scottes myght nowe (hauyng good opportunitie seing hym troubled with this ciuile discorde) inuade the realme agayne, and so spoyle, robbe, violate, and distroy the borderers, he appoynted the lord Thomas Hawarde Earle of Surrey a puissaunt and polletyke capiteyne (whiche was taken prisoner at the ouerthrowe of kyng Richarde as you haue heard, and after set at liberte, and within two yeeres next after was made highe treasourer of Englande after the deathe of Jhon Lorde Dinham) to gather a bonde of men in the Countie Palantine of Durham, and they with the ayde and helpe of the enhabitauntes adioinynge and the borderers, to driue out and expell the Scottes from of ẏ borders yf they should fortune agayne to inuade, vntyl such time ẏt he Cornyshemen beyng subdued and pacefied (whiche he thought easy to be done) he might send to theim the forsayde lorde Dawbeney agaīn wᵗ all his powre & army. When the nobles of the Realme hard of this tumulteous busines & terrible cōmocion, they came to London euery mā with as many mē of warre as thei could put in aredynes to aide ẏ king yf nede should be: In the which company, there was the erle of Essex, the lord Mongey with diuerse other.

At this tyme and season, Charles the French kyng returnynge from ẏ warres ẏ he had at Naples, sent ambassadoures to enforme the king of the prosperous successe and victorye that he had obteyned in Italye, and gaue to theim in charge to desyre of the kyng of England nothing so much as the continuaunce of his amitie and fauoure toward theyr master and souereigne lord. For the Frenche kyng sore desyred to continue in perfight peace & amitī with the king of England. And not without a cause, for he had so vexed and combred him selfe & his people with suche Italian snares & crafty engines out of ẏ which at this day being the yere of our lord a thousand. v. C. xliii. hys successors cannot cleane be ryd, and deliuered

When the king was enformed ẏ king Charles orators were come to Calys, he sent certeine of his nobilitie, honorably to receaue theim, & so to cōueigh theim to Douer, & there for a pollecy to make their abode tyl the rebellion were extinct and suppressed, and not one worde thereof to be founded in the eares of the Ambassadours: which commaundement was circumspectely kepte and obserued.

And now the Cornishmen departyng frō Welles (where thei receaued their chiefe capiteine, James lord Audleigh) went to Salsburye, & from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they loked for helpe, but thei were deceaued in their expectacion, For the erle of Kent, George lord of Burgeiny, Jhon brooke lord Cobham, Sir Edward pownynges, Sir Richard Guldeforde, Sir Thomas Burchier, Jhon Peche, Willyam Scott & a great nombre of people were not only prest and ready to defende the countrey from all mischiefe and destruction, but also bent and

determined

determined to fight and combate with suche as would not be obedient to their natural souereigne lord, and to his lawes and preceptes. Also ỹ kentysh men them selues, partely remembryng that other commocions haue bene to their dammage and great hindrcaunce, and partely beyng vnder the defence of their nobilitie, as vnder the Ertle and other, would not so much as come nere to the rebeles, nor yet either make coũtenaũce or once speake to any of theim, to thintent that the kynge shoulde in no wise conceaue any poynct of vntruth or treason in the poorest of theim. Whiche thynge so appalled and dismayed the hartes and courages of many of the brute and rurall Cornishmen (whiche seinge theim selues deceaued and defrauded of their chiefe hope and succours, and fearing the euell chaunce that might happen to them) that thei to saue them selfes fled preuely in the night from their awne company and cõpaniõs. The captaynes of the rebelles perceauing they coulde haue no aide of ỹ Kentish people, putting their only hope to their awne powre and fortitude (for surely they were men of great strength, & of no lesse force then valiaunt courage) brought them to Black hethe. iiij. myles frõ Londõ, and there in a playne vppon the top of an hill they ordred their battailes eyther ready to fight with the kyng if he woulde assayle theim, or elles, to assaulte and beate the Citie of London: For they thought verely ỹ the king was so affraied of their puissaunce, ỹ he minded nothing lesse then to encountre with their armie. And therefore being enflamed with arrogancy, nothyng mistrustinge, but firmely beleuinge ỹ the victory was sure in their handes, they determined to entre into the citie of London and to assaute the towre wherin the king (as thei thought) had preuely enclosed hym selfe. But kynge Henry wrought cleane contrary to their mynde and expectacion, for he neuer thought to geue theim battayle tyll he had theim farre from their domesticall habitacions and natiue region, so that they should be out of all hope of ayde and comforte. And when they were with their long and tedious iourney wearied and tyred, and that their furye were sumwhat asswaged and fell to repentaunce of their mad commocion and frantike progressiõ, thẽ he woulde in some place cõuenient for his purpose, circumuent and enuyron them to his auauntage and their destruccion as he did in dede afterward. In the meane season there was great feare through the citiee & cryes were made, euery man to harneys, to harneis, some ranne to the gates, other mounted on the walles, so that no parte was vndefended, and cõtinual watche was kept by the magistrates of the citie least the rebelles being poore and nedy woulde dissend from theyre campe and inuade the cytee and spoyle, and robb the riches and substaunce of the marchaũtes. But ỹ the kyng deliuered and purged their hartes out of this feare, for after ỹ he perceiued that the Cornishmen were all the day ready to fyghte and that vpon the hill, he sent streight Jhon Ertle of Oxforde, Henry Burchier Ertle of Essex, Edmond *de la Poole* Earle of Suffolke, and sir Ryes app Thomas, and sir Homfrey Stanley noble warryers with a great

Black heth feloe.

company of archers and horsmen to enuyron the hill on the right syde & on the left, to thentent that all bywaies beyng stopped and forclosed, all hope of flight should be take from theim: And incontinent, he being as well encouraged with manly stomake and delire to fyght as furnished with a populous army and copie of artillery, set forward out of the cytie and encamped him selfe in Sainct Georges felde, where he the fryday at nyght then lodged.

On the saturday in the morning, he sent the Lord Dawbeney with a great compauye to set on theim earely in the morenyng, whiche fyrst
x gate the brydge at Detforde Strande whiche was manfully defended by certeyne archers of the rebelles, whose arowes as is reported were in length a full yarde. Whyle the erles set on theim on euery syde, the lorde Dawbeney came into the fielde with his company, & without long fighting the Cornyshmen were ouercome, but first they toke the lord Dawbeney prisoner, and whether it were for feare or for hope of fauoure, thei let him go at libzety without any hurt or detriment. There were slayn of the rebelles which fought and resisted .ii. thousand men and mo and taken prisoners an infinite nombre, and emongest theim the black smith & chiefe capiteins whiche shortely after were put to death. This Myghell
xx Joseph, surnamed the black smyth one of the capiteins of this donge hil and draffe sacked ruffians, was of such stoute stomake & haut courage, that at thesame tyme that he was drawen on ỹ herdle toward his death, he said (as men do reporte) that for this mischeuous & facinerous act, he should haue a name perpetuall and a faine permanent & immortal. So (you may perceaue) that desire and ambicious cupidite of vaine glory & fame, enflameth, and encourageth aswell poore & meane persones, as the hartes of great lordes and puisaunt princes to trauaile & aspire to the same. Some affirme that the kyng appointed to fight with the rebelles on the Monday, and anticipating the tyme by pollecy set on theim vpon
xx the Saturday before, being vnprouided and in no arraye of battayle, & so by that pollecy obteyned the fielde and victory.

When this battayle was ended, the kyng wanted but .iii. C. of all his company that were slayne at that presente conflicte. Also the capiteines apprehended & taken he pardoned, sauing the chief capiteines and first aucthors of that mischiefe, to whome he would neyther shewe mercy nor lenity. For he caused the lord Audeleigh to be drawen from Newgate to the Towre hil in a cote of his awne armes peinted vpon paper, reuersed and al to torne, & there to be behedded ỹ .xxviii. day of Juyn. And Thomas Flamock and Myghell Joseph he commaunded after the fassiõ of
xl treytours to be drawen, hãged and quartred, & their quarters to be pytched on stakes & set vp in diuerse places of Cornewale, ỹ their sore punishmentes and terryble executions for their treytorous attemptes and foolysh hardy entrepzices, might be a warning for other herafter to abstreyne from committing like crime & offence. But because he was certified that their countrey men beyng at home in Cornewale were by this

skourge litle molefied or quieted, & were ready to moue againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, yf any vngracious or euell mynded person would either moue or pricke theim forwarde, he turned his purpose and caused theim to be set vp in London and other places, least that by suche meanes he should wrappe him self in more trouble at that tyme when he went about with all his witt and councell to represse and assuage all domestical and ciuyle sedicion, to thentent that he might the more seriously and intentykely set forward a puissaunt army against the braggyng and vnfaithfull Scottes, being content at that time, that fortune had so smyled on his syde.

¶ The. xiii. yere.

While this busines was thus handled in England, the kyng of Scottes beyng certefied of it by his espialles, and that there was none army reised in England either to withstād his powre or destroye his countrey, and hearyng also that kyng Henry and his nobles were vexed and sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornyshemen, and in a cyuile discorde and dissencion emongest them selfes: Wherfore he thought it necessary too anticipate the warre before hand. For wel he knewe that assone as kyng Henry had subdued and ouerturned his aduersaries, that he would with his whole puissaunce inuade his realme and dominions: And therfore he inuaded the frountiers of the realme of England wastyng the countrey, burnyng the tounes and murtheryng the people, sparing neyther place nor person. And while his light horsemen were rydyng to forrage and destroye the bysshoprike of Durham and there burned all about, he with an other company went about to expugne and assaute the castel of Norham standyng on the ryuer of Twede, whiche deuideth England & Scotland. The bysshop of Durham whiche at that tyme was Richard Fore, had well furnysshed it both with men and munitions, bigilantly forseyng and imagening that the Scottish kyng (assone as he knewe that there was cyuile discorde and vnnaturall warre moued within the realme of England) would with al his powre inuade and harry the borders and countreies adioinyng to his land. This Richard Fore was before called bysshop of Excetter, and for his synguler vertues and great grauitie was after that made bysshop of Bathe and Welles, and last of all promoted and exalted to the bysshoprick of Durham.

The bysshop from time to time aduertised the kyng of al thinges that there chaunced (which then was at Londō) and sent in al post hast to the Erle of Surrey to come to reskewe, whiche was then in Yorkeshire and had collected a great army and a warlyke compaigny. When the Erle heard of these newes, he perceauing that all thinges were not voide of ieopardy, made no long tarryng, but with al diligence marched forward and after him folowed other noble men out of al quarters of the North. euery one bryngyng as many as they coulde gather for the defence of their

of their naturall countrey and region. Emongest whom the chief rulers and leaders were these whose names ensue.

Raufe Erle of Westmerland.
Thomas lord Dacres.
Raufe lord Neuell.
George lord Straunge.
Richard lord Latymer.
George lord Lumley.
Jhon lord Scrope.
Henry lord Clifford.
George lord Ogle.
William lord Conyers.
Thomas lord Darcy.

Of knyghtes.
Thomas Baron of Hylton.
Sir William Percy.
Sir William Boulmer.
Sir William Gascoyne.
Sir Raufe Bygod.
Sir Raufe Bowes.
Sir Thomas a Parr.
Sir Raufe Elerker.
Sir Jhon Constable.
Sir Jhon Ratclyffe.
Sir Jhon Sauell.
Sir Thomas strangueys.

with many other well proued and warlike men, whiche although in degree they were not peregall with these great lordes and knyghtes, yet in manhoode and policies of warre and valiaunt courage, they were to theim in all feactes equiualent. The nôbre was litle lesse then. xx. thousand men, besyde the naure, wherof the lord Brooke was Admyrall.

When the Scoctes had dyuerse dayes assauted and beaten the Castell of Norham to the no lytle detryment and dammage therof, and coulde make no battye to entre into thesame, they determyned of their awne mynde to reyse their siege and returne, and that somuche the sonet because they hearde saye that the Earle of Surrey was within. ii. daies iourney of theim with a great puisaũce. Wherfore king Jamy thought it to small purpose to tary any lenger in besegyng the castell, reysed his siege and returned into his awn realme: When the Earle knewe of the kynges retourne, he folowed after with all hast possible, trustyng surely to ouertake him and to geue him battayle.

When the Erle was entred Scotland, he prostrated and defaced the castell of Cawdrestenes. The towre of hetenhall, The towre of Edyngton, The towre of Fuloẽ: and he sent Norrey kyng at armes to the captayne of Hayton Castel, whiche was one of the strongest places betwene Barwyke and Edynborough to delyuer him the castell, which he denied to do, affirming that he was sure of spedy succours and swifte aide. The erle perceauing the deniall, layed his ordinaunce to the castell, and contynually bet it from two of the clocke till. v. at nyght, in suche wyse that they within rẽdred vp the fortresse, their liues only saued. And when the erle had receaued the Scottes he with his miners rased and ouerthrewe the castell to the playne grounde. The Scottyshe kynge was within a mile of the siege, and bothe knewe it and sawe the smoke and yet would not once set a foote forwarde to saue or reskewe his castel. And while the Erle laye at Hayton, the kyng of Scottes sent to hym Marchemount a nother herauld, desiring him at his election either to fight with whole

puissaunce against puissaunce, or els they .ii. to fyght person to person & hand to hand, requiring that if the victory should falle to the Scottishe kyng, that then the erle should deliuer for his raũsome the toune of Berwyke, with the Fyshegarthes of thesame. The erle ioyously, like a courageous capteine receaued this message and made aunswere, that he was ready in the playne fielde to abide the battayle with his whole army, prayeng him to come forwarde with his puissaunce, & after that he thanked him hartely of the honoure that he offred him, for surely he thought him selfe muche honoured that so noble a Prince would vouchesaue to admit so poore an erle to fight with him body to body, assertaining hym ferther, that the toune of Berwike was the kyng his masters & not his ỹ which he neither ought nor would laye to pledge nor gage without the kinges assent, but he would put his body in pledge which was more precious to him then all ỹ tounes of ỹ world, promising on his honour that if he toke the kyng prysoner in the singuler cõbate, that he would release to him all his part of his fyne & raunsome, & if it chaunced the kyng to vanquisshe & apprehende him, he would pay gladly such a raunsome as was mete & conuenient for the degre of an erle. And when he had rewarded & dismissed the heraulides, he let his army in a redines abydyng the comming of the kyng of Scottes & so stode all daye. But the Scottysh kyng not regarding his offres, nor performing his crakes and boastes, being afrated to cope with the English nacion, shamefully and sodeynly fled in the night ceasõ with al his powre & cõpany. When the erle knew that the kyng was reculed, & had bene in Scotland. vi. or .vii. daies beyng daily & nightly vexed with continual winde & vnmeasurable reyne, coulde not cause his people to continue in that tempestious vnfertile & barayne region, with good aduyse retreated again with his whole army to the toune of Berwyke, & there dispersed his army euery man into his countrey tarryng there him selfe til he knewe the pleasure of the kyng in furthering or protractyng the warres of Scotlande: But in the meane ceason one Peter Hyalas, a man of no lesse learning then prudent wit & pregnãt pollecy, was sent Ambassadour frõ Ferdinand kyng of Speyne vnto the kyng of Scottes to moue and entreate a peace & an vnitie to be had betwene hym & the kyng of England. For of kyng Ferdinand and Elizabeth his wyfe (to whiche woman none other was comparable in her tyme) there was nothing more desyred nor wyshed then by the cõiunction of mariage betwene Arthure prynce of Wales heyre apparaũt to kyng Henry, and lady Katheryn the daughter of kyng Ferdinand & quene Elyzabeth a newe affinite and alliaunce might be knit and begõne betwene the realme of England and countrey of Speyne. And also he fauoured somewhat the kyng of Scottes, for which cause he offred him selfe as a meane and mediatour of a peace betwene bothe the prynces, their territoires and dominions.

This Peter Hyalas sollicited and moued by all honest meanes & deuyces kyng James to assent to a vnite & concorde, and when with long

soliciting he conceaued some good hope to growe in his weighty busy-
nes, he wrote vnto the kyng of Englãd, that it would please him to send
one of his nobilitie or councell to be associate with him in concluding w
the Scottish kyng. The kyng of England which euer (so it were not to
his dishonour, hurte or detriment) was not onely a louer of peace, but al-
so a notysher and a furtherer of amity and quietnes, & specially at thys
time when he was vexed with the ciuile seditiõ of his awne proper shepe
and flocke, committed the charge of the weighty matter to Rychard Fox
byshop of Durham, whiche laye on Thenglysh borders in his Castell
x of Norham. The byshop according to the kynges appointmẽt went ho-
norably into Scotlãd, where he and Peter Hyalas at the toune of Jed-
worth reasoned with the Scottish commissioners as concernyng thys
peace to be had. Sixe hundred cõdicions were purposed on the one part
and theother, but after long protracting of time & muche debating & ar-
guing, not one was accepted nor allowed, And one thing aboue all other
dashed the whole treatie : For kyng Henry instantly required to haue
Perkyn Warbeck the fountayne & chiefe cause of all this tumult & vn-
quietnes, the perturber of him and his whole realme : But the kyng of
Scottes fermely denied to consent to any article that might sounde to
xx his reproche or dishonoure. And also he now began to smell and sauour
the iuggeling & false coũtrefeating of his new gest Perkyn Warbeck.
Yet because that Perkyn was alied to him by the holy sacramẽt of ma-
trymony, he thought it both vnhonest, vnreasonable & vnnatural to be-
trey his alye & deliuer him to death & confusion. Wherfore when they
had reasoned that matter & diuerse other vrgent & weighty causes by di
uerse daies of meting & that for the cõtrarietie of opiniõs, no ferme pea-
ce could be concluded. In steade of peace, a truce was concluded for cer-
teyne yeres vpon condicion that James kyng of Scottes should cõuey
Perkyn Warbeck out of his realme, seignyories and dominions.

While these thinges were reasoned & at ỹ last cõcluded in the cõfines
xxx of England & Scotlãd, kyng Henry caused ỹ ambassadours of ỹ frẽch
kyng to be brought to his presẽce, & he them receaued with al benignite
which as it is shewed before were stopped at Douer of their iourney vn-
tyll such time ỹ the insurreccion of the Cornish men were suppressed and
extinguished. And with like entreteinement he embraced at ỹ very ceasõ
the lord of Camphire & other Orators of Philip archeduke of Austrich
& duke of Burgoyne, cõming to him for the conclusion & cõtinuaunce
of an amitie, & to haue the English marchaũtes to resorte to their coun-
trey againe, which frõ thence before were prohibited & forbidden. Which
xl request being verie agreable to the quietnes & tranquilite of his realme.
& especially at ỹ time, he did fauourably graunt & beningly assent vnto.
And so beyng confederate & alied by treatie & league with al his neigh-
bours marching on euery side of his realme & regions, he gratefied with
his most harty thãkes kyng Ferdinand and the quene his wife, for that
they were the mediators, organes & instrumentes by the which the truce

was concluded betwene the Scottish kyng and him, and rewarded Peter the Ambassadoure moost liberally and bountefully.

The Englysh marchauntes receaued into Andwarp wt generall procession.

So the Enshlishmen resorted again into the Archedukes dominions and were receaued into Andwarp with generall procession, so glad was the toune of their returnyng, whiche was by their absence sore hyndered and empouerysshed at the tyme that this vnitie and concorde was made, whiche was the yere of our lord a thousand. iiii. C. lxxxviii. and the. xii yere of kyng Henryes reigne.

James the kynge of Scottes seyng that he nowe perceaued howe he was by Perkyn manifestly deluded, accordyng as he had faithfully promised, so he nowe duly performed it. For he callyng to his presence the forsayed Perkyn Warbecke, declaryng to hym what benefites & cõmodities he had receaued of his princely liberalitie & gentlenes, gently requiring him to depart out of the realme into some other countrey where he might make his abode more surely and more quietly, vntil such tyme as fortune would prouide a more prosperous winde to set forwarde the sailes of his purpose & desire, declaring vnto him that he cõpelled in maner by necessite had cõcluded a league & cõcord with ẏ king of Englãd, and by ẏ treatie, the refuge that he should haue had of him & his coũtrey was not only to him prohibited and forbidden, but also it was agreed & condiscended that neyther the kyng of Scottes, nor any by his procurement or in his name should make warre on the kyng of England, which warre he gladly tooke in hand for Perkins sake, hauing sure confidence and perfight trust to haue bene aided & assisted with Perkins frendes in Englãd. But when he perceaued ẏ al was in vaine & ẏ al his wordes were but wynd, he exhorted him not to be displeased to departe, least hys tarying might be to him a detriment & a breaking of the treatie betwene hym & kyng Henry lately concluded, wherfore with many fayre wordes he desyred hym to departe. This Perkyn knowyng the kynges pleasure was very sore amased, seyng there was no helpe to be loked for hereafter in Scotland. Albeit remẽbryng the great benefites which he had receaued hertofore of the Scottish kyng, which he thought him self neuer hable to requite and deserue, that he might not seme to hym ingrate or not wyllyng to folowe his desyre, he was content at his intercession to departe. And shortly after sayled into Irelãd with his wife & family, there determining with him selfe either to sayle into Flaũders to ẏ duches of Burgoyne, or to ioyne and take parte with the Cornyshmen. But howe so euer it was, while he laye in Ireland doubtyng what to do, he had intelligence by certeyn messengers that the Cornyshmen for al their discomfiture and plague not to be appeased, but sore to grudge and murmoure against kynge Henry, and that they were prone and ready to renue the warre agayne the kynge and the prynce: Where he not entendyng to forsake so fayre an occasion so manifestly offred, he hauing with hym. iiii. small shippes & not aboue. vi. skore men, sayled into Cornewale and there landed in the moneth of September and came to a toune called

led Bodman, and there dyd so sollicite, prouoke and stirre the mutable & wauerynge people, what with fayre wooꝛdes and large pꝛemises that he gathered to hym aboue thꝛe thousand persones whiche immediatly called hym their capiteyne, and sayed that they would take his part and folowe hym to the death, and in all thynges obey his pꝛeceptes and commaundementes.

Then Perkyn was well encouraged and made pꝛoclamacions in the name of kyng Richard the. iiii. as sonne to king Edward that last died. And by the aduise of his. iii. councellers, Jhon Heron mercer a banquerupt, Richard Scelton a tayler, and Jhon Asteley a Skreuener, men of moꝛe dishonestie then of honest estimacion, determined fyꝛst of all to assaulte and beate all walled and stronge townes and foꝛtresses, and theim to receaue into his possession and seignyoꝛie foꝛ his farther securite and defence: And that entrepꝛyce acheued, then he woulde augment his hoost and marche foꝛwarde against all persones that durst once ofꝛe theim selfes to withstand hym.

When he and his impꝛudent counsayll were fully resolued on this poincte and conclusion, they in good oꝛdꝛe went streyght to Excetter, whiche was the next cytie that he coulde appꝛoche to and beseged it, and because he lacked oꝛdinaũce to make a battry to rase & deface the walles he studied all the weyes possible howe to bꝛeake and infringe the gates, and what with casting of stones, heuyng with yꝛon barres & kyndelyng of fier vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuysed foꝛ the furtheraũce of his vngracious purpose. The cytezens perceauing their toune to be enuyꝛonned with enemies and lyke to be enflamed, began at the first to be soꝛe abashed, and let certeyne messengers by coꝛdes downe ouer the walle whiche should certefie the kyng of all their necessitie and trouble. But after that takyng to theim lusty hartes and manly courages they determined to repulse fier by fier, and caused faggottes to bee bꝛough to the inward part of the poꝛtes and posternes and set theim all on fier, to to thentent that the fyer being enflamed on bothe the sydes of the gates, might aswell exclude their enemies from enteryng, as include the cytezens from ronnyng oꝛ flyng out, and that they in the meane ceason myght make trenches and rampayꝛes to defende their enemies in stede of gates and Bulwerkes. Thus all the doinges and attemptes of the rebellious people had euell succesſe in their first entrepꝛice: And thus by fier the cytie was pꝛeserued from flame and burnyng. Then Perkyn beyng of very necessite compelled to leaue the gates, assaulted the toune in diuerse weake and vnfoꝛtefied places, and set vp ladders, attemptyng to clyme ouer the walles and to take the citie, thynkyng suerly to cõpell the cytezens either by feare oꝛ lacke of succoure to rendꝛe theim selfes & yelde the toune. But the cytezens nothyng so mynded, so courageously lyke valeaunt champions defended the walles, that they slewe aboue. ii C. of his seditious souldiours at this assaute.

Assone as the messengers of Excetter came to the kynges pꝛesence and

shewed their instruccions, he hasted with his host toward Excetter with asmuch hast as the grauitie of the cause did require & expostulate. And sent the lord Dawbeney with light horsmen before to certefie all men of his comming at hand. But in the meane season lorde Edward Corteney erle of deuoushire & lord William his sonne, a man of great force & valiantnes, accompanied with Sir Edmond Carewe, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courteney, sir Thomas Fulford, sir Jhon Halewel, sir Jhō Croker, Water Courteney, Peter Egecōbe, Williā Sētuaure, with all spede came into the cytie of Excetter and holpe the citezens, and at the last assaute the Erle was hurte in the arme with an arowe, and so ꝑ were many of his company, but very fewe slayne.

When Perkyn with his lewde capiteynes sawe ẏ the citie of Excetter was so well fortefied bothe with men and municiōs, and of theim in maner unpregnable, fearyng the sequele of this matter, departed frome Excetter with his lowsy army to the next great toune called Tawnton, and there the.xx. daye of September he mustered his men as though he were redy to fyght, but his nōber was sore minished. For when the poore and nedy people sawe the great defence whiche was made at Excetter, & that no men of honour nor yet of honestie drewe to hym, contrary to the promes and assuraunce made by hym and his coūcelers to theim at the ꝑ begynnyng, they with drewe theim selfes by sondry secret compaygnies from him, in prouiding their awne sauegarde. Which thinge when Perkyn perceaued, he put small trust and lesse confidence in the remnant of his army as afterward dyd appere, because the mooste parte of his souldioures were harnessed on the right arme and naked all the body, and neuer exercised in warre nor marcial feates but only with the spade and shouyll.

When the kyng hearde he was gone to Tawnton, he hastened after him with al spede. Thether came to the king, Edward duke of Buckyngham, a younge prynce of a great courage and of a synguler good witt, ꝑ and hym folowed a great compaignie of noble men, knyghtes & Esquyers, prepared and redy with all thynges necessary for the fielde and battayle. Emongest which nomber was sir Alexāder Baynam, Sir Mawrice Berkeley, Sir Robert Tame, Sir Jhon Guyse, Sir Robert Poyntz, sir Hēry Uernon, Sir Jhon Mortymer, Sir Thomas Tremayle, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amise Pawlett, Sir Jhon Byckenell, Sir Jhon Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Lutterell, Sir Fraunces Cheyney, and many other knyghtes, esquyers and valiaunte personages. When the kynge approched nere to the toune of Tawnton, whether he woulde not deferre and put of the battayle, or whether he doubtynge the turne ꝑ of fortunes whele, sent before hym Robert lorde Brooke lorde Stuarde of his house, Gyles lorde Dawbeney his chiefe Chambetlayn, and Sir Rice app Thomas, to set on his enemies and begynne the battayle, & he with his powre folowed, to thentent that when the armies couped & ioyned together, he either should with newe succours refresh his awn army or els

or elles set on the backe of his enemies or they coulde espie hym. Albeyt the kyng had no great nede to vse suche pollecy yt he had knowen what sequele had ensued. For assone as Perkyn was enformed ỹ his enemies were ready to geue him battayle, he that nothynge lesse mynded then to fight in open feld with the kinges puissaunce, dissimuled al the day time with his cõpany, as though nothing could make him afeard, and about mydnyght being accompanied with .ix. horsmen departed frõ Tauntõ in poste to a sanctuary towne belyde Southhamton called Beaudeley, & there he & Jhon Heron & other registred them selues as persones pri- uileged. But whether Perkyn dyd this for feare, least his men shoulde forsake hym, or for the cowardnes of his awne tymorous courage, it is asmuch uncerteyne, as it is probable & sure that the kyng tooke by his flight greate commoditie & quietnes, by reason ỹ he was not enforced to fighte with the Cornishmen, whose hartes & courages were so encreased & enflamed by deadly desperacion that they ernestly determined & were stedfastly bent either to winne victory & ouercome their enemies or els not one of theim all to lyue any daye or houre lenger.

When kyng Henry knewe ỹ Perkyn was fled & departed, he sent after him ỹ lord Dawbeny with .v.C. horsemẽ toward the see side to intercept him before he should come there. But Perkin whom ỹ matter touched at ỹ quick, made such hast with ỹ swiftnes of his horse & sharpnes of his spurres that he was so far passed on his way before, ỹ no person could tell tydynges of him, before he regestred and disclosed hym selfe in the sanctuarye. But his chiefe Capiteines which fled, could not so craftely escape, for the mooste parte of theim were apprehended, and as captiues and wretches, miserably presented to the kynge. When the residewe of the common people could neyther see Perkyn nor yet the standards nor guydehoines of their capteynes, not knowynge where he was become doubting whether he were fraudulently slain or fearfully fled, wist not what councell to aske or what way was most surest to folow and take. But when thei were asserteined of his moste shameful flight, euery per- son oppressed with this common mischief, common feare, and common perrell, casting away their armure, submitted theim selues to the kyng, holdyng vp their handes in askyng mercy, offeryng & promising hym faythe, loyaltie and obeisaunce. To whome the kynge of mooste gentle hearte and lenitie, not onely graunted perdon but receaued theim to his fauouze. And so the kynge beinge a conquerour withoute manslaugh- ter or effusion of christen bloode road triumphantly into the cytee of Excetter, and there not only lauded & preised the cytezẽs of Excetter but also rendred to them his most harty thankes, aswel for their duety done as for their valiauntnes. And there also he afflicted and put in executiõ diuerse Cornishmen which were the auctboures and sturrers vp of this newe insurrection and false conspiracie.

The horsemen ỹ were sent, without any stop or obstacle in short space came to saint Wighelles mounte, & there (as chaunce was) founde lady

Katheryn

Katheryn Goyden wife to Perkyn and brought her streight lyke a bondewoman & captyue to the kyng. And the kyng wondering at her beautie and amyable countenaunce thought her a pyaye moze mete foz the chiefe capitaine then foz the meane souldioures, began then a litle to phantasie her person & sent her incontinently accompanied with a goodly sorte of sad matrones and gentlewomen (because she was but a yong woman) to London to the quene as a true and vndoubted token of hys triumphe & victozy. And while he reposed him selfe at Exceter, he iudged that he had nothyng wonne, noz yet plucked vp by the roote of this seditious rebellion, except he coulde get into his possession the chiefe hedz and type of this pestiferous faccion and busynes. Wherfoze he enuyzoned the sanctuary whiche Perkyn was in, round about with twoo companies of light hozsemen, well wytted and vigelant persones, to thentent to bereue and plucke from Perkyn all hope of flight and escapyng away. And after that, he attẽpted this young foundeling by trusty & politique messengers, if he hauing pardon and remission of al mischeuous and heynous offences by hym done agaynst the kyng and his realme, would gladly submyt hym selfe to the kyng and be to hym feithful true and obedient. Perkyn being nowe destitute of all hope, faylyng of hys dwellyng place, and lackyng comfoyte, aide and refuge, consyderyng that he was nowe brought to the very poincte and pzicke of extremitee that he wist not whether noz howe to flye into any countrey foz succour, and also he was in vttre dispaire to haue hereafter any pzosperous chaunce oz foztunate succesle in his enterpzice, because he had so often attẽpted and so many tymes had bene defoyled and vanquyshed, wherefoze he hauyng his pardon to him offred, and trustyng to the open pzomes of men, of his awne will franckly and freely departed out of sanctuary and committed hym selfe to the kynges pleasure, and so by this meanes this great heate was quenched and appeased.

Then was the kyng very glad that this warre was ended, and toke his iourney imediatly toward London, not without a great concourse of people metyng hym oute of euery quarter to see thys Perkyn as he were a Monstre, because he beyng an alyen of no abilitee by hys pooze parentes (although it was other wyse talked and dissimuled) durst once inuade so noble a realme, and it to infecte with suche lyes and lesynges, and chiefly of all that he by his crafty suboznactions had persuaded diuerse aswell noble as ignoble (not without the confusion and vndoing of many of theim) to beleue and saye that he was the same verey persone that he feigned and peinted hym selfe to bee. But when the kyng was come to London, he appoyncted certayne kepers to attende on him whiche shoulde not (the breadth of a nayle) go from his persone, to thentent that he might neither conueigh hym selfe oute of the lande, noz flye any whether, noz yet pzouoked and procured by other shoulde be hable too sowe agayne no newe sedicion noz seditious tumulte within his realme and countreys.

When

When these tidinges came to the lady Margarete in Flaunders that Perkin her dere darlyng had no good lucke but losse, bothe in his entrepryce and her great studious furtheraunce, and was brought into captiuitiee, she was not well pleased with theim, but wepte and lamented hys vnlucky spede, and cursed her infortunate chaunce.

When these thinges were brought to passe accordyng to the kynges mynde, he dyd not forget that there was no more a delectable and pleasaunt thinge, nor a larger reine of mischief geuen to the bulgare people, then to haue a sure hope & trust that they may offende without any punishment or correcciō: Wherfore to thentent hereafter to obserue hys people in a dewe obeysaunce & filiall subiection, he shortly caused inquiries to be made of diuerse offences. Wherupon diuerse persones aswell in somerset shire as deuonshire were accused & presented that they had aided both w̄ men & money ỹ cornish treitours, not only after their discōfiture in returnyng homeward, but also in their marchyng forward entending to make battaile against ỹ kyng beyng their souereigne & liege lord. All which offenders he determined to plague & skourge according to ỹ quātite of their crime & offence w̄ great fines & sore assesmētes. And therfore he cōmitted this charge to Thomas lord Darcy, to Anis paulet knight & and Robert Sherbone Deane of Paules after byshop of Chechester.

These commissioners like a whirlewynde tossed and perced the cofers and substaunce of all the in habytauntes of bothe the countreis, to thentent that no persone being embrued or spotted with the ynke of that abhominable crime, should escape the peine whiche he worthely had deserued: But they were gentle and remisse to a great nombre, and specially to suche as offended by coherciō and feare, rather then of malicious hart or enuious mynde. Yet were they to none so fauourable but they were thought for their defaultes worthy of some punishment, so that equite therein was very well and iustly executed.

¶ The. xliii. yere.



In this yere a sodeyne chaunce, ye a thyng of no moment nor worthy to be regarded had almost so kindeled agayne the olde displeasure & grudge betwene king Henry & king Iames of Scotland, that they could scace kepe their handes & bridle their courages from warre & fighting. The first mociō of this displeasure was thus: Certein young men of ỹ Scottes came armed vnto Norhā castel and behelde it wonderous circūspectly, as though thei had bene desirous to know what was done there w̄in: But when ỹ kepers of ỹ castel could not perceaue any hostilite or damage towardes him or his, & seing theim departe of their awne accorde, determined it not cōuenīēt to moue any questiō to theim nor once to stirre out. But whē they came again ỹ next day & viewed it likewyse, the kepers of thesaid castell suspectyng some fraude to lurcke in their lokyng, demaunded of theim what was their entent, & why they vewed and aduised so the castel. The Scottes euen like theim selfes aunswered theim proudly

proudly & rustically w many disdeinfull woordes. Insomuche that after their blustering and blowing aunswers made, Thenglishmen being vexed and moued there with al, replied to theim with hard & manly strokes, and after many a sore blowe geuen and taken on both partes, and diuerse Scottes wounded and some slayne, the Scottes oppressed with the multitude of Thenglische people, fled as fast as their horses would carye theim. When they came home and certified the kyng of thesame, h was therewith sore moued and an angry, and sware by swete sainct Ninian that there was nothing to him more inconstant and vnstedfast then the obseruing of the league by the kyng of England, and sent word x thereof to kyng Henry in all hast by Marchemount his herauld.

The kyng of England which nothing more embraced & desired then quiet tranquylytee and perfyght loue and amitie with all princes being his neighboures and borderers, to thentent that he might lyue in his later dayes in an honest and quiet lyfe after so many laboures and vexacions euen from his infancye drawen and exercysed in, made hym aunswere that it was not done through his defaulte, neither by his counsell nor knowlege, but rather by the temerarious folly of the kepers of the castell, requiring him for that cause not to thynke the league infringed, promising in the woorde of a kyng to enquier of the truth and who xx were the malefactures. And if the offence were founde to be begonne on the partie of the kepers of the castell, he assured hym that they should for no mede or fauoure eskape peyne and punishment. This aunswere although it were more then reasonable, could not mittigate or assuage the Scottes angre and outrageousnes, for the whiche cause, Rycharde byshop of Durham, which was more heauy then al other because that this discorde was renued agayne betwene these twoo prynces by occasion of Castell kepers, he therfore thought it best first to assuage and coole the furious rage of the Skottyshe kynge, and wrote many letters to hym, requiringe hym of peace and vnitie. The kyng perceauyng bothe xxx the good wyll and constant grauitie of the byshop, appeased his fury and aunswered gentely to the byshoppes letters by writinge agayne to hym, sayyng that because he had many secrete and preuy thynges in hys mynde whyche he woulde communicate onely with hym touchyng the cause nowe in variaunce, he therfore required hym to take peine to come into his countrey, trustyng that he should thynke his labour well bestowed. The byshop was very glad and sent worde to the kyng his master, of kyng James desyre, who estemed the requeste and cause both iust and reasonable, and therefore wylled hym to accomplyshe the Scottish xl kynges honest desyre.

When he came into Scotland, he was receaued with all humanite that coulde be thought of the kyng hym selfe at an Abbey called Mell-rose. And there, after that the kyng for a countenaunce had complayned muche of the crueltie and slaughter that was vsed towardes hys men late at Norham, he easely rempted the offence and perdoned it, and

ſt,and began ſecretely to cõmen without any witneſſes oꝛ arbitrers nere hand with the biſhop alone. And firſt declared to him what olde & iuſte cauſes haue moued him beſoꝛe this to ſeke aliaunce & amitie with kyng Henry, whiche now he deſyred muche moꝛe to haue confirmed & coꝛro=boꝛate foꝛ the farther mayntenaunce of loue and encreaſe of frendſhyp, whiche thing he doubted not, but ſhoulde ſoꝛte to a foꝛtunate effect and good cõcluſion,if the kyng of Englãd would vouchſafe to geue to hym in matrimony his firſt begottẽ daughter the lady Margaret,vpõ which point he determined not lõg agone to ſende hys Ambaſſadoꝛs into En=
x glãd,which thing he would the ſoner do yf he knew this byſhops mynd & entẽt ready to further his louing purpoſe. The byſhop aũſwered but fewe woꝛdes,ſauing that whẽ he were returned to the kyng his maſter, he would do the beſt in thatmatter that laye in his powꝛe. Which wooꝛ=des animated much the king, & put him in good hope to ſende hys oꝛa=tours to ỹ king of Englãd to ſue foꝛ theſaid matrimony to be cõcluded.

When the byſhop had taken his leaue,& was come to the king he de=clared to him in oꝛdꝛe all the cõmunication betwene king James & him. This requeſt pleaſed the kyng very much,to whome peace was euer a ſouereygne coꝛdial,and determined ſurely to miniſter occaſion of warre
xx to no man,noꝛ woulde haue any pꝛince to pꝛouoke hym to theſame.

Now began the fatall daye of the death of Perkyn Warbeck, & Ed=ward erle of Warwicke to appꝛoche: Foꝛ after this facte done & cõmit=ted,one fierce & ſtrong waue deuoured & ſwalowed both their lyues not long aſonder,as yow ſhall heare by the cõtinuacio of this ſtoꝛy. Perkin, whether it greued hym to be kept in warde oꝛ els that he was inſtigated & entiſed by ſome of his olde frẽdes to ſturre moꝛe coles,and begin ſome new ſedicious faccion,oꝛ at the leaſt, becauſe he woulde wilfully waſt & caſt away hym ſelfe,ſtudied how to eſcape & flye away, hauing perfight hope that he ſhould fynd occaſiõ to bꝛing all thinges well to paſſe,yf he
xx could cõueigh him ſelfe once out of ỹ Engliſhmẽs hãdes. And although he were not ignoꝛaunt,that he neither coulde do noꝛ ymagyn any thing but the kyng woulde bothe heare of it and knowe it: Yet he ſeduced with hope of euaſion and ſkapyng, whiche was the chiefe cõfoꝛte of his captiuitie,had leuer put all thinges in a pꝛofe and haſarde, rather then lenger to tollerate and ſuffre the pꝛeſent calamyte & dayly myſery. And ſo deceauing his kepers toke him to his heeles,by the which he bꝛought hym ſelfe into a ſtreighter cuſtodie and pꝛiſon , and wꝛapped hym ſelfe into toꝛtures and punyſhmentes. Foꝛ when he came to the Sea coaſtes, and had gone but a litle foꝛwarde on his iourney , when the tumoure of
xl his flight was ſpꝛeade abꝛoade,euery bywaie and lane was ſet abꝛoade with the kynges garde,which had the cuſtody of his body. Wherfoꝛe he beyng ſoꝛe abaſhed with the clamoꝛ of theim that ſearched and made in=quirie foꝛ him,and being in maner deſtitute of wit & counſail, altered of neceſſitie frõ his pꝛetenſed iourney,and came to the houſe of Bethlẽ,cal=led the pꝛioꝛy of Shene beſide Richemond in Southꝛey & cõmitted him=

selfe to the pryor of the monastery, requyring him for Gods sake to aske and desire his life and perdō of the kynges maiestie. The pryor, which for hys verteous qualities was had in great estimacion, moued with the calamytie and infortunate state of this man, came to the kynge and shewed him of this Perkyn, whose perdon he humbly craued, and franckely obteyned it. Incontinent after thys, Perkyn was brought to the court agayne to Westmynster with many a curse and reproche, and was one daye set fettered in a payre of stockes, before the doze of Westmynster hall, and there stoode an whole daye, not without innumetable reproches mockes and skornynges. And the next day was caryed thorough London, and set vpon a lyke skaffolde in Chepe by the standard, with lyke gynnes and stockes as he occupyed the daye before, and there stode all daye and red openly hys awne confession writen with hys awne hande, the very copy wherof hereafter ensueth.

First it is to be knowen, that I was borne in the toune of Turney in Flaunders, & my fathers name is Jhon Osbeck, which sayd Jhon Osbeck was comptroller of the saide toune of Turney, & my mothers name is Katheryn de Faro. And one of my grauntsires vpon my fathers syde was named Diryck Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my grauntmother was maryed vnto the withinnamed Peter flamme, that was receauer of the forsaid toune of Turney, & Deane of the botemen that rowe vpon the water or Ryuer, called Leschelde. And my grauntsire vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, whiche had in hys keping the keyes of the gate of sainct Jhons within thesame toune. Also I had an vncle called master Jhon Stalyn, dwelling in the parish of sainct Pyas within thesame toune, which had maried my fathers suster, whose name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certain season. And afterward I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learne Flemische, in a house of a cousyn of myne, an officier of the said toune, called Jhon Stiebeck, with whom I was the space of halfe a yere. And after that I returned agayn to Turney, by reason of the warres that were in Flaūders. And within a yere folowing I was sent with a merchaūt of the said toune of Turney named Berlo, and his Maisters name Alexāder, to the marte of Antwerpe where I fel sicke whiche sickenes contynued vpon fyue monethes. And the sayde Barlo set me to boorde in a skinners house that dwelled beside the house of the Englische nacion. And by him I was from thence caryed to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I a bode the space of two monethes. And after this the sayde Barlo set me with a merchaunt of Middelborough too seruice, for to learne the language, whose name was Jhon Strewe, with whom I dwelled frome Christmas tyll Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companye of Syr Edwarde Bramptones wyfe, in a shyppe whyche was called the quenes shyppe. And when I was come thether, then I was put in seruyce to a knyghte that dwelled in Lushborne whiche was called Peter Vacz de cogna, with whome I

dwelled

I dwelled an whole yere, whiche sayde knyght had but one eye. And
because I delyred to see other countreys, I toke licence of him, and then
I put my selfe in seruice with a Bryto, called Pregent Meno, the which
brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arryued in
the toune of Corke, they of the toune, because I was arayed with some
clothes of sylke of my sayde maisters, came vnto me & threped vpon me
that I should be the duke of Clarence sonne that was before tyme at
Deuelyn. And forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me
the holy euangelist & the Crosse by the Mayre of the toune, which was
x called Jhon le Wellē, & there in the presence of him & other I toke myne
othe as the truth was that I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none
of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name
was Stephen Poyntron, with one Jhō water, & sayde to me inswearyng
great othes that they knew wel that I was kynge Richardes bastard
sonne: To whom I aunswered with like othes that I was not. And thē
they aduysed me not to be afearde, but that I should take it vpon me
boldely, and yf I woulde so do they would aide & assist me with al their
powre against the kyng of Englād, & not only they, but they were assu-
red wel that the erles of Desmōd & kyldare should do thesame. For they
xx forced not what party they toke, so that they might bereuenged vpō the
kyng of England, & so against my will made me to learne English and
taught me what I should do & saye. And after this they called me duke
of Yorke, secōd sonne of kinge Edward the.iiii. because king Richardes
bastard sonne was in the hādes of the king of England. And vpon this
the said Jhon water, Stephin Poyntron, Jhō Tyler, Hughbert Burghe
with many other, as the forsayd Erles, entred into this false quarell.
And within shorte tyme after, the French king sent an Imbassadour into
Ireland, whose name was Ioyte Lucas, and master Stephin Fryam, to
aduertise me to come into Fraunce. And thēce I wēt into Fraūce, & frō
xxx thence into Flaūders, & frō Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland
into Scotland, and so into England.

When night of thesame daye, whiche was the.xv. day of Juyne was
come (partely because the king had pardoned him his lyfe, & partely be-
cause he should no more rōne away, & put the king in doubt of any my-
sturst or misfortune to come) he was cōmitted to ỹ Towr of Lōdō, where
his wickednes boyling so hoate within his cancard stomacke would not
suffre hym to escape the punishmēt & vēgeaūce of God but shortely after
was moost iustly & worthely put to death, as hereafter shalbe shewed.

The xv. yere.

xl



Dward Plantagenet erle of Warwike, of whome ye haue
heard before, beyng kept in the Towre almost frō his ten-
der age, that is to saye, frō his first yere of the kyng to this
xv. yere, out of all company of men & sight of beastes, in so
much that he coulde not decerne a Goose frō a Capō. And

 where

where as he by comme treason & open apparaũce, could not by hys awne doynges seke his death & destrucciõ, yet by the dzyft & offẽce of another man, he was bzought to his ende & confusion. Foz a freer Augustyn on the border of Suffolke called Patricke, to thentẽt to bzing this erle into disdayn & hatred, had a certain skoler called Raufe Wilfozd, whome he greatly fauoured, & in whose hed he euer distilled & enfused this foliche & fantasticall cõceipte, that if he would folow his counsail and aduise, he would easely conuey him to the kingdom of England. The skoler like a good disciple, did not denye to folow his masters discipline & counsayll, but moze & moze desired & put his master remembzaunce to perfozme & accõplish with al spede that thing which of his awn liberalite, he befoze had to him both pzomised & assured, saiyng, what Wecocke oz bastard is so soze afearde of trãsgressing the law, oz tymerous of punishment, the which foz to obteine a kingdõ wil not attẽpt to do and suffre all thinges that be possible to be assayed & tasted? So that when they betwene them selfes secretly had takẽ a crafty deliberacion & coũsaile of their enterpzice, & had deuised in their folish wittes, how it should be bzought to passe they wẽt both together into Kent (which countrey in aunciẽt tyme hath not bene dul in settinge foozth of newe phantasticall fantasies) & there begãne this yoũge mawmet to tel pzeuely to many that he was the very erle of Warwike, & lately gotten oute of the Towze, by the helpe of this freer Patricke. To the whiche saiynges when the freer perceaued hope to be geuen, he declared it openly in the pulpet, & defyzed all mẽ of helpe.

But the head of thys sedicion was sommer topped, that it coulde haue no tyme to spzinge any hygher, the Master and the skoler beyng bothe appzehended and caste into pzyson, and attaynted. Of the whiche twoo, the skoler was hanged on Shzouetuesdaye, at sayncte Thomas waterynges, and the freer was condempned to perpetuall pzyson and captiuitie. Foz at that tyme here in Englande, so much reuerence was attributed to the holy ozders, that to a pziest, althoughe he had committed hygh treason agaynste hys souereigne lozde and to all other, offenders in murder, rape oz theft, which had receaued any of the .iij. higher holy ozders, the lyke was geuen, and the punyshmente of death released. The chief cause of thys fauoure was this because Byshoppes of a longe tyme and season dyd not take knowlege, noz intermit them selues with the serche and punyshment of suche heynous and detestable offences, by reason whereof they dyd not disgrade and depzyue from the holy ozders suche malefactours and wycked persones, whiche without that ceremony, by the canonycall lawe coulde not be put to deathe. Furthermoze, what shoulde a man saye, it was also vsed that he that coulde but onely reade (ye althoughe he vnderstode not what he redde) howe heynous oz detestable a cryme soo euer he had committed (treason onely except) shoulde likewise as affines and alyes to the holy ozders be saued, and committed to the Byshoppes pzyson.

And

And to thentēt that if they ſhould eſcape, and be agayne taken, committing lyke offence, that their lyues ſhould be no moze to them perdoned, it was ordeyned that murtherers ſhould be brent on the brawne of the left hande with an hote Iron ſigned with thys lettre M, and theues in theſame place with this lettre T, So that if they, which were once ſigned with any of theſe markes or tokens did reiterate like crime and offence agayn, ſhould ſuffre the paynes & puniſhmentes, which they had both merited and deſerued. Which deuyſe was enacted and eſtabliſhed in the Parliament kept in the.ii. yere of thys kynges reigne, and taken as I
r coniecture of the Frenche nacion, which are wonte, yf they take any ſuch offender, to cut of one of his eares, as a ſure token and matke hereafter of hys euell doyng. And the charge of keppng ſuche offenders, that be onely impriſoned by their offences, becauſe it ſoundeth to ſpirituall religion is committed to the byſhops and rulers of the ſpiritualle, with a penalitee ſet vpon them yf any ſuche pryſoner do afterward eſcape. The whiche acte and priuilege did noziſh and encreace aboundantly the ſect and ſwarme of theues & murtherers, foz after that tyme there were an hundzed wayes practiſed and inuented how at one tyme oz another to deliuer oz conuey theim out of pryſon and captiuite, by making their
rr purgacion (by what ſleight and meanes they care not) of ſuche offences as befoze they were conuinced and founde gilty yf no man be preſent to laye exceptions to theſame. Foz if the partye offended & hurte be abſent at the day of the purgacion making, the theſe oz murder truly founde gilty from the beginning, ſhall be both excuſed and ſet at libertie. And otentymes the ſoner becauſe the byſhop would not leſe ſo great a ſumme as an hundzed pounde, foz the eſcape of a pooze knaue, ſkant woozth a dandyprat: But nowe to returne to oure matter agayne.

Perkyn (of whome reherſall was made befoze) beyng nowe in holde, coulde not leaue with the deſtruccion of him ſelfe, and confuſiō of other
rrr that had aſſociate thē ſelfes with him, but begā now to ſtudy which way to flye & eſcape. Foz he by falſe perſwaſions and liberall promyſes, coztupted Strangweyes, Blewet, Aſtwood and long Roger hys kepers, beynge ſeruauntes to syz Jhon Dygby lieutenaunt. In ſo muche that they (as it was at their araynement openly proued) entended to haue ſlayn theſayde Maſter, and to haue ſet Perkyn and the erle of Warwyke at large, whiche erle was by them made preuy of this enterprice, and therunto (as al natural creatures loue libertie) to his deſtruccion aſſented, But this craftie deuice and ſubtil imaginacion, beyng opened & diſcloſed, ſozted to none effect, and ſo he beyng repulſed and put backe from
rl all hope and good lucke with all hys complices and confederates, and Jhon Awater, ſometyme Mayze of Cozke in Irelande, one of hys foū-ders, and hys ſonne, were the ſixten daye of Nouembze arreyned and condempned at Weſtmynſter. And on the thzee and twenty daye of theſame moneth, Perkyn and Jhon Awater were dzawen to Tybozne, and there Perkyn ſtandyng on a lytle ſkaffolde, redde hys confeſſion.

 which

whiche before you haue heard, and toke it on hys death to be true, and so he and Jhon Awater asked the king forgeuenes and dyed pacientlye. This was the rewarde of the pernicius Alye and coment of Perkyn Warbeck, whiche as in his lyfe with falfe perfwafions and vntrew furmifes had brought/many/noble perfonages to death and vtter perdicion, fo at hys death he brought with him other of thefame fozte to their not vndeferued ponifhment. And emongeft other, Edward erle of Warwicke, whiche as thefame went, confented to breake prifon, and to departe out of the realme with Perkyn (which in prifoners is high treafon) was the.xxi.daye of thefaide moneth arreygned at Weftmynfter xx
Perkyn put to death at Tybourne. before the erle of Orefoide, then high Conftable of England, of thefaide treafon, whiche whether it were by the enticemēt of other or of his awne frewyll, (many men doubte, becaufe of hys innocency) confeffed the fact and fubmitted hym felfe to the kynges mercy. And vpon hys confeffion he had his iudgement, and accoidyng therunto, the.xxviij.daye of Nouembre. M.cccc.xcix. was brought to the fkaffolde on the Towre hyll, and there be hedded. The fame after his death fprāge abroad, that Ferdinand kyng of Spayne woulde neuer make full concluſion of the matrimony to be had betwene prynce Arthur and the lady Katheryn hys daughter nor fende her into England affonge as this erle lyued. For xx
he ymagened that as longe as any erle of Warwicke lyued, that England fhould neuer be clenfed or purged of Cyuyle warre and preuy fedicion, fo muche was the name of Warwyke in other regions, had in feare and gealoufy.

Agreat death The next yere after there was a great plague, whereof men dyed in many places very fore, but fpecially and mooft of all in the citie of London, where dyed in that yere thirty thoufand. Alfo in thys yere was burned a place of the kynges called the maner of Shene Situate, & lynge nygh the Thamys fide, whiche he after buylded agayne fumpteoufly & coftly, and chaunged the name of Shene, and called it Richemond, be- xxx
cauſe hys father and he were erles of Richemonde. The kynge perceaupnge thys plague and contagyous diſeaſe, rather to encreaſe then diſcreaſe, whether it was to aduoyde the occaſion of the ſickneſs, or to allure the archeduke Philip of Burgoyne to commē with hym, he perſonally toke hys ſhip at Douer, in the begynninge of May, and ſayled to Caleys, to thentent to prouyde and ſee the watches whiche haue bene accuſtomed to be diligently kepte and maynteyntd agaynſt the incurſions of his aduerſaries, & there he made polletique ordinaūces & ſtreyte lawes. While the kyng laye thus at Caleys, the archeduke Philip ſent to him diuerſe notable perſonages, not alonely to gratefye and welcome xl
hym into thoſe partes, but alſo to declare that thefayde Archeduke offred to repaire perſonally to hys preſence, with ſuche a numbre as the kynge ſhoulde appoynt, ſo that it were within no walled toune or fortreſſe. For he had before diuerſe tymes made denyall to the Frenche kyng to entre into any of hys walled tounes, & if he ſhould as he gladly woulde

woulde come to the toune of Caleys, it might be a pzelident to the Frech kynge to desyze like meting, what chaunce therof might fall, euery man coulde not iudge. The kynge gentely entreteyned the Ambassadours, but moze thankefully accepted the Archedukes offre, and so appoynted the place at sainct Peters churche without Caleys. Upon the Tuesday in Pentecost weke, the Archeduke came thether with a conuenient company. The kyng and the quene with many a lusty lozde and lady rode thether to welcome hym. And when the kynge appzoched, the duke at hys lightynge offred to holde hys styzope, whiche the kyng in no wyse would suffre to be done. When the kyng was dissended from hys hozsse he and the Archeduke embzaced eache other with mooste pzincely familiaritie, and then the quene and all the nobles saluted hym. What banquettynge, what myzthe and what passe tyme there was I passe ouer. But to conclude, there was communication of mariages, treatinge of farther cozrobozacion of leagues, requestes of tolles in Flaunders to be mynished, with many other thinges touchynge thentrepzice and traffique of bothe their realmes. And when all thinges were set in an ozdze, the two pzinces louingly, toke their leaue and departed, the kyng to Caleys, and the Archeduke to saynct Omers.

After this departing, the Frenche kyng Lewes the.xii. sent to vysite the kynge, the lozde Gronthouse gouernoure of Picardy, and the lozde Mernelliers, bayly of Ampas, whiche declared to the kyng the getting of Millayn, and takyng of the duke, whiche lozdes were highly feasted and with great rewardes departed.

The.xvi.yeere.

One after when thys plague was slaked, the kyng returned agayn to England, about the ende of June: And beynge come into England, sone after there came to hym one Gaspar Pous a Spanyard (bothe foz learning and good behaueour very excellent) sent from Alexander byshop of Rome, whiche should shewe the Englishmen the right waye to heauen. Therfoze that yere was called the yere of Jubile, whiche was the yere of our Lozde a thousand fyue hundzed. And to thentent that the people of farre countreyes might be eased of their laboure and traueyle in commyng thether, the charitable father sent hys legates into euery countrey to destribute the heauenly grace (as he called it) to all Chzisten people, whiche either letted by warre, enimyes, infirmitie, weakenes oz tediousnes of the lõge iourney, were not hable to perfozme their iourney to the holy cytie of Rome. But thys beneuolent liberalitie was not francke & frely geuen: Foz the holy bishop Alexander, with helping and lokynge to the health of mennes soules, thought somewhat to do foz hys awne pziuate commoditie and singuler wealth, and therfoze he limitted and set a certaine pzice of this hys grace & pardon: & to thende that the king should not hyndze noz let hys purpose, he offred parte of this hys gayn

A yere of Jubile.

vnto the kyng. And that the people might the soner inynsche their purses, and enryche hys chestes, he promysed that he woulde in the begynnyng of the yere make warre in all the hast agaynst the great Turke. By thys meanes and pollecy, thys Alexander gat, accumulated & heaped vp a great summe of money, and yet no battayle begonne agayne the Turke, whiche in the meane season had taken, conquered and destroyed many regions, cities and tounes belongyng to Chzisten men, but God amend all that is amysse.

Aboute this time dyed.iiij. Bishops in England, Jhon Morton bysshop of Caunturbury, Thomas Langtō bishop of Wynchester, & Thomas Rotheram bishop of Yorke. After hym succeded Thomas sauage bishop of London in whose place succeded doctor Williā Warham of whome we made mencion before. And Hēry deane bishop of Salisbury was made archebishop of Canturbury. Also Richarde Fox bishop of Durham was prefected to the bishoprike of Winchestre. Also this yere two notable mariages were cōcluded & agreed vpon, but neither solēpnised now, nor consummate as you shal here afterward. For king Henry graunted hys daughter ladye Margaret to James the.iiij. kynge of Scottes. And Ferdinād kyng of Spayne gaue hys daughter lady Katheryn to Arthur prynce of Wales, sonne & heyre apparaūt to the kyng of England. And it is to be considred that kyng Hēry did not ioyne this affinitie with the kyng of Scottes without cause: For he desyringe nothing more then to passe ouer the remanant of his lyfe in peace, rest and tranquilitee, ymagened in him selfe that by this cōiunction and couplement of mattimony, no warren or hostilitee hereafter should be attempted either agaynst hym or his dominions by the Scottishe kyng or hys naciō, hauyng sure trust that none other of hys enemyes or of hys rebelles should hereafter be receaued or maynteyned in the dominions and territories of his sonne in lawe. And emongest all other articles thys was concluded and appoynted, that no Englishmen shoulde entre into Scotland, without letters cōmendatorie of their awne souereign lorde, or lauecondupte of his wardeyn of the marches, and that prohibicion was in lyke maner geuen to the Scottes.

The.xviii.yere.

YOu haue heard before, how that the matiage was agreed betwene prynce Arthur of England, & the lady Katheryne of Spayne, & how the kyng her father promysed to sende her with great honoure into England: He nowe this yere accordyng to hys promes conueyghed her with a puissaūt nauye toward England, where she arryued in the porte of Plymmoth the seconde daye of October, then beyng Saterday. When the kynge was certefied of her arrypual, incōtinēt he sent both for prince Arthur his sonne into Wales to repaire to London, & sent diuerse great lordes and knyghtes to cōuey her with triūphe toward her spouse & husband. And

vpon

vpon the.xij.daye of Nouembre, she was conueyed from Lambeth thorough London with all triūphe and honoure that coulde be deuised or ymagened, to the Bishops paleys, by the cathedrall churche of s. Paules. And because I wyll not be tedious to you, I passe ouer the wyse deuises, the prudent speches, the costly woorkes, the conninge portratures practised and set sooth in.vii. goodly beutifull pageauntes erected & set vp in diuerse places of the citie. I leaue also the goodly ballades, the swete armony, the Musicall instrumentes, which sounded with heauenly noyes on euery side of the strete. I omit farther the costly apparel both of goldsmythes woorke and embraudery, the ryche iewelles, the massy cheynes, the stirrynge horsses, the beautyfull bardes and the glytteryng trappers bothe with belles and spangles of golde. I pretermyt also the ryche apparell of the prynceesse, the straunge fasshion of the Spanyshe nacion, the beautie of the Englishe ladyes, the goodly demenoure of the young damoselles, the amorous countenaunce of the lusty bachelers. I passe ouer also the fyne engrayned clothes, the costly furres of the citezens, standynge on skaffoldes, rayled from Gracechurche to Paules. What should I speke of the oderiferous skarlettes, the fyne veluet, the plesaunt furres, the massye chaynes, which the Mayre of London with the senate, sitting on horsebacke at the litle conduyte in Chepe, ware on their bodyes, and about their neckes. I will not molest you with rehersyng the ryche arras, the costly tapestry, the fyne clothes bothe of gold & syluer, the curious veluettes, the beautiful sattens, nor the pleasaunte sylkes, which did hange in euery strete wher she passed, the wyne that ranne continually out of the conduytes, the grauelyng & rayling of the stretes needeth not to be remembred.

While this princes soiorned for her recreacio in the Bishops paleys of London, not without visitacion of the kynge, the quene & the kynges mother, there was erected in the body of saynct Paules church, a long brydge made of tymbre, extendynge from the West doore of the church to the steppe at the entrynge into the quere, whiche was sixe foote from the grounde. On thesayde bridge or staige, euen directly before the consistory of the churche was eleuate a place lyke a mounte, for eyghte persons to stande vpon, cōpassed rounde about with steppes to assende and dissende, whiche was couered with fyne redde worsted, and in likewyse were all the rayles of thesayde staige. On the Northside of thys mount was a place furnished for the kyng & quene, & such other as they apoynted. On the Southside of thesame mount stoode the Mayre and the Magistrates of London. When all preparacion was made, and all thinges set in an ordre. Upon the daye of saynt Erkenwalde, then beynge Sundaye thesayde lady was ledde to thesame mount, and there prynce Arthur openly espoused her, bothe beynge cladde in whyte, both lusty and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and she of the age of.xviij. or there aboutes. The kynge and the Quene, standynge preuelye on their stayge. After the matrymonye celebrate the

prince & his wyfe went vp into the quere, & there herde ā solempnē masse
song by the Archebishop of Cauntourbury, associate with.xix. prelates
mitred And after the masse fynished, the bryde was led homeward to the
Bishops palace, by the duke of Yorke, beyng thē a goodly youge prince
& the legate of Spayne. Next after folowed the lady Cicile suster to the
quene, supporting the treyne of the spouse. After whome folowed aboue
an.C. laydes & gentlewomē gorgeouly appareyled & richely adourned.
There was kept that day a sumpteous feast, and yet not so sumpteous
as populous, nor yet so populous as delicate, nor so delicate as of all
thinges aboūdaūt. For if I should reherse to yow the valew of.iiii. cup-
broders that day shewed & set foorth beside the plate that was occupied, r
or declare the ryches of the hanginges, canapies or clothe of estate, or set
foorth the nombre of dishes serued at the.iiii. courses and banquettes
the deliuer daunsinge & costly disguisinges, I assure you that I should
soner fayle then coppe of mattre or habundaunce of honoure. But
euery daye endeth, and night ensueth, so when night was come, thys lu-
sty prince and his beautifull bryde were brought and ioyned together
in one bed naked, and there dyd that acte, whiche to the perfourmaunce &
full consummacion of matrimony was most requysite and expedyent.
In so muche that hys familiet seruitours, which had then neither cause rr
nor rewarde to lye or fayne, declared openly that in the mornynge he
called for drynke, whiche he before tyme was not accustomed to do.
At whiche thinge one of hys chamberlaynes meruaylynge, requyred
the cause of his drouth. To whome he aunswered merely saiyng, I haue
thys nyght bene in the middest of Spayne whiche is a hote region, and
that iourney maketh me so dry, and yf thou haddest bene vnder that
hote clymate, thou wouldest haue bene dryer then I. Then shortely
after the kynge and the quene with the new wedded spouses went from
Baynardes castel by water to Westmynster, on whome the Mayre and
comminaltye of London in Barges garnished with standardes, stre- rrr
mers and penons of their deuyce gaue their attendaunce. And there in
the paleys were suche marcyall feates, suche baylyant iustes, suche by-
gorus turneys, suche fierce fight at the barreyers, as before that tyme
was of no man had in remembraunce. Of thys royall triumphe lorde
Edwarde duke of Buckyngham was chiefe chalengeour, and lorde
Thomas Grey Marques dorcet was chief defendoure whiche wyth
their aydes and companygnions, bare theim selfes so valyauntly that
they obteyned great laude and honoure, bothe of the Spaniardes and
of their countrymen.

Durynge the tyme of these iustes and triumphe, were receaued into rl
London an Erle, a Byshop, and dyuerse noble personages, sent from
the kynge of Scottes into England, for the conclusion of the mariage
betwene the lady Margaret the kynges daughter and hym. Whiche
Erle by proxie in the name of kynge James hys master, affied and con-
tracted the said fayre lady. Whiche assuraūce was published at Paules

crosse

Crosse, the daye of the conuersion of saynct Paule, in reioysynge whereof Te deum was songe, and great fyers made throughe the cytie of London. Whiche thinges as you haue hearde beyng fully fynyshed and accomplished the Ambassadours aswell of Spayne as of Scotlande tooke their leaue of the kyng, and not without great rewardes departed into their countryes and habitacions.

When the Ambassadours were departed, the kynge entendynge to auaunce the honour and reputacion of the prynce his sonne, furnisshed hym with men and money largely, and sent hym agayne into Wales, where he was before, to kepe lyberall hospitalytee, and to mynystre to the rude Welshemen indifferent iustice. And least by reason of lacke of experience he might erre, he appointed to hym wyse and expert counsaylers, as sir Rychard Poole his kynsman, which was his chief chamberlayne, with whome were associate Sir Henry Vernon, Sir Rychard Croftes, Sir Dauy Philip, Sir William Vdale, Sir Thomas Englefelde, Sir Peter Newton knyghtes, Jhon Walleston, Henry Watyon, and doctor William Smyth, was pryesydent of his counsaill, and docter Charles, bothe were with hym associate, the one was afterwarde Byshop of Lyncoln, and the other Byshop of Herforde. But as of one fountayne commeth often bothe ioye & sorowe, so I leaue here to speake more of ioye of this mariage, consyderyng the chaunce that shortely after succeded.

A fewe monethes before the mariage of pryncе Arthur, Edmonde Poole Erle of Southfolke, sonne to Jhon duke of Southfolke, and lady Elizabeth suster to kyng Edward the. iiii. beyng stoute and bolde of courage, and of wyt rashe and hedy, was endited of homicide & murther, for sleyng of a meane persone in his rage and fury. And although the kynge perdoned hym whome he might iustly haue condempned for that offence, yet because he was brought to the kynges Benche barre and arreyned (which facte he reputed to be a great mayme and blemish to his honoure) tooke it seryously, and shortely after for this displeasure fledde to Flaunders, without any lycence or saue conduite geuen hym of the kynge, to the lady Margaret his awnt on the mothers syde. Neuertheless, whether he was sturred by his pryuy frendes thereunto moued by the kyng, or whether he trustyng on his vnuiolated truthe feared no daungier nor penaltie, he returned agayne, and excused hym selfe so to the kyng that he was thoughte to be giltеles and inculpable in any cryme that could be obiected to hym, and therefore he was permitted to go frankely at his libertie and pleasure.

But when this mariage of prince Arthur was kept at London with great pompe and solempnitie, and that all the nobilitie were set on pleasure and solace, and the kynge hym selfe was pryncipally geuen to ioye and reioysynge. This Edmond, either for that he had bene at great and excessyue charges at thesame triumphe and solempnytie,

and

and by reason therof sore charged with debte. Either sollicited, allured and prouoked by that olde venemous serpent the duches of Burgoyn, euer beyng the sower of Sedicion and begynner of rebellió agaynst the kyng of England, or els stimulate and pricked with enuy, which could not pacientlý with open eyes se and beholde kynge Henry, beinge of the aduerse lyne to his linage, so longe to reygne in wealthe and felicitie: in conclusion with hys brother Richarde fledde agayne into Flaunders. Thys sad chaunce (I thinke) happened emonge the great ioyes and solaces of kynge Henry least that he myghte not by ouermuche gladnes sodeynly forget him selfe: Whiche displeasure at another tyme before to haue chaunced, it is manifest and well knowen to you.

When the kynge vnderstode certaynly that this erle was departed and returned agayne, he was not a litle vexed and vnquyeted, mistrustynge that some newe tumulteous busynes shoulde be begonne agayn, and chiefly therfore blamed hym selfe of folishe folye that he had geuen hym hys pardon for hys offence lately committed. Although it was manifest enough that he dyd it for this purpose, that he might dissemble and wincke at the matter so longe vntyll suche tyme, he had some sure token and perfight knowlege of his coniuracion, the whiche he perceaued nows to be surely attempted and begonne, assone as Edmonde de la poole erle of Suffolke was fled agayne into Flaunders. Syr Robert Curson, whome the kynge had promoted to the ordre of knyghthod, & made capitayne of Hammes castel, a valyaunt and a circumspect man, dissimulyng him selfe to be one of that conspiracy went into Flaunders, doubtlesse to espie what was done there by the lady Margaret against kynge Henry. Thys opynion was setteled in euery mannes head at the fyrst brochynge of the matter, and so yet contynueth, groundyng vpon thys principle, that he neyther vexed nor molested with any poynte of displeasure or iniurie by hys prynce or any other fled to the kynges enemyes. And after al thynges were knowen, opened, pacefied and suppressed, he willyngly returned and was receaued into high fauoure with the kynge hys master and soueraygne lorde. Howebeit, the kynge lyke a wylye fore, knowynge the faithfull entent of thys syr Robert, and entendynge to put hym oute of all gealousy and suspició with the lady Margaret, and Edmond de la poole, caused thesayde erle and thesayde Syr Roberte Curson, & fyue persones more to be accursed at Paules crosse the fyrst Sondaye of Nouember, as enemyes and rebelles to hym and hys realme. But howsoeuer it chaunced, whether it were for the easing of hys hart, or for some preuey pollecie, the kynge after the mariage of hys sonne prynce Arthur, was so bigilant, so circumspect and so intentyue, that he espyed and tryed oute suche as he knewe, partely to be the inuenters of mischiefe agaynst hym, and partely to beare no good wyll or sincere affection towarde hys person, that he coulde redely name and reherse their names and surnames, wherof a great parte were with in fewe dayes after apprehended and taken. And emonge them, lorde

William

Willyam Courtney, sonne to Edwarde Erle of Deuonshyre, a man of great nobilite, estimacion and vertue, whiche maryed lady Katheryne, daughter to kyng Edward, lorde William brother to Edmond, Erle of Southfolke, Sir James Tyrrell, Syr Jhon Wyndham. Both these Willyams before rehersed were rather taken of suspicion & gelousy, because they were nere of blood to the coniurators, then for any proued offence or cryme. Wherfore the lorde Willyam sonne to the erle of Deuonshire, after the death of kynge Henry the. vii. was delyuered and set abroade at libertie, by the noble and famous Pryncekyng Henry the viii. sonne to thesaied kynge, with whome after he was in great fauoure and estimacion, but shortely after, when he beganne to exercyse him selfe in marciall feates and warlyke studie, he syckened of a dysease, called Pluresis, of whiche malady, because it was straung and rare to the Physicians of England, he at the kynges manoure of Grenewhiche deseased, leuynge one sonne behynde hym, to contynue his stirpe and familie.

The lorde William, brother to Edmonde the Erle of Southfolke had also greater fauoure shewed in pryson, then he had before. And Syr James Tyrrel, and Jhon Windham, because they were traitours, and so attaynted the fyrst daye of Maye, they were on the towre hyll behedded. But when the erle of Southfolke hearde that some of his frendes were put to execucion, and some other committed to perpetuall pryson and captiuitie, he was in a great agony and feare of hym selfe. And so being clerely desperate to haue any fortunate successe in his pretensed enterprice, wandred about all Germany and Fraunce for aide and succoure, prouyng if he could fynde any aide or succoure at their handes. But when he perceaued no stedfast ground to catche anchor holde vpon (to thentent that in conclusion he might vnderstande that a shamefull death dewe to a man for his offences and crymes cannot by mans helpe or mans reason, be either eschewed or diuerted from hym) he submitted him selfe vnder the obeysaunce and defence of Philip Archeduke of Austryke and Burgoyne, and erle of Flaunders. But Rychard his brother beyng an experte and poletique man, so craftely conueied, and so wysely ordred hym selfe in this stormy tempest, that he was not attrapped eyther with net or snare.

The kyng, not yet being out of doubte of all domestycal sedicion and ciuyle discorde, studied bulely howe to restreine and kepe in a streite closure dyuerse malefactoures, whiche beyng partakers of this conspyracy fled to sondry sanctuaries, tarryng there til a fayre day came to auaunce forthward their enterprice. Wherupon he deuised to kepe the gates of all sanctuaries and places priuileged, shut and well locked, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbe and vnquiet hym, hys realme or people. And for that entent he bothe wrote and sent Ambassadours to alexander, then byshop of Rome, desyryng hym by hys aucthoritie to adiudge and decerne all Englyshmen, beyng fled to sanctuary or other places for treason, as enemies to Christes fayth, and scismatyques too

Chriſten religion, and as commen perturbers of the quiet people, and capitaynes and prouokers of trapterous rufflynges, intreditynge and prohibityng the refuge and priuilege of ſanctuary to all ſuche perſons as once had enioyed the immunitie and liberte of theſame, and after had fled out, and eftſones returned agayne. Whiche thynge after that the Byſhop had graunted, it was greatly to the quietnes and comforte of kyng Henry, and many through the feare of that reproche and ignomony, cõuerted them ſelues to goodnes and dewe ſubiection of their prince: Other alſo that were in ſecurite, and out of all perell and daunger, durſt not haſard them ſelues for feare of galtroppes or ſlipping into the fyer.

When the kyng by his hygh pollecy had compaſſed and framed hys affaires thus to his purpoſe, ſodeynly happened a lamentable chaunce and lachrymable loſſe to the kynge, quene and all the people. For that noble prince Arthur, the kynges fyrſt begotten ſonne, after that he had bene maryed to the lady Katheryne his wyfe, v. monethes, departed out of this tranſytory lyfe, in his caſtell of Ludlowe, and with a great funerall obſequy was buryed in the cathedrall churche of Worcettre. After whoſe death the name of prince belonged to his brother duke of Yorke, hys brother diſſeaſing without iſſue, and ſo without any creation ought to be called, except ſome cauſe apparaunt were the let and obſtacle of the ſame. Howbeit, theſayed duke vpon ſuſpicion of his brothers wyfe to be with chylde, and that doubtfully thought by the expert and ſage men of the princes counſaill, was by a moneth & more delayed from hys tytle, name and preheminence, in the whiche ſeaſon the truthe might to women eaſely apere. It is reported that this lady Katheryne thought and feared ſuche dolorous chaunce to come: For when ſhe had embraced her father, and taken her leaue of her noble and prudent mother, and ſayled towardes England, ſhe was continually ſo toſſed and tumbled hyther and thether with boſterous wyndes, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarite of the windes, her ſhip was prohibited dyuerſe tymes to approche the ſhore and take lande.

¶ The. xviii. yere.

The next yere after quene Elizabeth, lyng within the Towre of London, was brought a bed of a feare daughter on Candelmas date, which was there chriſtened and named Katheryn, and the. xi. daye of theſame moneth, theſayed mooſt vertеous princes and gracious quene there deſeſſed, and was with all funerall pompe caryed thorough the cytye of London to Weſtminſter and there intimulate, whoſe daughter alſo taried but a ſmall ſeaſon after her mother.

After the death of this noble princes, which for her great vertue was commenly called good quene Elizabeth, departed fyr Reignold Breye knight of ỹ gartier, a very father of his coũtrey, a ſage & a graue perſon

and

and a feruent louer of iustice. In so muche that if any thynge had bene done against good lawe or equitie, he would after an hũble cõsaill plainly reprehende the kyng, & geue him good aduertisement how to reforme that offence, & to be more circũspect in an other like case. Of thesame vertue & honest playnes was Jhon Morton archebyshop of Caunterbury, whiche byshop died (as it is shewed aboue) ii. yeres before. So these.ii. persons were euer cohibitors & refreiners of the kynges wilfull scope & vnbrideled libertie, where as the rude & ignorant people saie & affirme, that their counsaill infected & corrupted the kynges clene & immaculate
x conscience, contrary to his pryncely disposicion & naturall inclinacion. Suche is euer the errour of the common people: But surely as long as the kyng would here and obey such as warned him of his office royall & kyngely duetie, he coulde in no wyse erre or swarue aside. About this tyme also died Henry archebyshop of Caunterbury, whose rowme doctor William Warram byshop of London supplied. And to the byshoprick of London was elected Willyam Barnes, after whose death succeded Rychard Fitziames, a man of a good lignage & great learning & vertue. In which yere the.xviii. daye of Februarij, the kyng at his place at Westminster, with all solempnite created his onely sonne Henry pryncc of
xx wales, erle of Chestre. &c. which noble yonglyng succeded his father, not only in the inheritaunce and regalite, but also was to hym equipolent in honour, faime, learnyng and pollecye.

Maximilian the Emperour, hearyng that quene Elizabeth was deceased, sent into England a solempne Ambassade, of the which lord Cazimire, Marques of Brandenburgh his cosyn, accompanied with a byshop, an erle & a great nũber of gentlemen well appareiled, was principal Ambassadour, which were triũphantly receaued into Londõ, & was lodged at Crosbyes place. This Ambassade was sent for.iii. causes, one to visite & comforte the kyng, beyng sorowful and sad for the death of so
xxx good a quene & spouse. The.ii. for the renouacion of the olde league and amitie. The.iii. which was not apparaũt, was to moue the kyng to mary the Emperours daughter the lady Margarete, duches dowager of Sauoye. The first.ii. toke effect, for the kyng vpõ Passion sunday roade to Paules in great triumphe, thesaid Marques riding on his left hand. And there the byshop made to the kyng an excellent cõsolatory oracion, concerning the death of the quene. And there also the kyng openly sware to kepe the new renouate league & amitie, during their.ii. liues. But the third requeste, whether the let was on the mans part or womans syde, neuer sorted to any effect or conclusion. And so these thinges done, the Am-
xl bassadours returned sumptuously and honorably rewarded.

All this wynter was preparacion made for the cõueiaunce of the lady Margaret, affied to the kyng of Scottes into Scotland. And when all thynges were ready and prest, the kyng remoued the last daye of Juyne from Rychemond, hauyng in his company his said daughter, and came to Colywestõ, where the countesse of Rychemond his mother then laye.

And after certayne dayes of solace ended, the kynge gaue her his blessynge with a fatherly exhoztacion, and committed the conueighaunce of her to the kynge her husbandes presence, to the erle of Surrey: And the erle of Northumberland was appointed as Wardein of the marches to delyuer her at the confines of bothe the marches. Thus this faire Lady was conueighed with a great company of lozdes, ladies, knyghtes, esquiers and gentlemen, till she came to Berwycke, and from thence to a byllage called Lambzeton kyzke in Scotland, where the kyng with the floure of Scotlād was ready to receaue her, to whom the erle of Northumberland, accozdynge to his commission deliuered her. The Scottes that daye, I assure you were not behynde, but fayre aboue, bothe in apparell and ryche Jewels and massy chaynes: But aboue other the Erle of Northumberland, what foz the ryches of his cote, beyng Goldsmythes wozke garnyshed with perle and stone, and what foz the costly appatell of his henzmen and galaunt trappers of their hozsses, besydes iii. hundred tall men, well hozsed and appareled in his coolozs, that he was esteemed bothe of the Scottes & Englyshmen, moze lyke a pzince then a subiect. Then was this lady conueyed to the toune of Edenboroughe, and there the daye after, kyng James the fourth, in the pzesence of all his nobylitie espoused thelated faire pzinces, and feasted the Englysh lozdes, and shewed to them Justes and other pastymes, very honourably after the fassion of his rude countrey. When all thynges were done and fynished, accozding to their commission, the erle of Surrey with all the Englishe lozdes and ladyes retourned into their countrey, geuyng moze pzayse to the manhoode, then to the good maner and nurture of Scotlande.

¶ The. xix. yere.



In this yere the kynge kepte his hygh courte of Parliament, in the whiche diuerse actes were concluded, whyche were thought necessary and expedient foz the pzeseruacion of the publique weale. And emonge other thynges, it was determined that theues and murderers duely cõuicted by the lawe to dye, should be burned in the hand, and committed to the Bisshoppes custody as I haue befoze declared. After this, certayne money was graunted to the kyng, by the whole Parliament, and the goodes of men outlawed were fozfeyted and confisqued. There was also called (as the maner is) a congregacion of the clergie, to thentent, that they with their treasure and money might auaunce and pzeferze the common wealth of the realme.

Hetherto we haue shewed you rough and sharpe battailes, pernicious and seditious, strike, tumulte, and the death of many noble & meane persons: Nowe therfoze let vs here rehearse, the contencion of familier thinges, the gnawyng at the hartes, and the freating of mindes and bowes,

wes, promises and requestes made of diuerse persones.

Kyng Henry, now drawyng to age, and before this tyme, euer punched, stimulated and pricked with the scurpulous stynges of domestical sedicion and ciuile commocion, in so much that he more detested and abhorred intestine and priuate warre, then death or any thynge more terrible. Wherfore he determined so politiquely to prouide that all the causes of suche vnquietnes and mischiefe to come, shoulde be eradicate and extirped: whiche ymaginacion and purpose he doubted not to compasse and bryng to effect. ¶ He made lowe and abated the courage of his subiectes and vassalles, and especially of the richest sorte, remembryng the olde prouerbe, that men throughe aboundaunce of riches ware more insolent, hedstronge and robustius, and that nothyng is more to men acceptable or desyrous, then aboundaunce of treasure and plentye of money, whiche people either for feare of losynge, or hope of gaynynge of worldly riches, desyre euer eyther peace or warre. But to thentent that men myght not thynke nor reporte that he whiche is their kynge constituted of God to reuenge all iniuries to theym done and committed, should oppresse and wrongfully polle and exacte money of hys subiectes, he deuysed wyth hym selfe by what honest meane he myght performe it. And thus deuysyng with hym selfe, it came into hys hed that the Englyshmen did litle passe vpon the obseruacion and kepynge of penall lawes or pecuniall statutes, made and enacted for the preseruacion of the commen vtilytee and wealthe. And therefore, if inquisicion were had of suche penall statutes, there should be fewe noble men, merchauntes, fermers, husbandemen, graseers nor ocuppers, but they shoulde be founde transgressours and violatours of thesame statutes. After that he had taken thys counsayll, he soughte oute the penall lawes, and put them in execucion, and they that were founde offenders, were easely at the beginning fyned and scourged. After that he appointed.ii. masters and surueiers of his forfaites, the one sir Richard Empson, and the other Edmond Dudley, bothe learned in the lawes of the realme. And these twoo persons contented, whiche of them by moste bryngyng in myght most please and satisfye his masters desyre and appetide. Wherefore in the begynnynge, they armed with a companye of accusers (commonly called promoters) whyche brought to them the names of the offendours, esteined and regarded so muche the gayne of money, that they clerely forgate and banysshed oute of their remembraunce their duetie present, the peryll that might ensue, and the thanke and good wyll that they myght haue obteyned, and yet they had warnynge of greate and sage persones to close their handes from suche vncharitable doynges and cruell extremitie, accordyng to thee Adage, the extremitie of iustice, is extreme iniurie.

¶ The. xx. yere.



He kyng, after that he had gotten a large and ample ſumme of money, hauyng pitie of the people, whiche cried to God dayly for an ende of their pilfrynge, of his clemency and gracious goodnes towardes his ende thought it beſt, and thus determined, that theſe two extreme officiers ſhoulde be depryued of that offite, and the money from whome it was vniuſtly exacted and extorted, to be wholy reſtored and deliuered againe. Which beyng preuented with death, commaunded it by his laſt will and teſtament to be duely and truly performed, but in the meane ſeaſon many mens coffers were emptied.

¶ The xxi yere.



In this very ſeaſon, and the yere of our lorde a M. D. xvi Elizabeth quene of Caſtell, wyfe to Ferdinande kyng of Arragon dyed without any iſſue male, by reaſon whereof the heritaunce of Caſtell (becauſe that kyngdomes be not partible) diſcended to lady Jane her eldeſt daughter by kyng Ferdinando, the whiche was maried to Philip archeduke of Auſtrich and Burgoyne, and erle of Flaundres. Which kyngdome he obteyned by his wyfe, and had the poſſeſſion of the ſame, and was named, reputed and taken as kynge of Caſtell and Lyon. Wherefore the yere folowynge, aboute the xxt daye of January, hauing a great nauy prepared, he ſayled out of Flaunders with his wyfe toward Spayne, but he had ſayled no great waye before that a vyolous tempeſt, by reaſon of contrarietie of wyndes ſodeynly aroſe, the whole nauy was toſſed and chaſed with the waues and ſodayne ſourges. In ſo myche the wynde hauynge the maiſtry diſperſed and ſeparated the ſhyppes aſondre into diuerſe places on the coaſte of Englande. The kynges ſhip with two other veſſelles were blowen by tempeſt on the Weſt parte of the realme to the port of Weymouth in Dorſet ſhyre. Then kynge Philip whiche xxi was not expert, and had not frequented the ſeas before, beynge fatygate and vnquieted bothe in mynde and body, entryng the ſhyp boate to refreſhe and repoſe hym ſelfe a litle, came a lande contrarye to the mynde of his counſayll and Capitaynes, whiche forſawe and knewe well that theſame landynge ſhoulde bee the occaſion of lenger tatynge there. When it was knowen that ſtraunge ſhyppes were arryued, there came thether a greate number aſwell of noble men as of vrall perſons that dwelled aboute that coaſte, to repulſe and beate awaye hym if he were their enemy. But when they perceaued he was theyr frende and louer and dryuen thether by force of wether, Syr Thomas Trenchard knyght, the chiefe of that company went to Philip kynge xl of Caſtell wyth all humanytie and lowlynes, inuytynge and deſyrynge hym (if he would ſo vouchelauſe) to vyſyte hys maner and mancion, whiche was euen nygh at hande, truſtyng therby to haue great thankes of the kyng hys maiſter, if he coulde protract and cauſe hym to tarye

there

there, vntyll suche tyme as kyng Henry were certefied of hys arryuall, to whome with all diligent celerite, he sent diuerse postes to notefie to his grace of kynge Philippes landinge. This rumour beyng farther blowen abroade of this straunge Prynces comming, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all a longe the sea coast. And emong other there came first Sir Jhon Carew with a goodly band of picked men. Whiche Sir Jhon and Sir Thomas Trenchard entreated the kyng of Castell, not to depart vntill suche tymes as he had spoken with kyng Henry his louing and faithfull frende and alye, assuryng him that he woulde repayre thether within. ii. or. iii. dayes at the most. King Philip excused him selfe by the necessitie of his weighte enterprice & inportunate cause, affirmyng that long tarryng in matters of graultie and dubious, ought to be excluded: Wherfore he alledged that protractyng of tyme might turne him to great preiudice, denieng at the first to expect & tarie the comming of the kyng of England. But yet being perswaded by reason in him selfe, that he might be let and interrupted, if he would proffre once to go aborde to his shippes again, at their gentle desyre and louing contemplation, assented to their humble petition and request.

cx When kynge Henry was informed of hys landynge, he was replenyshed with an exceding gladnes, partely for to renewe the old familiaritie and acquaintaunce, whiche they vsed at their last meting, and partely for that he trusted that his landinge in Englande shoulde turne to his profite and commoditie. Therfore first he wrote many and dyuers letters to Sir Jhon Carew, and Sir Thomas Trenchard, willing and warnyng them with all kyndenes of humanitie to entertayne the kynge of Castell, tyl he in person approched in some place mete and conuenient for the enteruiewyng and entretenning of so noble a personage. Beside this he sent the Erle of Arundell with many lordes and knyghtes to accompany and attende vpon hym. Whiche erle, accordyng to the kynges cxi letters receaued him with. vi. hundred horsses all by torche light to the great admiracion of all the straungiers.

Kyng Philip seing no remedy, but that he must nedes tarie & abide, woulde no lenger gase after kyng Henries commynge, but tooke hys iourney towardes Wynsore Castell where the kynge laye. And fyue myle from Wynsore, the prynce of Wales accompanied with fyue erles and dyuerse lordes and knyghtes, and other to the numbre of fyue hundred persons, moost gorgeously appareled and rychely mounted, receaued him after the moost honorablest fassion of entretenment. And with-cxi in halfe a myle of Wyndsore, the kynge accompanied with the duke of Buckyngham, and a great parte of the nobilitie of his realme, saluted and welcommed hym, and so conueied hym to the Castell of Wynsore, where besyde many triumphs and pastymes shewed, he was made compaignion of the noble ordre of the Gartier. After hym came to Wynsore hys wyfe quene Jane, suster to the Prynces dowager, late wyfe to

pzynce Arthur. And after they two had concluded and renouate their olde league, and made a perpetuall peace and continuall amitie together: kyng Henry delyzed hym to haue Edmõd de la poole erle of Suffolke hys rebell, to be delyuered into his handes and possession. To whome the kyng of Castell aunswered a whyle, that he was not within hys rule oz domunion, and therefoze it laye not in his powre to rendze oz deliuer him. Although he considzed it to be a heynous & great offence to be the occasion & authour of the death of his gest, which came to him foz succour, & was receaued vnder his pzotection and defence. yet when he perceaued that neither excuse, noz yet reasonable argumente coulde be accepted oz allowed of kyng Henry (whiche pzomysed faithfully of his awne offre to pardon, Edmond de la poole, of all peynes and executions of death) he pzomised and graunted to do and accomplysche all kynge Henries desire and request: And so incontinent caused the said Edmond secretly to be sent foz. After this kyng Henry entending to pzotract the tyme till he might possesse his pzaye, which he soze desired, conueyed the kyng of Castell vnto the citie of London, that he myght see the hed cytie of his realme, and there led him from Baynardes Castell by Chepe to Barkynge, and so returned by Watlynge strete againe, during whiche tyme there was shot a wonderfull peale of gunnes, oute of the Towze, vp into the whiche he woulde not entre, because (as you haue heard befoze) he had auowed not to entre the foztresse of any fozeyn pzynce, in the whiche a garison was mainteined: And there tarynge a litle space, returned backe with hym. Then from London the kyng bzought him to Richemond, where were many notable feates of armes pzoued both at the tilt and at the tourney and at the barriers.

In the meane season, Edmond de la poole which euer feared and mistrusted, that the arriuing in England of kyng Philip shoulde be his fatall ende and finall destruccion, perceauynge well that there was no farther hope to be had in fozeyn pzynces and potentates, and trustynge that after his life to hym once graunted, that kyng Henry would bziefly set hym at his libertie and fredome, was in maner content to returne againe into hys natiue countrey, castyng in his mynde farther, that if his hope and truste were defrauded and refelled, yet at the last he was sure to ende his lyfe, and be buried in the countrey where he first entred into this variable wozlde.

When all pactes and couenauntes betwene the kynges of Englande and Castell were appoynted, conuenaunted and agreed: kynge Philip toke his leaue of kyng Henry, rendzyng to hym mooste hartie thankes foz his high chere and princely entreteynment. And beyng accompanied with diuerse lozdes of England, came to the cytie of Excettre, and so to Fulmouth in Cozne wale, and there tooke his shyppe and sayled into Spayne, where he shoztly beynge taken with a sodeyn disease, departed oute of this transitozy lyfe, beynge then but thyzty yeres of age. He had by his wife and quene Jane. vi. childzen, two men childzen Charles and

and Ferdinando, and foure daughters, Eleanor, Isabel, Mary and Katherin. He was a man of stature conuenient, of countenaunce amiable and louely, of body somwhat crasse and corpulent, quycke wytted, bolde and hardy stomaked. This tempest that the kyng of Castell hade, was wonderfull straunge to many men, because the violencie of the wynde had blowen doune an Egle of brasse, beyng set to shewe and manifest on whiche part the wind blewe, from a pynnacle or spire of Paules church. And in the fallyng, thesame Egle brake, and batered another Egle that was set vp for a sygne at a tauerne doze in Chepesyde. And here vpon, men that were studious of straunge tokens and monstreous wonders, did take an opinion that the Emperour Maximilian, whiche at that tyme gaue an Egle in his armes, should haue a great losse, whiche so happened in dede: For he lost his onely begotten sonne Philip, newly called to the kyngdome of Castell.

The discrypcion of kyng Philip.

Also, shortely after the departynge of kyng Philip, the kyng of Englande beganne to suspect Syr George Neuell lorde of Burgeyny, and Sir Thomas Grene, of Grenes Norton knyght, that they were considered fautours and partakers, in the begynnyng with Edmond de la poole, and so vpon this suspicion, they were cõmaunded to the Towre.

xx But shortly after when they had ben tryed and purged of that suspicion and cryme, he commaunded theim bothe to be set at lybertie. But Syr Thomas Grene fell sycke before, and continued in the Towre in hope to be restored aswell to his healthe as he was to hys lybertie, and there dyed. The lorde of Burgeyny for hys modestie, wyt and probitte (because the kyng founde hym lyke hym selfe) always true, faythfull and constant, was of hys souereigne lorde more esteemed, fauoured and regarded then he was before.

¶ The. xxii yere.

xxi After this, the kyng hauing peace aswell with foreyne princes, for the terme of. iii. yere, as disburdened & purified of all domesticall sedicion, began to be diseased with a certaine infirmitie and wekenes of body, whiche thryse in the yere, but especially in the spryng tyme sore vexed & tormented hym. And because for the most part, the harme & cuell that chaunceth to the prince, is parted & communicated to his subiectes & people, the olde sweating wherof you heard before emongest the cõmons of the realme, came again. Howbeit by the reason of the remedy that was inuẽted by the death of many a creature in the beginning, it dyd lesse hurte and displeasure to the peo-

xl ple at this tyme then it did before. But nowe the thirde plague egall with the pestylence ensued by the woorkyng of the masters of the forfaitures by the kyng appoynted as I shewed you before.

By whose meanes many a ryche and welthy persone, by the extrempte of the lawes of the realme, were condempned and brought to myserye. The mattre is as wonderfull to be hearde, as pitefull and miserable to be done, and yet it is called the law, wher as it is rather aperuerse abuse and disorder of a lawe, polletiquely at the beginning inuented to cause the people, the soner to conforme them selues to such as demaunde their right of them, but craftely practysed to the vtter confusion of many by vntrue officers. For if a man put his aduersary in suite before the Judges, of which complaint or accio he neither thinketh nor hath knowlege if he appere not at the last callyng of the exigent, whiche is called in a p shyre where he neuer came (for how can he appere, if he be ignorant of the prosecucion of the cause, and dwell.ii.C. myles from that place) then dothe he forfet all his substaunce and mouables, and his body to captiuitie as an enemy, and rebell to the lawes of his countrey. And yet the pryncc shall enioye the goodes so confiscate, and the party cōplaynaunt or plaintife that is wronged recouereth not one myte, and yet loseth bothe his payne and costes. And all suche persons that be so condempned and adiudged, be called outlawes, that is depriued of all lawes of the lande, to the whiche he was by the custome of the countrey inheritable. These outlaries, olde recognisances of the peace and good abering, xp escapes, ryottes and innumerable statutes penall, were put in execucion and called vpon by Empson and Dudley, so that euery man, both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, hauyng either lande or substaunce, was called to this pluckyng banket, accordinge to the Psalmist saiyng, all declyned and fell together, and no man although he were neuer so clere and gyltles, in conclusion durst auenture a tryall, seynge the experience of them that passed before. For these two rauenynge wolues had suche a garde of false periured persones apperteignynge to them, whiche were by their commaundemēt empanyled on euery quest, that the kyng was sure to wynne whosoeuer lost. Learned men in the lawe, when they were rrr requyred of their aduice, would saye, to agree is the best counsayll that I can geue you. By this vndewe meanes, these couetous persones fylled the kynges cofers, and entyched thē selues. And at this vnreasonable and extorte doynge, noble men grudged, meane men kycked, poore men lamented, preachers openly at Paules crosse and other places exclamed, rebuked and detested, but yet they would neuer amende. Howebeit the good kynge in his last daies conserued and pardoned his poore subiectes of suche vncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

In this season Alexāder byshop of Rome departed out of this world, rl and for hym was elected Fraunces borne Senes, nephiewe to Pius the second, and was called Pius the third, whome kyng Henry had made a litle before, proctoure for his realme in the courte of Rome. The kyng beyng glad of his high promocion and dignitie, sent syr Gylbert Talbot knyght, Rycharde Bere Abbot of Glascenbury, and doctor Robert

Sherborne

Sherborne deane of Paules, to declare to hym what gladnes entred into the kynges hart, when he hearde tell of his hygh preferment and honour. But this bishop Pius did not expect and tary the gratulacions of these Ambassadours, for within a moneth after that he was installed he rendred his debt to nature, hauyng small pleasure of his promocion. At this same tyme also dyed Gyles, lorde Dawbency, the kynges chiefe chamberleyn, whose office Charles bastard sonne of Henry last duke of Somerset occupied and enioyed, a man of a good wyt and great experience.

¶ The. xviii. yere.

Done after, the kyng caused Guy Ubald duke of Urbyne to be elected, knyght of the ordre of the gartier, a noble warriour, in the Greke and Latyn tounges excellently learned. And this honour and hygh dignitie, this duke desyred instantly to haue, that he might be equyualent in all degrees of honour and nobilitie with his father, duke Frederick a prince in his tyme of high renoune and estimacion, which was receaued and chosen into that ordre by kyng Edward the fourth. And because it was noised that July the second, a Januway borne, was after the death of Pius, elected to be byshop of Rome, the kyng entending to stop all gappes with one bushe, sent syr Gylbert Talbot and the other two Ambassadours, principally to byshop July, and by them sent also to the duke of Urbyne, the whole habite and coller of the noble ordre of the gartier. When duke of Guy was reuested with the habit, and had taken his othe according to the statutes of the ordre: He sent syr Balthaser de Castello knyght a Mantuane borne, his Oratour to kynge Henry, whiche was for hym enstalled, according to the ordinaunces of that famous ordre.

While these thinges were in doinge, Lewes the Frenche kynge mistrustyng that he should neuer haue manchylde, maried his eldest daughter lady Claude to Fraunces de Valoys, dolphyn of Uyen and duke of Angulesme: Whiche lady was promysed a litle before to Charles the kyng of Castell. When kynge Henry knew of this, he thought best to mary his daughter lady Mary to this Charles kyng of Castell, beyng almost bothe of one age; and therefore Ambassadours were sent to and fro, and at the last, the mariage was concluded and confirmed by the meanes of the byshop of Wynchester, chiefe Ambassadour for the kyng at Caleys, and so the lady Mary beyng of the age of. x. yeres, was promysed to kyng Charles. For conclusion of which mariage, the lorde of Barow, and diuerse great Ambassadours were sent into England from the Emperour Maximilian, whiche had great rewardes and returned

¶ The xviii. yere.

Nowe

NOwe approched the ende & terme of the. iii yeres of peace that I spake of before, at whiche tyme kyng Henry thought his fatal daye to be at hande: For his sickenes encreased daily more and more, so that he might easely perceaue that death was not farre of tarying, his praye: Therfore like a good prynce, desiring to exhibite some gratuitie to his people that he might be had in memory after his disease, graunted of his great liberalite a generall pardon to all men, for all offences done & perpetrate against his lawes and statutes. But because murtherers and theues were not onely offenders to him, but also to other, he excepted them & some other out of his pardō. He paide also the fees of al prisoners in the gayles in & about London, abyding their only for that duety. He payde also the debtes of al such persons as laye in the counters of Londō, or Ludgate for xl.s & vnder, & some he releued that were condempned in. x. l. For this his goodnes and pitie shewed to his people, beyng sore vexed with inquysitors, pollers & promoters, general processiō was had daily in euery citie and paryshe to pray to almighty God, for the restoryng of his healthe, with long continuaunce of the same. Neuertheles, he was so consumed with his longe malady, that nature coulde no lenger sustayne his lyfe, and so he departed out of this world, the two and twenty day of Aprill in his palace of Rychemond, the which was the yere of our lorde. M. D. ix. his corps was conueyed with a funerall pompe to Westmynster, and there buryed by the good quene his wyfe in a sumpteous and solempne Chapell, whiche he not long before had caused to be buylded: He reigned. xxiii. yeres and more then. viii. monethes, and lyued. lii yeres. He had by his quene Elizabeth. viii chyldren. iiii. men and. iiii women chyldren of the whiche. iii. remayned alyue behynde hym. Henry prynce of Wales, whiche after him succeded, and was kyng, lady Margaret quene of Scottes, and lady Mary promysed to Charles kyng of Castell. He was a man of body but leane and spare, albeit mighty and stronge therewith, of personage and stature, somewhat hygher then the meane sorte of men be, of a wonderfull beutye and fayre complexion, of countenaunce mery and smylyng, especially in his communication, hys eyes graye, his teethe syngle, and heare thynne, of wyt in all thynges quycke and prompt, of a princely stomake and haute courage. In great perels, doubtfull affayres, and matters of weyghty importaunce, supernaturall and in maner deuyne, for suche thynges as he went aboute, he dyd them aduysedly, and not without great deliberacion and breathing, to thentent that emongest all men his wyt and prudence myght be noted and regarded and spoken of. For he was not ignorant that his actes and doynges were specially noted and marked with the eyes of many a person, and therefore a Prynce oughte as farre to excell and surmounte all meane personages in wysedome and polecy, as he precelleth other in estate and dignitie.

The discryp-
cion of kynge
Henry the. viii

For

For what man will geue credite or regard to him, whom he hath proued to be light, wilde and lasciuious of condicions? Besides this, he was sobre, moderate, honest, affable, courteous, bounteous, so much abhorring pride and arrogancy, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to them which were noted or spotted with the cryme. And there was no man with hym, beyng neuer so muche in his fauoure, or hauing neuer so muche authorite, that either durst or coulde do any thyng as his awne phantasye did serue him, without the consent & agreement of other. What shall I saye more? Although his mother were neuer so wyse (as she was both witty & wise) yet her will was bridled, and her doynges restrayned. And this regiment he lated he kepte, to thentent that he worthely might be called a kyng, whose office is to rule & not to be ruled of other. He was also an indifferent & sure Justicier, by the whiche one thing he allured to him the hartes of many people, because they lyued quietly & in rest out of al oppression & molestacion of the nobilite & riche persones. Also to this seuerite of his was ioyned & annexed a certayn mercifull pitie, whiche he did often shewe to such as had offended, & by his lawes were hindred & mersed: for such of his subiectes as were fined or amerced by his Justices to their great empouerishing. he at one tyme or another did helpe, releue & set forward: wherby it apered ỹ he would haue thesame penalties for other offences & crimes reuiued & stirred vp again, which was a plain argument ỹ he did vse his rigour only (as he said him selfe) to bring low & abate the high hartes & stoute stomakes of the wylde people, norished & brought vp in sedicious faccions & cyuile rebellions, & not for the gredy desire of ryches or hunger of money, althoughe suche as were afflicted would crye out, and say that it was done more for the loue and desire of gaine and profite, then for any prudent, pollecy or pollitique prouision.

Surely this good and modest prince did not deuoure and consume the substaunce and ryches of his realme, for he by his high pollecy, meruelously enriched his realme and him selfe, and yet left his subiectes in high wealth and prosperitie. The proofe wherof is manifestly apparaũt by the great aboundaunce of golde and syluer, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money and bullion by merchaũtes passing and repassyng out and into this realme with merchaundise. To whom he hym selfe of his awne goodes lent money largely without any gaine or profite, to thentent that merchauudise being of all craftes the chefe arte, and to all men, bothe moste profitable and necessary, might be the more plentifuller vsed, haunted and employed in his realmes and dominions. And so this kyng liuing all his tyme in the fauour of fortune, in high honor, riches and glory, and for his noble actes and prudent pollecies, worthy to be registred in the boke of fame, gaue vp his ghoost at the last, whiche vndoubtedly is assended into the celestial mãcion, where he hath the sure fruicion of the Godhead, & the ioye that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sauiour, euer worlde without ende.

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Finis.

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OVV, after the death of this noble Prince, Henry the. VIII. sonne to Kyng Henry the. VII. beganne his reigne the.xxii. daye of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde. 1509. and in the. xviij. yere of his bodily age: Maximilian then beeyng Emperoure, and Lewes the.xii. reignyng in Fraunce. And Fernando beeyng the Kyng of Arragon and Castell, and Kyng James the fourthe then rulyng ouer the Scottes: Whose stile was Proclaimed by the blast of a Trumpet, in the citie of London, the.xxiij. daye of the said monethe, with muche gladnes and reioysyng of the people. The.i.yere

And the same day, he departed from his manour of Richemond to the tower of London, where he remayned, closly and secrete, with his counsayll, till the funeralles of his father, were finished and ended. The same daie also, sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmonde Dudley Esquier, greate counsaylers to the late kyng, were attached and brought to the Tower, not to the litle reioysyng of many persones, whiche by them wer greued, whiche, attachement was thought to bee procured by malice of theim, that with their auctoritie, in the late kynges daies wer offended, or els to shifte the noyse, of the straight execucion of penall statutes in the late kynges daies, by punishement of those persones, and other promoters, for to satisfie and appease the people. The same daie also was attached, the lorde Henry Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckyngh̄ and sent to the Tower, the cause was not thought to begreat, because he was so sone deliuered, & the same yere was created erle of Wilshire. And the same daie also Doctor Ruthal was named Bushoppe of Duresme. Empson and Dudley attached.

Sone after were apprehended diuerse, called promoters, belongyng to Empson and Dudley, as Camby, Page, Smith, and diuerse other, as Derbie, Wright, Sympson, and Stocton, of the whiche, the moste part ware papers, and stoode on the Pillorie. How bee it, the moste craftiest knaue of all, called Jhon Baptist Bytnald, escaped and came to Westminster, and there toke Sanctuarie.

The.xxv. daie of Aprill was Proclaimed, that the kynges grace, ratefied all the Pardones, graunted by his father, and also pardoned all suche persones, as was then in suite, for any offence, what soeuer it was, Treason, Murder and Felonie onely excepte. A generall Pardon.

After that all thynges necessary, for the enterment and funeral pōpe of the late kyng, were sumpteously prepared and done: the corps of the said defunct was brought out of his priuie chambre, into the great chāber, where he rested thre daies, and euery daie had there Dirige & Masse song by a Prelate mitered: and from thence he was conueighed into the halle, where he was also thre daies, and had a like seruice there, and so thre daies in the Chapel, and in euery of these thre places, was a hearce of wax, garnished with banners, and .ix. mourners geuyng there attendance, all the seruice tyme: and euery daye they offered, and euery place hanged with blacke clothe. Upon Wednisdaie, the .ix. daie of Maye, the corps was putte into a Chariot, couered with blacke clothe of golde drawen with .v. greate Corsers, couered with blacke Ueluet, garnished with cusshions of fine gold: and ouer the corps, was an Image or a representacion of the late kyng, laied on Cusshions of golde, and the saied image was appareled, in the kynges riche robes of estate with a croune on the hed, and ball and scepter in the handes: and the chariot was garnished with banners, and Pēcelles of tharmes of his dominions, titles and genealogies. When the chariot was thus ordered, the kinges chapell, and a gret nombre of Prelates, set forward praiyng: then folowed all the kynges seruauntes, in blacke, then folowed the Chariot: and after the Chariot .ix. mourners, and on euery side wer caried long torches and shorte, to the nombre of .vi.C. and in this ordre they came to saincte Georges felde, from Richemond. There met with theim all the Priestes and Clearkes, and religious men, within the citee, and without (whiche went formoste, before the kynges Chapell) the Maior and his brethren, with many commoners, all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at Lō- don Bridge, and so gaue their attendaūce on thesame, through the citee: and in good ordre, the compaignie passed thorough the citie, wherof the stretes on euery side, wer set with long Torches, and on the stalles stode young children, holdyng tapers, and so with greate reuerence, the Chariot was brought to the Cathedral Churche of sainct Paule, where the body was taken out, and caried into the Quire, and set vnder a goodly Herce of waxe, garnished with Banners, Pencelles, & Cusshions, where was soung a solempne Dirige, and a Masse, with a Sermon, made by the Busshoppe of Rochester: duryng whiche tyme, the kynges housholde and the mourners, reposed theim in the Busshoppes Paleis. The nexte date, the corps in like ordre was remoued, toward Westminster, sir Edward Haward, beatyng the kynges banner, on a courser trapped, in the armes of the defunct. In Westminster was a curious herse, made of .ix. principalles, full of lightes, whiche, were lighted at the comming of the corps, whiche, was taken out of the Chariot, by sixe Lordes, and set vnder the Herse, the Image or the representacion, lyng vpon the Cusshyn on a large palle of golde. The herse was double railed: within the firste railes, latte the mourners, and within the seconde raile, stoode knightes bearyng banners of sainctes, and without the same, stoode officers of armes,

mes. When the mourners were set, Gartier king at Armes, cried, for the soule of the noble prince kyng Henry the.VII., late kyng of this realmes then the quire beganne Placebo, and so song Dirige, whiche beyng finished, the mourners departed into the Palaice, where they had a voyde, and so reposed for that night.

The next daie, wer three Masses solemply song by Bushoppes, and at the last Masse was offered, the kynges banner and courser, his coate of armes, his swoorde, his target, and his helme, and at thende of Masse the mourners offered vp, riche Paulles of cloth of gold and Baudekin. and when the quire sang, Libera me, the body was put into the yearthe, and then the loorde Treasorer, loorde Stewarde, loorde Chamberlein, the Treasorer, and Comptroller of the kynges houshold, brake their staues and caste theim into the graue. Then Gartier cried with a loude voyce, Viue le Roy Hēry le huitiesme, Roy Dangliter, & de Fraunce, sire Dirland. Then all the mourners, and all other that had geuen their attendance, on this funerall Obsequie, departed to the Palaice, where they had a greate and a sumptuous feast.

Wonder it were to write, of the lamentacion that was made, for this Prince emongest his seruauntes, and other of the wisest sort, and the ioy that was made for his death, by suche as were troubled, by rigor of his lawe: yet the towarde hope whiche, in all poyntes appered in the young kyng did bothe repaire and comforte, the heuie hartes of theim, whiche, had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the myndes of suche, as were releued by thesayed kynges deathe, all their olde grudge and rancor, and confirmed their newe ioye, by the newe graunte of his pardon.

When the funeralles of this late kyng, wer thus honorably finished, greate preparacion was made, for the coronaciō of this newe kyng, whiche was appoynted on Midsomer daye nexte ensuyng: dutyng whiche preparacion, the kyng was moued, by some of his coūsail, that it should be honorable, and profitable to his realme, to take to wyfe the lady Katherin, late wyfe to Prince Arthur his brother disseased, least she hauing so greate a dowrie, might mary out of the realme, whiche, should be vnprofitable to hym: by reason of whiche motion, the kyng beyng young, and not vnderstandyng the lawe of God, espoused thesayed lady Katherine, the third daye of June, the whiche mariage, was dispensed with by Pope July, at the request of her father, kyng Farnando, contrary to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome, beyng diuines. This mariage of the brothers wyfe, was muche murmured agaynst, in the beginnyng, and euer more and more, searched out by learning and scripture, so that at the laste, by the determinacion, of the best vniuersities of Christendō it was adiudged detestable, and plain contrary to Goddes lawe, as you shall here, after. xx. yeres.

The kynges mariage doubtefull at the beginnyng.

If I should declare, what payn, labour, and diligence, the Taylers, Embrouderers, and Golde Smithes tooke, bothe to make and deuise

garmentes, for Lordes, Ladies, knightes, and Esquiers, and also for deckyng, trappyng, and adornyng of Coursers, Jenetes, and Palfreis, it wer to long to reherse, but for a suretie, more riche, nor more straunge nor more curious worckes, hath not ben seen, then wer prepared agyanst this coronacion.

On the .xxi. daie of this moneth of June the kyng came from Grenewiche to the Tower, ouer London Bridge, and so by Grace Churche, with whome, came many a wel appareled gentelman, but in especial the Duke of Buckyngham, whiche had a goune all of goldsmithes worke, very costly, and there the kyng rested, till Saterdaie next ensuyng.

Fridaie the twentie and twoo daie of June, euery thyng beeyng in a readines, for his Coronacion: his grace with the Quene, beeyng in the Tower of London, made there Knightes of the Bathe, to the nombre of twentie and foure, with all the obseruaunces and Ceremonies, to the same belongyng. x

And the morowe folowyng beyng Saterdaie, the .xxiii. day of the said monethe, his grace, with the Quene, departed from the Tower, through the citie of Lodon, agaynst whose cõming, the streates where his grace should passe, where hanged with Tapistrie, and clothe of Arras. And the greate parte, of the Southe side of Chepe, with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred, on the one side, from ouer agaynst Grace Churche, vnto Bredstreate, in Chepeside, where euery occupacion stode, in their liueries in order, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions, and so assendyng to the worshipfull crafftes: highest and lastly stode the Maior, with the Aldermen. The Goldsmithes stalles, vnto the ende of the Olde Chaunge, beeing replenished with Virgins in white, with braunches of white Ware: the prieستes and clerkes, in riche Copes with Crosses and censers of siluer, with censyng his grace, and the Quene also as they passed. The features of his body, his goodly personage, his amiable visage, princely countenaunce, with the noble qualities of his royall estate, to euery man knowen, needeth no reherssall, considerying, that for lacke of cunnyng, I cannot expresse the giftes of grace and of nature, that God hath endowed hym with all: yet partly, to discriue his apparell, it is to bee noted, his grace ware in his vpperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Veluet, furred with Armyns, his iacket or cote of raised gold, the placard embrowdered with Diamõdes Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Pearles, and other riche Stones, a greate Baudrike aboute his necke, of greate Balasses. The Trapper of his Horse, Damaske gold, with a depe purfell of Armyns, his knightes and Esquires for his body, in Crimosyn Veluet, and all the gentelmen, with all other of his chappell, and all his officers, and houshold seruauntes, wer appareled in Skarlet. The Barons of the fiue Portes, bare the Canaby, or clothe of estate: For to resite vnto you, the greate estates by name, the order of their goyng, the nombre of the lordes Spirituall and temporall, Knightes, Esquires, and gentelmen, and of their costly and rich xx xxx xl

apparell

apparell, of seuerall deuises and fashions, who tooke vp his horse best, or who was richest besene, it would aske long tyme, and yet I should omitte many thynges, and faile of the nombre, for they were verie many: wherefore I passe ouer, but this I dare well saie, there was no lacke or scarsitie of clothe of Tissue, clothe of Golde, clothe of Siluer, Broderie, or of Golde smithes workes: but in more plentie and abundaunce, then hath been seen, or redde of at any tyme before, and thereto many and a greate nombre of chaines of Golde, and Bauderikes, bothe massy and greate. Also before the kynges highnes, rode twoo gentle mẽne, richely appareled, and aboute their bodies trauers, they did beare twoo Robes the one of the Duchie of Guyon, and the other for the Duchie of Normandie, with Hattes on their heddes, poudered with Armyns, for the estate of thesame. Nexte followed twoo persones of good estate, the one bearyng his cloke, the other his hatte, appareled bothe in Golde Smithes woorke, and Broudery, their horses Trapped, in burned Siluer, drawen ouer with Cordes of Grene silke and Gold, the edges and borders of their apparell, beyng fretted with Gold of Damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon, Master of the kynges Horse, clothed in tissue, Broudered with Roses of fine Gold, and trauerse his body, a greate Bauderike of Gold, greate and massy, his Horse trapped in Golde, leadyng by a rayne of Silke, the kynges spare Horse trapped barde wyse, with harneis Broudered with Bullion Golde, curiously wroughte by Golde Smithes. Then nexte followed, the nyne chyldren of honor, vpon greate courlers, appareled on their bodies, in Blewe Veluet, poudered with Floure Delices of Gold, and chaines of Golde Smithes woorke, euery one of their horses, trapped with a trappet of the kynges stile, as of Englande, and Fraunce, Gascoyne, Guyan, Normandy, Angeow, Cornewall, Wales, Irelande, &c. wrought vpon Veluettes, with Embrouderie, and Gold Smithes worke.

xx Then next folowyng in ordre, came the Quenes retinew, as Lordes, Knyghtes, Esquires, and gentle menne in their degrees, well mounted, and richely appareled in Tissues, clothe of Golde, of Siluer, Tynsels, and Veluettes Embroudered, freshe and goodly to behold. The Quene then by name Katheryne, sittyng in her Litter, borne by twoo White Palferies, the Litter couered, and richely appareled, and the Palferies Trapped in White clothe of gold, her persone appareled in white Satyn Embroudered, her heeire hãging doune to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a Coronall, set with many riche orient stones. Next after, sixe honorable personages on xl White Palfreis, all appareled in Clothe of Golde, and then a Chariot couered, and the Ladies therein, all appareled in Clothe of Golde. And another sort of Ladies, and then another Chariot, then the Ladies next the Chariot, also in ordre, euery one after their degrees, in clothe of Gold, Clothe of Siluer, Tynselles, and Veluet, with Embrouderies, euery couplement of thesaied Chariotes, and the draught harnesses, wer pou-

 dered

dered with Armins, mixt with clothe of Gold: and with muche ioye and honor, came to Westminster, where was high preparacion made, aswell for thesaied Coronacion, as also for the solempne feast and iustes, therupon to be had and doen.

The morowe folowyng beyng sondate, and also Midsomer daie, this noble prince with his Quene, at time conuenient, vnder their Canabies borne by the Barons of the fiue Portes, went from thesaied Palaice, to Westminster Abbey vpon clothe, called vulgarly cloth of Ray, the whiche clothe was cut and spoyled, by the rude and common people, immediatly after their repaire into the Abbey, where, accordyng to the sacred obseruaunce, and auncient custome his grace with the Quene, were annoynted and crouned, by the Archebusshop of Cantorbury, with other prelates of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a greate multitude of Commons of thesame. It was demaunded of the people, whether they would receiue, obey, and take thesame moste noble Prince, for their kyng, who with greate reuerence, loue, and desire, saied and cried, ye ye. After the whiche solempnitie, and Coronacion finished, the lordes spirituall and tẽporall, did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the Quenes grace euery one vnder their canabies, where by the lorde Marshall, and his tipped staues, was made rome, and euery lord, and other noble men, accordyng to their tenures, before claimed and bewed, seen, and allowed by the lordes, and other of his graces cõsayll, entred into suche rome and office that daie, to execute their seruices accordyngly. The kynges estate on the right hand, and the Quenes on the left hand, the cobard of .ix. stages, their noble personages beyng set: first, at the bryngyng of the first course, the trumpettes blew vp. And in came the Duke of Buckyngham, mounted vpon a greate courser, richely trapped, and enbroudered, and the lorde Stewarde, in likewise on an horse, trapped in clothe of Golde, ridyng before the seruice, whiche was sumpteous, with many subtleties, straunge deuyses, with seuerall poses and many deintie dishes. At the kynges fete, vnder the table, wer certain gentelmen. And in likewise with the quene, who there continued, during that long & royal feast. What should I speake or write, of the sũpteous fine, and delicate meates, prepared for this high and honorable coronaciõ, prouided for aswel in the parties beyond the sea, as in many and sũdery places, within this realme, where God so abũdãtly hath sent suche plentie and foyson? Or of the honorable order of the seruices, the cleane handelyng & breaking of meates, the ordryng of the dishes, with the plẽtifull abundaunce. So that none of any estate beeyng there; did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull persone, went vnfeasted. The seconde course beyng serued: in at the haule doore entered a knight, armed at al poyntes, his bases rich tissue enbroudered, a great plume & a sũpteous of Distriche fethers on his helmet, sittyng on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and enbroudered with tharmes of England, and of Fraunce, and an herauld of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, presẽted

ted hymself with humble reuerence, before the kynges mateste, to whō, Garter kyng of herauldes, cried and said with a loude voyce, sir knight from whēce come you, and what is your pretence? This knightes name was sir Robert Dimmocke, Champion to the kyng, by tenure of his enheritaunce, who answered the said kyng of Armes, in effects after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from, is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether, is not concernyng any matter, of any place or cōtrey, but onely this. And there with all, commaunded his Herauld to make an Oyes: then said the knight, to the kyng of armes, now shal ye
x here, the cause of my commyng and pretence. Then he commaunded his awne Herauld, by Proclamation to saie: if there be any persone, of what estate or degree soeuer he be, that wil saie or proue, that king Henry the eight, is not the rightfull enheritor, & kyng of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmoke here his Champion, offre my gloue, to fight in his quetell, with any persone to thutteraunce, whiche Proclamacion was made in sundery places of the halle: And at euery tyme, his gauntlette caste doune, in the maintenaunce therof. After whiche seuerall proclamaciōs doen, and offers made, the said knight or champion, ettsones repaired to the kynges presence, demaundyng drinke, to whō the kynges grace sent
xx a cup of gold, with wine, wherof after this knight had drōke, he demaūded the couer of the said cuppe, whiche to hym was also deliuered: that doen, he departed out of the halle, with the said cup & couer, as his awne

The maner of his tenure is this, that at the Coronacion of the kyng, he shall go to the armarie, and there take the kynges best herneis, saue one, the best and rich bases sauyng one, then of the plumes, or other thynges for the garnishyng of his creast or helme, and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horse, to the best, with like trapper, and so furnished, to enter vt supra, and his office dooen, to haue all these thynges, with the Cuppe of Gold and couer to his awne vse.

xx After the departure of the said Champion, the kyng of Armes, with all the Herauldes, and other officers of Armes, made Proclamacions in seuerall places of the halle, cryng largesse. Briefly to passe ouer, this high and long solempnitie, of this honorable Coronaciō and feast, more honorable then of the great Cesar, whō, many Historiographers, so high set out and magnified, if the Latins of England, were not promoted or auaunsed, to dignities and promocions, onelesse they firste should (as other poore clerkes, in the parties beyond the sea, exalte and set furthe the iestes & Chronicles, of their natiue countreys, with high laude & prayse and in some parte more then truth, for small mede or reward doo) put in
xl writyng, either in Englishe or Latin tongue, the noble triūphes, chiualrous feates, valiant actes, victorious battailes, & other noble Jestes of this reame, & in especiall of, our tyme & knowlege, of this moste valiant and goodly prince, it should appere muche more honorable, then any other stories: But promocion and benefices, putte awaie laboure and payne, albeit the grate parte of theim will saie, that the high Cure

and charge is to edifie the people, with the word of God, taking cure of the soules: ther against I will not replie, but no displeasure, I perceiue that thei take as great cure, for the profite of their purses, wyth pleasure of huntyng and haukyng, besides other their pastymes, after they com to the best of their promotion, with smal kepyng of hospitalitie, as other whiche were their predecessors, and muche worse, so that parte of their pastymes spent in writyng, and settyng furth the testes, actes and deedes, of the nobilitie of Englande, with the manyfold commodities of thesame, should muche ennoble the princes thereof, seeyng by dayly experience, Bisshoppes, Archebisshoppes, Abbottes, and other clarkes, in the parties beyonde the sea, aswell learned, as of high knowlege, and better linage, and as vertеous as they, daily enforce theimselfes, to auaunce their Princes, their Realmes, and natyue Countreis, aswell in Latin, as in their vulgare toungue. But to returne to thende of this honorable feast, the tables auoyded, the wafers were brought. Then Syr Stephen Jenyns, that tyme Maior of London, whom, the kyng before he satte doune to dynner, had dubbed knight, which, beganne the Erles Table that date, arose from the place where he satte, to serue the kyng with Jpocras, in a Cuppe of Golde, whiche Cuppe, after his grace had dronken therof, was with the couer, geuē vnto thesaid sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors, Maiors of thesaied citie, wer wont to haue at the Coronacion of the kyng. Then after the Surnap laied, and that the kynges grace, & the Quene had washed, euery of thē vnder their Clothes of estate, the tables beyng auoyded, went vnto their chambers.

For the more honor, and ennobling of this triumphaunt Coronaciō, there wer prepared bothe Justes and Turnies, to be dooen in the Palaice of Westminster, where, for the kynges grace, and the Quene, was frained a faire house, couered with Tapisstrie, and hanged wyth riche clothes of Arras, and in thesaied Palaice, was made a curious Fountain, and ouer it a Castle: on the toppe thereof, a greate Croune Emperiall, all the imbatellyng with Roses, and Pomegranetes gilded: and vnder and aboute thesaied Castle, a curious Vine, the leaues and grapes thereof, gilded with fine Golde, the walles of thesame Castle coloured, White and Grene losengis. And in euery losenge, either a Rose or a Pomegranet, or a Sheffe of Arrowes, or els. H. and. K. gilded with fine Gold, with certain Arches or Turrettes gilded, to support thesame Castle. And the targettes of the armes, of the defēdauntes, appoynted for thesaied Justes there vpon sumptеously set. And out at seuerall places, of thesame Castle, aswell the date of the coronaciō as at thesaid daies of the Justes & Turney, out of the mouthes of certain beastes, or gargels did runne red white, & claret wine. Thenterprisers of these Justes, was Thomas lorde Haward, heire apparaunt to the erle of Surrey, sir Edward Haward Admirall, his brother, the lorde Richarde, brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmōd Haward, sir Thomas Kneuet, & Charles Brandō esquire. The trōpettes blew to the feld, the fresh yōg galātes & noble

noble menne gorgeously appareled, with curious deuises, of cuttes and of embrouderies. aswell in their coates, as in trappers for their horses, some of gold, some in siluer, some in Tynsels, and diuerse other in goldesmithes worke, goodly to behold, first entered the feld in takyng vp and turnyng their horses, netly & freshly. Then folowed a deuise, (caried by strength of menne, and other prouision) framed like a Castle, or a Turret, wrought with fine clothe of Gold: the toppe wherof was spred with Roses and Pomegranates, hangyng doune on euery side, of thesaied deuise, wherein was a Lady, bearyng a shilde of Christall named Pallas. After whom, thesaied Lorde Haward, with his compaignions folowed, armed at al poyntes, their Bailes, and Bardes, or Trappers, were of Grene Veluet, beaten with Roses, and Pomegranates of Golde, brodered with fringes of Damaske Golde. Thesaied deuise or Turret, beyng brought before the kyng, the Lady Pallas, presented thesaied persones, whom she named her scholers, to the kynges highnes, beseechyng thesame, to accept them as her scholers, who wer desirous to serue hym to the encrease of their honors, whiche saied scholers, had about them on foote, to the nombre of an hundred persones, freshely appareled, in Veluettes of sundrey coloures, with Hose and Bonettes, accordyng to thesame. And further, thesaied Ladye desired the kyng, that it might please his grace, that her saied scholers, might be defendauntes to al commers whiche request was graunted.

Then came in an other bende of horse men, freshly and well appareled in clothe of gold, in siluer, in Goldsmithes worke, and brouderie, to the nombre of three score, with trappers accordingly to their garmentes, with greate Bauderikes, Collers, and Cheines of Golde, aboute their neckes, and trauerse their bodies, euery man with a coyfe of golde on his hedde, and a greate plume of fethers therevpon, some of one coloure, and some of an other, enteryng before into the felde, with Drõmes and Fifes a greate nombre, euery man takyng vp his horse, in his best maner, aswell for their Ladies, as also for laude or prayse to bee geuen theim. After whom, folowed a good nombre of footemen, in Veluettes, & other silkes, cutte and embroudered, with hose to thesame accordingly, & bonettes and other furniture, after a freshe and lustie fashion. Nexte to theim came on horse backe, eight persones, whose names were, sir Jhon Pechy, Sir Edwarde Neuell, Sir Edwarde Guldeforde, Sir Jhon Carre, Sir Wyllyam Parre, Sir Gyles Capell, Sir Griffith Dun, and Sir Roulande, Armed also at all poyntes, with shyldes of their awne armes, with riche Plumes, and other diuises on their hedde peces their Bases and Trappers of Tissew, clothe of Golde, Siluer and veluet, and nexte before theim, a gentle manne on horseback, in a coate of Blewe Veluet, embroudered with golde, and his horse Trapped in the same suite, with a spere of Golde on his thigh, and thesame presented to the Quene: saiyng, that it was enformed those knightes of his compaignie, how that Dame Pallas, had presented sixe of her scholers to the

kyng,

Kyng; but whether they came to learne, or to teache feactes of Armes, they knewe not. And further declared, that his knightes were come, to doo feactes of armes, for the loue of Ladies, wherefore he besought her grace, to license those knightes to proue theim selfes, agaynst Dame Pallas Scholers: and that in case her Scholers brake more speres, on thesayed knightes, by the viewe of the Iudges, and the report of the Heraudes, then thesame knightes should doue on theim, then thesaied Scholers of Pallas knightes, to haue the spere of Gold for their prise. And if the knightes brake more speres, then Dame Pallas Scholers, thesaied knightes to haue the Christall Shilde. The whiche request to theim graunted, the Iustes beganne, where euery manne dyd acquite hym self, well and valiauntly, but who had the pryce of other, I knowe not, the night commyng on, the Iustes ended. r

The next daie approched, the foresaied defenders, Scholers to Pallas on Horsebacke, armed Cape a pie, the one side of their Bases, and Bardes of their Horses white Veluet, embroudered with Roses of gold and other embrouderies, the other side Grene Veluet, embroudered with Pome granetes of Golde, euery one of theim on his hedde pece, had an heare of flatte Golde of Damaske, presented them selfes, before the kyng ready to Tourney. rr

Dianas knightes.

Then immediatly on the other parte came in, the forenamed eight knightes ready armed, their Basses and Bardes of their Horse, Grene Sattyn, embroudered with freshe deuises, of Bramble branches, of fine Golde curiously wroughte, poudered ouer all. And after theim a greate nombre of hornes blowen, by menne apparelled in Grene Clothe, with Cappes and Hosen of lyke suite, as Forsters or kepers, and a Pagente made lyke a Parke, paled with pales of White and Grene, wherein wer certain Fallowe Dere, and in thesame Parke curious Trees made by crafte, with Bushes, Fernes, and other thinges in lykewyse wroughte, goodly to beholde. The whiche Parke or diuyse, beyng brought before rrr the Quene had certayn gates thereof opened, the Dere ranne out thereof into the Palaice, the greye houndes were lette slippe and killed the Dere: the whiche Dere so killed, were presented to the Quene and the Ladies, by the foresayed knightes. Crocheman, whiche the daye before brought in the spere of Golde, there declared, that thesame knightes were seruauntes to Diana, and beeyng in their pastyme of huntyng, newes were brought vnto theim, that Dame Pallas knightes, were come into these partes, to doo deedes of armes: wherefore, they had lefte their huntyng and chase, and repaired also thether, to encounter with the knightes of Pallas, and so to fight with thē, for the loue of ladyes to thut- tl terāce: saiyng that yf Pallas knightes vanquyshed the other, or made them to leue the feld, then thei to haue the dere killed, and the greye houndes that slewe them. And incase Dianas knightes, ouercame the other, they to haue their swordes, and none other thyng more. Wherupon the Quene and Ladies, sent to the kyng to haue his aduyse and pleasure in this

this behalfe,his grace conceyuyng,that there was some grudge,and displeasure betwene theim,thynkyng if suche requeste wer to theim graunted,some inconuenience might ensue,would not there vnto agree,so that for the appeasyng thereof, it was awarded that bothe parties, should tourney togethers,geuyng but a certayn strokes, whiche dooen thei departed: And so these Justes brake vp,and the prices geuen to euery mã after his dysertes.

This yere the kyng pardoned the lorde Henry, brother to the Duke of Buckyngham, beeyng committed to the Tower vpon suspicion of treason laied vnto hym,but not proued, and sone after at the Parliament, created hym Erle of Wylshire.

Also this yere, the kyng ordeined fiftie Gentle menne to bee speres, euery of theim to haue an Archer,a Dimilaunce,and a Cuttell, and euery Spere to haue three greate Horses,to bee attendaunt on his persone,of the whiche bende, the Erle of Exsex was Lieuetenaunt, and sir Jhon Pechie Capitain, who endured but a while, the apparell and charges were so greate,for there were none of theim, but they and their Horses, were appareled and trapped in Clothe of Golde, Siluer, and Golde Smithes woorke,and their seruauntes richely appareled also.

This yere also, was a greate Pestilence in the toune of Caleys, and muche people died,in so muche that the kyng,at the request of his counsaill of Caleis,considering the weakenes of the toune, sent thether Sir Jhon Pechie, with three hundred menne to tary there, who continued there vnto suche time,that the plague was ceassed,and newe souldiours admitted,to suche roumes as then were vacant, and then returned into Englande.Furthermore, this yere the kyng somoned his Parliament, in the monethe of Nouembre,whiche began in the moneth of Januarie ensuyng, whereof sir Thomas Jnglefelde was chosen Speaker, in the whiche session emonges other thynges there enacted,it was ordeined by aucthoritie of Parliament,that sir Thomas Empson knighte,and Edmund Dudeley Esquire,late Counsailers to kyng Henry the seuenth, should and wer attainted of hault treason.

Thesame yere the plague was greate, and reigned in diuerse pattes of the realme,the kyng kept his Christemas at Richemond. And the.xij. daie of Januarie,diuerse gentelmen freshely appareled,prepared theimselfes to Juste,vnknowē to the kinges grace,whereof,he being secretely informed,causeb hymself,and one of his priuie chambre,called Willia Compton to bee secretly armed,in the litle Parke of Richemond:and so came into the Justes,vnknowen to all persones,and vnloked for: The kyng ranne neuer openly before,and there wer broken many staues,and greate praise geuen to the twoo straungers,but specially to one,whiche was the kyng: howbeit, at a courtse by misfortune,sir Edward Neuell Esquire brother to the Lorde of Burgayne, did tume against Master Cumpton,and hurte hym sore,and was likely to dye. One persone there was,that knew the kyng,and cried, God saue the kyng,with that,all the

people

people wer astonied, and then the kyng discouered himself to the greate comforte of all the people.

The kyng sone after, came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their train: And on a tyme beyng there, his grace, therles of Essex, Wiltshire, and other noble menne, to the numbre of twelue, came sodainly in a mornyng, into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes, of Kentishe kēdal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of thesame, euery one of theim, his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like out lawes, or Robyn Hodes men, wherof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other, there were abashed, aswell for the straunge light, as also for their sodain commyng, and after certayn daunces, and pastime made, thei departed. On Shroue Sunday thesame yere, the kyng prepared a goodly banket, in the Parliament Chambre at Westminster, for all the Ambassadours, whiche, then wer here, out of diuerse realmes and countreis The banket beyng ready, the kyng leadyng the Quene, entred into the Chambre, then the Ladies, Ambassadours, and other noble menne, folowed in ordre. The kyng caused the Quene, to kepe the estate, and then satte the Ambassadours and Ladyes as they were Marshalled by the kyng, who would not sit, but walked from place to place, makyng chere to the Quene, and the straungers: Sodaynly the kyng was gone. And shortly after, his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after Turkey fashiō, in long robes of Bawdkin, powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of Crimosyn Veluet, with greate rolles of Gold, girded with two swordes, called Cimiteries, hanging by greate bawderikes of gold. Next, came the lorde Henry, Erle of Wiltshire, and the lorde Fitzwater, in twoo long gounes of yelowe satin, trauarsed with white satin, and in euery ben of white, was a bend of crimosen satin after the fashiō of Russia or Rusiande, with furred hattes of grey on their hedes, either of them hauyng an hatchet in their handes, and bootes with pykes turned vp. And after them, came, syr Edward Hayward, than Admyral, and with him sir Thomas Parre, in doblettes of Crismosin veluet, voyded lowe on the backe, and before to the cannell bone, lased on the breastes with chaynes of siluer, and ouer that shorte clokes of Crimosyn satyne, and on their heades hattes after dauncers fashion, with feasauntes fethers in theim: They were appareyled after the fashion of Pruisia or Spruce. The torchebearers were appareyled in Crymosyn satyne and grene, lyke Morescotes, their faces blacke: And the kyng brought in a mommerye. After that the Quene, the lordes and, ladyes, such as would had played, the sayd mommers departed, and put of the same apparel, & sone after entred into the Chamber, in their vsuell apparell. And so the kyng made great chere to the Quene, ladyes and Ambassadours: The Supper or Banket ended, and the tables auoyded, the kyng beeyng in communication with the Ambassadors, the Quene with the ladyes toke their places in their degrees. Then began the daūsyng, and euery man toke muche hede to them that daūsed. The kyng perceyuing that, with-

A banket.

drewe

drew hym selfe sodenly out of the place, with certayn other persons appoynted for that purpose. And within a litle whyle after there came in a drumme and a fife appareiled in white Damaske and grene bonettes, & hosen of thesame sute, than certayn gentelmen folowed with torches, apparayled in blew Damaske purfeled with Ames grey, fationed lyke an Awbe, and on their heddes hodes with robbes and longe typpettes too thesame of blewe Damaske visarde. Then after them came a certayne number of gentelmen, whereof the kyng was one, apparayled all in one sewte of shorte garmentes, litle beneth the poyntes, of blew Ueluet and Crymosine with long slyues, all cut and lined with clothe of golde. And the vtter parte of the garmentes were powdered with castels, and fleres of arrowes of fyne doket golde. The vpper partes of their hoses of lyke sewte and facion, the nether partes were of Scarlet, poudered with rumbzelles of fyne golde, on their heades bonets of Damaske, Syluer flatte wouen in the stole, and thereupon wrought with golde, and tyche fethers in them, all with visers. After them entred. vi. ladyes, wherof twoo were apparayled in Crymosyn satyne and purpull, embzowdered with golde and by vnyettes, ran floure delices of gold, with maruellous tyche and straunge tiers on their heades. Other two ladies in Crimosine and purpull, made lyke long slops embzoudered and fret with gold after antyke fashion: and ouer that garment was a shozt garment of clothe of golde scant to the kne facioned like a tabard all ouer, with small double rolles, al of flatte golde of Damaske fret with fryfed gold, and on their heades skayus and wzappers of Damaske gold with flatte pypes, that straung it was to beholde. The other two ladies were in kirtels of Crymosyne & purpull satyn, enbzoudered with a vynet of Pomegranetes of golde, all the garmentes cut compasse wyse, hauyng but demy sleues and naked doune from the elbowes, and ouer their garmentes were vochettes of pleasauntes, rouled with Crymosyne veluet, and set with letters of gold lyke Carettes, their heades rouled in pleasauntes and typpets lyke the Egipcians, enbzoudered with gold. Their faces, neckes, armes and handes, couered with fyne pleasaunce blacke: Some call it Lumberdynes, whiche is maruellous thinne, so that thesame ladies semed to be nigrost or blacke Moores. Of these foresayed. vi. ladies, the lady Mary, syster vnto the kyng was one, the other I name not. After that the kinges grace and the ladies had daunsed a certayne tyme they departed euery one to his lodgyng.

In this yere kyng Henry the.vii. his executours made restitucion of great summes of money, to many persons taken against good conscience to the sayde kynges vse, by the forenamed Empson and Dudley.

This yere also came Ambassadours from the kyng of Arragon and Castell into this Realme, who were hyghly entertayned and royally receyued, and repayred muche to the Courte. It happened on a daye, that there were certayne noble men made a wager to runne at the tynge, and parties were taken, and whiche partye attayned or toke awaye the tynge

oftneſt with a certayne courſes, ſhould wynne the wager. Whereof, the kynges grace hearyng, offered to be on the one partie with. vi. compa-nions: The Ambaſſadours hearyng therof, were muche deſirous to ſee thys wager tried, and ſpecially the Ambaſſadours of Spaigne, who had neuer ſene the kyng in harneis. At the day appointed, the kyng was mounted on a goodly Courſer, trapped in purpul veluet cutte, the inner ſyde whereof was wrought with flatte golde of Damaſke in the ſtoole, and the veluet on the otherſyde cut in letters: So that the gold appered as though it had bene enbroudered with certayne reaſons or poyſes. And on the Veluet betwene the letters were faſtened, caſtels and ſhe- x
fes of arrowes of doket golde, with a garment, the ſleues compaſed ouer hys harneys, and his baſes of theſame worke, with a greate plume of fe-thers on his head pece, that came doune to the arſon of his ſadell, and a great company of freſh gentlemen, came in with his grace rychely ar-med and decked, with many other right gorgeouſly appareiled, the trō-pettes before thē, goodly to beholde, wherof many ſtraungers, but ſpeci-ally the Spaigniardes much reioyſing, for they had neuer ſene the king before that tyme armed.

On the other ſyde came in an other bende of gentlemen, freſhely ap-pareyled, and pleaſaunt to beholde, all appareyled in clothe of gold, che- xx
kered with flatte golde of Damaſke, and poudered with Roſes: and ſo euery man ranne, but to conclude, the pryce was geuen vnto the kyng. Euery man did runne twelue courſes, the kyng did beare away thre ring v. tymes, and atteyned it thre: and theſe courſes thus fynished, the Spa-niſh Ambaſſadours deſyred to haue ſome of the badges or deuiſes, whi-che were on the kynges trapper: his grace therof knowing, commaūded, Euery of them to take therof what it pleaſed them, who in effect toke all or the more parte: for in the beginning they thought they had bene coū-terfait, and not of golde.

In this yere from diuers Realmes and Countreys came many Am- xxi
baſſadours, of Fraunce, Denmarke, Scotlande, and other Realmes, whiche were highly entertеynened.

¶ The ſecond yere.

ON May daye, then next folowyng in the. ii. yere of his reygne, hys grace beyng yonge, and wyllyng not to be idell, roſe in the morнynge very early to fetche May or grene bows, hym ſelfe freche and rychely appareyled, & clothed all his Knyghtes, Squiers and Gentelmen in whyte Satyn, and all hys Garde and Yomen of the Croune in white ſarcenet: and ſo went euery man with his bowe and arrowes ſhotyng to the wood, and ſo repaired againe too xl the Courte, euery man with a grene bough in his cappe, and at hys re-turnyng, many hearynge of his goynge a Maiyng, were deſyrous to ſee hym ſhote, for at that tyme his grace ſhotte as ſtronge and as greate a length

length as any of his garde. There came to his grace a certain man with bowe and arrowes, and desyred his grace to take the muster of hym, and to se hym shote: and at that tyme hys grace was contented, the man put his one fote in his bosome, and so did shote, and shot a very good shote, and well towardes his matke, wherof not onely his grace but all other greatly mervey led. So the kyng gaue hym a rewarde for his so doyng, whiche persone afterwardes of the people and of them in the courte was called fote in bosome.

The same yere in the feaste of Pentecoste, holden at Grenewyche, that is to saye the Thursday in the same weke, hys grace with two other with hym chalenged all commers, to fyghte with theim at the barriers with targot & casting the spere of. viii. fote long, and that done his grace with the sayed two aides to fight euery of them. xii. strokes with two handed swordes, with and against all commers, none except being a gentelman, where the kyng behaued hym selfe so wel, and deliuered hym selfe so valiauntly by his hardy prowes and greate strengthe that the prayse and laude was geuen to his grace, and his aides: Notwithstanding that diuers valiaunt and strong persons had assailed hym and his aides.

From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, then begyn-
xx ning his progresse, exercisyng hym selfe daily in shotyng, singing, daunsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playyng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in settyng of songes, makyng of ballettes, & did set. iii. goodly masses, euery of them fyue partes, whiche were song oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diuerse other places. And whan he came to Okyng, there were kept bothe Justes and Turneys: the rest of thys progresse was spent in huntyng, hawkyng, and shotyng.

The kyng beyng thus in hys progresse harde euery daye more and more complaintes of Empson and Dudley, wherfore he sent wrytes to the Shyrifes of London, to put them in execucion, and so the. xviii. day
xxx of August, they were both behedded at the Towre hyll, and their bodies buried and their heades.

Empson and Dudley behedded.

The sated progresse finished, his grace, the Quene, with all their whole trayne, in the moneth of October folowyng, remoued to Grenewyche. The kyng not mynded to se young Gentelmen, vnexpert in marcial feates, caused a place to be prepared within the parke of Grenewych for the Quene and the ladies to stande and se the fyght with battaill axes that should be done there, where the kyng hym selfe armed, fought with one Gyot a Gentelman of Almayne, a talle man, and a good man of armes. And than after they had done, they marched alwaye two and twoo toge-
xl thers, and so dyd their feates and enterprices euery man very well: All beit, it happened the sayed Gyot to fyght with Sir Edward Haward, whiche Gyot was by hym stryken to the grounde.

The morow after this enterprise done, the kyng with the Quene came to the Towre of London. And to thentent that there shoulde no displeasure nor malice be borne by any of those Gentelmen, whiche fought

with the axe agaynst other. The kyng gaue vnto them a certain summe in golde, valewed at. cc. marke, to make a banket amongest them selfes with all: The whiche banket was made at the Fishewongers Halle in Teames strete where they all met to the number of foure and twenty, al apareiled in one sute or liuery, after Almain fashion, that is to say, their vtter garmentes all of yealow Satyne, yealow hosen, yealow shoes girdels scaberdes, and bonettes with yealow fethers, their garmentes and hosen al cutte and lyned with white Satyn, and their scaberdes wound a bought with Satyne: After their banket ended, they went by torche light to the towre, presēting them selfes before the kyng, who took pleasure to beholde them.

From thence the. viii. day of Nouember, his grace remoued to Rychemond, and willed to be declared to al noble men and gentelmen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit master Charles Brandon, and master Compton, duryng two dayes would aunswere all cōmers with spere at the Tilt one daye, and at turney with swordes, the other.

And to accomplyshe this enterprice the. xiii. daye of Nouember, hys grace armed at all peces with his twoo aydes entred the fielde, their bases and trappers were of clothe of golde, set with redde Roses, ingrepled with golde of broudery: The counter parte came in freshly, apparepled euery man after his deuise. At these Justes the kyng brake more staues then any other, and therfore had the pryce: At the Turney in lykewyse, the honour was his. The second night were diuers straūgers of Maximilian the Emperours court, and Ambassadours of Spaygne with the kyng at supper: when they had supped, the kyng willed them to go into the Quenes chamber, who so dyd. And in the meane season, the kynge with. xv. other, apareled in Almayne Jackettes of Crymosyn, and purple Satyn, with long quartered sleues, with hosen of thesame sute. their bonettes of whyte Ueluet, wrapped in flat golde of Damaske, with bysers and whyte plumes, came in with a momery, and after a certayne tyme that they had played with the Quene and the straungers, they departed. Then sodenly entred syx mynstrels, rychely appareled, playyng on their instrumentes, and then folowed. xiiii. persones Gentelmen, all appareyled in pealowe Satyne, cut lyke Almaynes, bearyng torches. After them came. vi disguised in whyte Satyne and grene, enbroudered and set with letters and castels of fyne golde in bullion, the garmentes were of straunge faction, with also straunge cuttes, euery cutte knytte with poyntes of fyne golde, and tassels of thesame, their hosen cutt and tyed in lykewyse. their bonettes of clothe of syluer, wounde wyth golde. Fyrst of these. vi. was the kyng, the erle of Esser, Charles Brandon, Sir Edward Hawarde, syr Thomas Kneuet, & syr Henry Guylforde. Then part of the Gentlemen bearyng torches departed, and shortly returned. after whome came in. vi. ladies, apareled in garmentes of Crymosyne Satyn enbroudered and trauessed with clothe of gold, cut in Pomegranettes and yokes, strynged after the faction of Spaygne. Then the

sayed

saied.vi.men daunced with these.vi.ladies:and after that they had dan-
ced a season the ladies toke of the mens visars, whereby they were kno-
wen:Whereof the Quene and the straungers muche praysed the kynge,
and ended the pastyme.

It is to be noted that at this tyme the Quene was great with chylde,
and shortly after this pastyme, she toke her chamber at Rychemond,for
the whiche cause the kynge kept his Christmas there. And on Newye-
res day,the fyrst day of January,the Quene was deliuered of a Prince
to the great gladnes of the Realme,for the honour of whom,fyers were
x made,and diuerse vessels with wyne, set for suche as woulde take therof
in certaine streates in London, and generall processions thereupon too
laude God. As touchyng the preparacion of the Princes Christenyng,
I ouerpasse,which was honourably done,whose godfathers at the font
were the Archebishop of Caunterbury,and the erle of Surrey,Godmo-
ther the lady Katherine Countesse of Deuonshyre, Daughter to kynge
Edward the fourth.

Agaynst the.xii. daye or the daie of the Epiphanie at nyghte, before
the banket in the Hall at Rychemond, was a pageaunt deuised lyke a
mountayne,glisteryng by nyght, as though it had bene all of golde and
xx set with stones,on the top of the whiche mountayne was a tree of golde
the braunches & bowes frysed with gold,spreding on euery side ouer the
mountayne,with roses and Pomegranettes, the whiche mountayn was
with vices brought vp towardes the kyng, and out of thesame came a
ladye,appareiled in clothe of golde,and the children of honour called the
Henchemen, whiche were freshly disguysed, and daunced a Morice be-
fore the kyng. And that done, reentred the mountayne,and then it was
drawen backe, and then was the wassaill or banket brought in, and so
brake vp Christmas.

Shortly after,and before the Quenes churchynge, the kyng rode too
xxx Walsingham.The Quene being churched or purified,the kyng and she
remoued from Rychemond to Westminster,where was preparacion for
a solempne Justes in the honour of the Quene,the kyng being one, and
with hym thre aydes:his grace being called Cure loial, the lorde Willia
erle of Deuonshire, called Bon voloire, Sir Thomas Kneuet named
Bonespoir, Sir Edwarde Neuile,called Valiaunt desire, whose names
were set vpon a goodly table, and the table hanged in a tree, curiously
wrought,and they were called Les quater Chiualers de la forrest saluigne,
these foure to runne at the tilte against all commers, with other certayn
Articles comprised in the said table.

xl A place in the Pallayce was prepared for the kynge, and also the
Quene, rychely hanged,the inner parte with cloth of golde, and the vt-
ter with ryche clothe of Arras. These Justes beganne the. xiii. daye of
Februarye. After that,that the Quene with her trayne of ladyes had ta-
ken their places, into the Palays was conueyed a pageaunt of a greate
quantitie, made like a forest with rockes, hylles and dales, with diuers

sundrie trees, floures, hathornes, ferne and grasse, with six forsters, standynge within thesame forrest, garnished in cotes and hodes of grene Veluet, by whome lay a greate number of speres, all the trees, herbes, and floures, of thesame forrest were made of grene Veluet, grene Damaske, and Silke of diuers colours, Satyn and Sercenet. In the middes of this forrest was a castell standing, made of golde, and before the Castell gate sat a gentelman freshly apparelled, makyng a garlande of Roses for the pryce. This forrest, was drawen, as it were by strength of twoo great beastes, a Lyon and an Antelop, the Lyon florished all ouer with Damaske golde. The Antelop was wrought all ouer with syluer of Damaske, his beames and hornes and tuskes of golde: these beastes were led with certayne men appareiled like wildemen, or woodhouses, their bodies, heddes, faces, handes and legges, couered with grene Silke flosshed: On either of thesaid Antelop and Lyon, sate a ladye rychely appareiled, the beastes were tied to the pageaunt with great chaynes of golde, as horses be in the carte. When the pageaunt retted before the Quene, the forenamed forsters blew their hornes, then the deuise or pageant opened on all sydes, and out issued the forsaied foure knyghtes, armed at all peces, euery of them a spere in his hande on horsebacke with great plumes on their heddes, their basses and trappers of clothe of golde, euery of them his name enbroudered on his basse and trapper: on the other parte with great noyse, aswell of Trompettes as of Drommes entred into the fielde. The erle of Essex, the lord Thomas Hawarde with many other cleane armed, their trappers and basses all of Crymosyn Satyn enbroudered with braunches of Pomegarnettes of golde, and postes with many a freshe Gentelman, rydyng before them, their fotemen also well appareiled: And so the Justes beganne, and endured all that daye.

The morow beyng the. xiii. daye of February after dynner, at tyme conuenient, the Quene with the ladyes repaired to see the Justes, the trompettes blew vp, and in came many a Noble man and Gentelman, rychely appareiled, takynge vp their horses, after whome folowed certayne lordes appareiled, thei and their horses in clothe of golde and russet tynsell: knyghtes in clothe of golde and russet Veluet. And a greate number of Gentelmen on fote, in russet satyn and pealow, and yomen in russet Damaske and pealow, all the nether parte of euery mans hosen Skarlet, and pealow cappes. Then came the kyng vnder a Pauilion of clothe of golde, and purpull Veluet enbroudered, and poudered with H. and. K. of fyne golde, the compas of the Pauilion aboue, enbroudered rychely, and valenced with flat golde, beten in wyre, with an Imperiall croune in the top of fyne golde, his bases and trapper of clothe of gold, fretted with Damaske gold, the trapper pendant to the tail. A crane and chafron of stele, in the frount of the chafron was a goodly plume set full of muscrons or trimblyng spangles of golde. After folowed his three aydes, euery of them vnder a Pauilion of Crymosyn damaske, a purple

poudred

poudred with H. and K. of fyne golde, valenced and frynged with golde of damaske: on the top of euery Pauilion a greate K. of golde fmythes worke, the number of the Gentelmen and yomen attendant a fote, appareiled in ruffet and yealow was. C. lxviii. Then next these Pauilions came twelue children of honor, fitting euery of them on a greate courfer, rychely trapped and enbroudered in feuerall deuifes and factions, where lacked neither brouderie nor goldfmythes worke, fo that euery child and horfe in deuice and faction was contrary to other, whiche was goodly to beholde.

Then on the countet part, entred Sir Charles Brandon, fitfte on horfebacke in a long robe of ruffet Satyn, lyke a reclufe or a religious perfon and his horfe trapped in thefame feafte, without dromme or noyfe of mynftrelfye, puttynge a byl of petition to the Quene, the effect wherof was, that if it would pleafe her to licence hym to runne in her preference, he woulde do it gladly, and if not, then he woulde departe as he came. After that his requeft was graunted, then he put of hys fayed habyte, and was armed at all peces, with rych bafes & horfe, alfo rychely trapped, and fo did runne his horfe to the tylte ende, where diuers men on fote appareiled in ruffet fatyn awaited on hym: next after came in alone yr young Henry Guylford Efquier, hym felfe and his horfe in ruffet clothe of golde and clothe of fyluer, clofed in a deuice, or a pageant made lyke a Caftell or a Turret, wrought of Ruffet cercenet flozence, wrought, and fet out in golde with hys worde or pofye, and all his men in Ruffet fatyn and white, with hofen to thefame, and their bonettes of lyke colours, demaunding alfo licence of the Quene to runne, whiche to hym graunted toke place at thende of the tylte. Then came next the Marques Dorfet and fyr Thomas Bulleyn, lyke two pilgrems from faint James, in taberdes of blacke Ueluet, with palmers hattes on their helmettes, wyth long Jacobs ftaues in their handes, their horfe trappers of blacke Uelyr uet, their taberdes, hattes, and trappers fet with fcaloppe fchelles of fine golde, and ftrippes of blacke Uelvet, euery ftrip fet with a fcalop fhell, their feruauntes al in blacke Satyn, with fcalop fhelles of golo in their breaftes. Sone after came in the lorde Henry of Buckyngham Erle of Wylfhire, hym felfe and his horfe appareiled in clothe of fyluer, enbroudered with a pofye, or his worde, and arrowes of golde in a pofye, called La maifon du refuge, made of Crymofyn damafke, broudered with Rofes and arrowes of golde, on the tope a greyhonde of fyluer, bearynge a tree of Pomegarnettes of golde, the braunches therof were fo large that it ouer fpredde the pagent in all partes. Then entred Syr Gyles Capel, yl Syr Rouland with many other knightes, rychely armed and appareiled. And thus beganne the Juftes, whiche was valiauntly atcheued by the kyng and his aides, emonges whome his grace attcyned the pryce. The Juftes kynyfhed, euery man with drew, the kynge was difarmed, and at time cõuenient he and the Quene heard euenfong, & that night all the Ambaffadours fupped with the kyng, and had a great banket. After fuppes

supper, his grace with the Quene, Lordes and Ladies came into the white Hall, within the sayed Pallays, whiche was hanged ryghely, the Hall was scaffolded and rayled on al partes. There was an interlude of the Gentelmen of his Chapell before his grace, and diuers fresh songes: That done, his grace called to hym a greate man, or a lorde of Ireland called Odonell, whome in the presence of the Ambassadours, he made kuyght: Then mynstrels beganne to playe, the Lordes and Ladies beganne to daunce.

And in the mooste of this pastime, when all persones were moste attentyue to behold the daunsyng, the kyng was sodenly gone vnknowen to the mooste parte of the people there, oneles it were of the Quene and of certayne other. Within a littell whyle after his departing, the trompettes at thende of the Hall began to blowe. Then was there a deuice or a pageaunt vpon wheles brought in, out of the whiche pageaunt issued out a gentelman rychely appareiled, that shewed, how in a garden of pleasure there was an arber of golde, wherein were lordes and ladies, muche desirous to shew pleasure and pastime to the Quene and ladies, if they might be licenced so to do, who was answered by the Quene, how she and all other there were very desirous to se theim and their pastime: then a greate clothe of Arras that did hange before thesame pageaunt was taken a waye, and the pageaunt brought more nere, it was curiously made and plesaunt to beholde, it was solempne and ryche, for euery post or piller therof, was couered with fryse golde, therein were trees of Hawthorne, Eglantines, Rosiers, Vines and other plesaunt floures of diuers colours, with Gylofers and other herbes all made of Satyn, damaske, silke syluer and gold, accordingly as the natural trees, herbes, or floures ought to be. In whiche arber were. vi. ladies, all apparailed in white sattyn and grene, set & enbroudered full of H. & K. of golde, knitte together with laces of golde, of damaske, and al their garmentes were replenished with glitteryng spangles gylt ouer, on their heddes were bonettes al opened at the. iiii. quarters, ouerfryled with flat gold of damaske, the ortellettes were of rolles, wrethed on lampas douck holow, so ỹ the golde shewed thorow the lãpas douck. ỹ fassis of their head set full of new deuised facions: in this garden, also was the kyng & .v. with him apparelled in garmentes of purpul satyn, al of cuttes w H. & K. euery edge garnished with fryled golde, & euery garment ful of poysees, made of letters of fine golde in bullion as thicke as they might be, & euery persone had his name in like letters of massy gold. The fyrst Cuer loyall. The second Bone voloyre, in the. iii. Bone espoier, The. iiii. Valyaunt desyre, The fyft Bone foy, The. vi. Amoure loyall, their hoten cappes & cotes, were ful of poises & H. & K. of fine gold in bullió, so that the groũd could scace apere & yet was in euery voyde place spangels of gold. Whẽ time was come, ỹ said pageaũt was brought forth into presence, & then discẽded a lorde & a lady by coples, & then the mynstrels, which were disguised also daunced, and the lorde and ladies daunced, that it was a pleasure to beholde.

In

In the meane season the pagiaunt was conueyed to the ende of the place, there to tary tyll the daunces were fynyshed, and so to haue receyued the Lordes and Ladies agayne, but sodainly the rude people ranne to the pagent, and rent, tare, and spoyled the pagent, so that the Lorde Stuard nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, excepte they shoulde haue foughten and drawen bloud, and so was this pagent broken.

After the kyng and his compaignions had daunced, he apointed the ladies, gentelwomen and the Ambassadours to take the letters of their garmentes, in token of liberalitie, whiche thing the common people perceyuyng, ranne to the kyng, and striped hym into his hosen and doublet, and all his compaignions in likewyse. Sir Thomas Knyuet stode on a stage, and for all his defence he lost his apparell. The ladies likewyse were spoyled, wherfore the kynges garde came sodenly, and put the people backe, or els as it was supposed more in cõuenience had ensued. So the kyng with the Quene & the ladyes returned into his chamber, where they had a great banket, and all these hurtes were turned to laughyng and game, and thought that, all that was taken away was but for honoure, and larges: and so this triumphe ended with myrth and gladnes.

At this banket, a shypman of London caught certayne letters which he sould to a goldsmyth for. iii. l. xiii. s. viii. d, by reason wherof, it appeared that the garmentes were of a great value.

After this great ioye came sorowfull chaunce, for the young Pryncs, whiche was borne vpon newyeres daye last past, vpon the two & twenty daye of February, beyng then the euen of Saint Mathy, departed this worlde at Rychemond, and from thense was caried to Westmynster, and buryed.

The kyng lyke a wyse Pryncs, toke this dolorous chaunce wonderous wysely, and the more to comfort the Quene, he dissimuled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardely: but the Quene lyke a naturall woman, made muche lamentacion, how be it, by the kynges good persuasion and behauiour, her sorow was mytigated, but not shortlye. This yere also in the moneth of Februarie, came from kyng Ferdinãdo, the kynges father in lawe, and kynge of Arragon and Castell certayne Ambassadours, whiche made request to the kyng, on the behalfe of the kyng their master, to haue ayde of the kyng of fyften hundred Archers, with valiaunt Capitaynes to gouerne and conduyte them: For his entent was to make warre on the Moores, beyng Infideles and enemies to Gods law. The kyng and his counsayll hearyng this request, thought it muche honourable to ayde a Christian Pryncs, and in especiall his frende and father in lawe, agaynst the infideles enemies to Christes lawe, wherfore the kyng gently graunted them their request. When tydinges were spread in the courte of this iourney against the infideles, the lorde Thomas Darcye, knyght of the order of the gartier, made humble suyte to the kynge, to be capitayne generall of that Crewe or armye.

The

The kyng and hys counsaill for his greate valiaunthes and approued wysedome graunted his request: many lordes and knyghtes made suite to be in thesame iorney, but the kyng aunswered them, that he retained them still for other greater considerations and purposes. There were appointed to go with thesaied lorde Darcie, lorde Antony Grey, brother to the Marques Dorset, Henry Guyldeford, Weston, Broune, Willyã Sydney, Esquiers of the kynges house, syr Robert Constable, syr Roger Haystynges, and syr Raufe Elderkare, and diuers other gentelmen to be capitaines. The lorde Darcie and all the other Capitaynes toke their leue of the kyng, and went into their countreis to prouide for all thynges mete and necessary for the voiage.

The kyng this tyme was muche entysed to playe at tennys and at dice, which appetite, certain craftie persons about hym perceiuing, brought in Frenchemen and Lombardes, to make wagers with hym, and so he lost much money, but when he perceiued their craft, he excheuyd their cõpaigny, and let them go. The kyng beyng lusty, young and couragious, greatly delited in feates of chyualrie, in so much that he made a chaleng of Justes, againste all commers to be proclaimed at his mannoure of Grenewyche, to be holden there the. iii. first daies of May then next ensuyng, whiche noble courage, all younge persones highly praysed, but the auncient fathers muche doubted, considering the tender youth of the kyng, and diuers chaunces of horses and armure: in so much that it was openly spoken, that stele was not so strong, but it might be broken, nor no horse coulde be so sure of fote, but he may fall: Yet for all these doubtes, the lusty prince proceded in his chalenge.

The first daye of May the kynge accompaignied with many lusty Batchelers, on greate and well doyng horses rode to the woode to fetche May, where a man might haue sene many a horse raysed on highe, with galope, turne and stoppe, marueylous to behold: where he and thre other as syr Edward Haward, Charles Brandon, and Edward Neuel, which were chalengers with the kyng, shyfted themselfels into cotes of grene Satyn, garded with Crymosyn Veluet. On the other parte the Earles of Essex, of Deuenshyre, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Haward, were all in Crymosyn Satyn, garded with a pounced garde of grene Veluet: and as they were returning on the Hyll, met with them a shippe vnder sayle: The master hayled the kyng and that noble compaignie, and sated that he was a Maryner, and was come from many a straunge porte, and came hither to se if any dedes of armes were to be done in the countrey. of the whiche he might make report therof in other countreis. An Heraulde demaunded the name of his shyppe, he aunswered she is called Fame, and is laden with good Renoune: Then sayed the Heraulde, if you wil bring your shippe into the bay of Hardines, you must double the poynt of Gentilnes, and there you shall se a compaignie that wyll medle with your marchaundise. Then sayed the kyng, sythen Renowne is their marchaundyse, let vs bye it and we can: Then the shippe shotte a pele of

Gonnes.

Ennys,and sayled forth before the kynges compaignie, ful of flagges & banners,till it came to the tilte yearde. At after none,the kyng & his thre felowes entred into the fielde, their bardes & bases of Crymosyn & blew veluet,cut in quadrant cuttes,embroudered full of Pomgranettes,& all the wayters,in lyke of thesame colourr. The other partie were in Crymosyn Satyn and grene veluet. Then began the trompettes to sounde, and the horses to rumme that many a spere was brast, and many a great stripe gēuen:and for truthe the kyng exceded in number of staues all other,euery day of the.iii.daies. Wherfore on the.iii.day,the quene made x a great banket to the kyng and all them that had Justed: And after the banket done, she gaue the chefe price to the kyng, the.i.to the erle of Essex,the.ii.to the erle of Deuonshyre, and the.iii.to the Lorde Marques Dorset. Then the Heraultes cried,my lordes, for your noble feates in armes,God sende you the loue of your ladies that you moste delire.

The thyrd yere.

THe kyng euer desirous to serue Mars,begā an other Justes ỹ xv.day of ỹ saied moneth: ỹ kyng & his bend were all in grene sylke,& the erle of Essex & his bende in blew,garded with gold, & all the speres were paynted of thesame colours. There was xx good running & many a spere brast,but for al the sport euery mā feared, lest some yll chaūce might happē to the kyng,& fayne would haue had him a loker on, rather then a doer,& spake therof as much as they durst: but his courage was so noble that he would euer be at the one ende

In this passe tyme,the lord Darcy & other appoynted to the vyage agaynst the Moores of Barbaria (at the instaunce of Donpefernando father to the Quene)made suche diligence,that they and all their people were ready at Plymmouth by the myddes of May, and there mustered their souldiers before the lorde Broke,and other the kynges commissioners. The sayed lorde Darcie,as Capitayne generall ordeined for hys xxx Prouost Marshall, Henry Guylford Esquier, a lusty youngman, and well beloued of the kyng. Then,when the winde serued to their purpose, and all the armie were set aborde in their shippes, whiche were vytailed and prest at all pointes,the Capitayn and other departed out of Plymmouth hauen,the monday in the Rogation weke with.iii. shippes Royall and the wind was so fauourable to them,that the first day of June, beynge the euen of the feaste of Pentecost,he arriued at the porte of Caleys in Southspayne, and immediatly by the aduice of his counsayll, dispatched to the kyng of Arragon two Gentelmen, called Jhon Bartelmew,and Willyam Symonde, with letters to certefie the kyng and xl his counsaill of their arriuall, and what payne they had taken to come to his countrey, in fulfyllyng the kyng their masters commaundement. The messengers did so muche that they came to the kyng, beside the citte of Cyuill, where he then laye, and declared to hym how the lorde Darcie by the kyng their masters appointement, was come thither with. xvi. C. archers mo, accordyng to the saied kyng of Arragons request, and laye

ſtill at Caleys to know his pleaſure. The kyng of Arragon aunſwered them gentelly, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from hys moſte beſt beloued ſonne were welcome, and hartely thanked theim of theyr paynes, and prayed the meſſengers to returne to their capitayne ſhewyng hym that the kyng in all haſte would ſende his counſail to him, and ſo they departed from the kyng, and made repoꝛte to the lorde Darcie, whiche kept his ſhippe in great eſtate, and would not lande, but only ſuffered ſuche as were ſicke and feble, and few other to go a lande.

The Englyſhmen whiche went a lande, fell to drinking of hote wines and were ſcace maſters of theim ſelfes, ſome ranne to the ſtewes, ſome x brake hedges, and ſpoyled oꝛchardes and vyneyardes, and oꝛynges beſoꝛe they were tꝛype, and did many other outragious dedes: whetfoꝛe the cheſe of the toune of Caleys, came to complaine to the loꝛde Darcie in hys ſhippe, whiche ſent foꝛth his Pꝛouoſt Marſhall, which ſcacelie with peyne reſtrayned the yomen archers, they were ſo hote and wyllfull, yet by commaundement and policie, they were al bꝛought on boꝛde on their ſhippes.

Saterdaye the eight daye of June, the Byſhop of A other of the kynges counſaill, arryued at Caleys, and there abode tyll wed- xx nyſdaye, beyng the euen of Coꝛpus Chꝛiſty, at whiche daye the loꝛd Capitayne toke lande, and was honourably receiued of the kynge of Arragons counſayll, and on the moꝛow highly feſted at dynner and ſupper. And after ſupper, the Byſhop declared the kyng of Arragons pleaſure ſaiyng: my loꝛde Capitayne, the kyng my maſter in mooſte humble wyſe geueth you thankes foꝛ your greate paynes and trauell, as muche as though he pꝛoceded in this pꝛetenſed enterpꝛyce, but he with the aduice of his counſayll circumſpectly, conſideryng the ſuertie of his awne realmes and dominions hathe perfectie knowlege, that his aduerſarye of xx Fraunce, pꝛepareth to inuade hys countreis in hys abſence: wherfoꝛe he entendyng not to leue his Realmes, voyde of men and ſhyppes (whiche myght be a great comfoꝛt to his enemies to inuade) & therfoꝛe he hathe taken an abſtinence of warre with the Moozes tyll another tyme. Well ſayed the loꝛde Darcie, ſythe it is fully concluded that we ſhall do no ſeruice to yout Maſter, we maye not saye agaynſt his determinacion, conſideryng we were ſent to hym, but ſurely it is agaynſte my hart, whiche euer hath deſiꝛed to fyght agaynſt Goddes enemies, but with your conclu- xxj cion, I and all myne muſte be content. You do as you ſhould do, ſaied the Byſhop, and the kynge my maſter geueth lyke thankes to the kynge hys ſonne, and to you all, as though he had pꝛoceded in his iourney. And you ſhall haue wages foꝛ all your ſouldiers: And if it ſhall pleaſe you xxj to come to the court, you ſhall receyue hygh thankes of the kyng, & ſuche chere as there can be made you. That is not my deſyre ſayed the Loꝛde Darcie, foꝛ my men ſhall not saye that I bꝛought them out of their coũtrey, and nowe to do my ſelfe pleaſure, leaue theim without an hedde, as men of men foꝛſaken: Nay nay my loꝛde, the kynges banket is not my deſyre.

desire. So the lordes departed for ỹ night, & the next dai in the morning was sent wages, to conduict tharmie into England, with diuerse giftes geuen to the lord Darcie, & other gentle men: Yet ỹ notwithstanding, he was highly displeased, how beit like a wise man he dissimuled ỹ matter.

Thesame daie, beyng the xiiii. daie of June and Fridaie, an Englishe man desired of a maide, that had been at the Bakers to bye bread for her maistres store and not to sell, to haue a lofe for his money, she aunswered, that she had none to sell, he said he would haue one, and folowed her, and whē she perceiued that, she cried, a force a force, the tounes men of Caleis, or Caleis males, sodainly rong their common bell, and al the toune went to harneis, and the fewe Englishemen that wer on land wēt to their bowes. The Spaniardes cast dartes, and sore anoyed and hurt the Englishmen: and thei likewise hurt and slew diuerse Spanyardes. Then the Captaines of Englande for their part, and the lordes of the Counsaill for their parte, toke suche pain, that the fraie was seased, and but one Englishemen slain, and of the Spanyardes diuerse slain.

Then all Englishe men were commaunded to go aborde wyth theyr shippes. The lordes of Spayne came to the lorde Darcie, saiyng: Sir, we praie you, sithe you knowe the kynges pleasure and haue your wages, that you with all your people will go with your shippes awaie, for we perceiue you owe vs some displeasure. Then he boldly answered saiyng, that he woulde al the worlde knew, that he was as able to conduit his menne homewarde, as he was to bryng theim out of their countrey, without the kyng of Arragōs wages, (sauyng his honor) and as for the fraie, it was agaynst his will and without his knowlege: and so that night he and all his men, went aborde with theyr shippes.

When this iorney was come to this poynt, Henry Guilforde, Westō, Browen, and Willyan Sidney, young and lusite Esquires, delired license to see the Courte of Spayne, whiche was to theim graunted: and then thei departed from Caleis, and came to the Courte of the kyng of Arragon, wher thei wer highly entertained, & he dubbed Henry Guilford, Weston, and Browne, knightes, and gaue to sir Henry Guilford a Canton of Granado, & to sir Westō, and Browne, an Egle of Scicile on a cheffe to the augmentacion of their armes: William Sidney, so excused himself, that he was not made knigh, and when thei had soiorned ther a while, they tooke their leaue of the kyng and quene, & so returned through Fraunce into England, wher they demained thēselfes so, ỹ thei had the kynges fauoure, notwithstanding it was thought contrary.

Duryng whiche season the lorde Darcie, the.xvii. daie of June made saile towarde England, and arriued at Plimmouthe, & came to the kyng at Wyndsore, and in August thus ended this voyage.

Duryng the time that the Lorde Darcie was in Spayne, the Ladie Margaret Duches of Sauoy, & daughter to Maximilian themperor, and gouernor of the countreis of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, Zelāde and other the lowe countres apperteinyng to Charles the yong prince

of Castell, then beyng of tendre age, sent in thend of Maii to the kynge of Englãd to haue .xv.c. archers, to aide her against ỹ duke of Geldres which sore trobled the coũtreis aforsaid. The kyng tenderly regarding the request of so noble a lady, & also because there was a communicatiõ hangyng at their time of mariage, to be had betwene the young Prince Charles, and the lady Marie his sister, moste tently graũted her request and appoynted sir Edward Pownynges knight of the garter, and cõptroller of his house, a valiant capitain & a noble warrior, to be the lieuetenaunt & conductor of the saied .xv.c. archers, whiche accõpanied with the lord Clintõ his sonne in lawe, sir Mathew Brown, sir Jhon Digby, Jhon Norton, Richard Whethill, Sherley Esquires & diuerse tall gentelmen and yomen, wel knowen men and tried, to the said nombre of xv.c. toke their shipping a mile beside Sãdwiche, the .xviii. daie of July & landed at Arnew the .xix. daie, not without some troble by reason of a litle storme, & sent Lancaster Herauld to aduertise the lady of their arriuall, which sent to thẽ lord Bresley knight of the Toyson, and diuerse other to welcome thẽ, and so conduited thẽ to Barow, where the lorde of the toune made theim great chere. And the same daie at after none, came the lady Margaret to Barow, where ỹ capitain with al his vnder capitaines receiued her at the gate, she welcomed thẽ hartely, & so she did all the souldiers whiche stode along reinged in the strete. And on saterdaie beyng the .xx vi. daie of July, she sawe al the company shote, & thee same night the capitayn and other toke his leaue of her, & the morowe beeyng sondaie departed to Rossindale, and so on thursday the last day of July came to Buldike, & that daie the ladie Margaret came thether. And the next daie, the whole army of Almaines, Fleminges, and other aperteignyng to the saied lady, met with thenglishmen without Buldike, where thei set furth in ordre, the lady Margaret being present: which toke her leue of all the capitaines and departed to Buldike, whom sir Edwarde Pownynges conduited to the toune gate, and after returned to tharmy Tharmie to the nombre of .x.M. of the ladies parte .xv.c. Englishmen passed through Brabant, & came the .x. dai of August beyng .s. Laurẽce daie, before a litle castle stadyng on the higher side of thee riuer of Wale called Brimuoyst strongly Bulwarked in the whiche wer .c. men belongyng to the bastard of Gelders, with a capitaine called Lankessell van Gelder, whiche robbed & spoyled al the parties of Brabant. Thei within shot fiersly at tharmy as it passed by, and did them litle hurte. The same night Thomas Hert chief gonner of thẽglish part, made his approch of his ordenaunce & in the morning bet doune as much as might be beaten doune for the bulwarkes, & the next daie beyng the .xi. of August the castle was assaulted valiantly, & takẽ by force, & the capitain and .lxxx. & od men were slain & .xix. taken, of the whiche .xi. wer hanged, Jhon Norẽ capitain of .c. Englishmẽ, & one Guiot an esquire of Burgoyn crieng Burgoyn. S. George: there was one Englishman slain and no more.

On thursdaie the .xiiii. daie, tharmie fetied ouer the riuer of Wale into

to the land Geldres, and their soiorned at a litle churche, of our ladye daie the Assumption that night, and the nexte daie thei came to a toune called Aiske, belongyng to the Bastarde Geldres: where all the people wer fled, and there was vndermined and caste doune, a litle castle standyng of thesayd riuer newly edified.

The.xx.of August thei brent the toune of Aiske, and brent al the coūtrey about, and came at last to a toune called Straulle, a strong toune double diked & walled, and within it.iii.C.lx. good men of warre beside the inhabitauntes, whiche at the firste commyng shot Gonnes fiercely and hurte many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Pounynges, whiche euer was in the forward with his archers, caused fagottes to be made, and trenches to be digged and cast and his men wer so diligent, that his trēche, in the mornyng approched so nye the toune gate, that thei within wer halfe dismaied: and desired to speake with the Lordes, & so thei did. And on. S. Barthelmewes euen, were sixe men sent out of the toune to treate, and sixe hostages deliuered for theim, and then it was agreed that all men of warre should departe with a white sticke in their handes, & to forfet all other thynges, and al the toune dwellers to bee prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castle. The next daie, after the men of warre wer departed, erly in the morning sir Jhon Dighby knight, and Jhon Norton Esquire, toke possession of the toune with.CC. English menne: and at after None the Admiral of Flaunders, sir Edward Pounynges, & the lorde Dilcilstain, chief captaines of tharmie, with all other noble men, with Trūpettes, & Arthois and Lancaster, and Ostriche, officers at armes in their coates of armes before theim gorgeously apareled, entered the toune, and in the toune hall, toke thothe of thinhabitantes, and ỹ night returned to their armie.

The.xxvi. daie of thesame month, sir Jhon Dighby, and Jhō Norton, came out of the touue with al their Englishmen, and for them entered a capitain called Youker Otes, with.CC.l. Almaines, to kepe there a garrison, the whiche daie the armie went before Uenlow & sent Artois with a trumpet to somon the toune: but thei would not here them spcke but shot gunnes at theim. The.xxviii.daie, the armye remoued vnto the Northside of Uenlow, and part went ouer the water and made trēches to the water. The capitain of the Englishemen made trenches euen to the toune diche, and the artiletie bet doune ỹ towers of the walles, and euery daie was some skirmishe. And the.xxix.daie as certain Englishemen went a foragyng, it happened.x. of sir Jhon Dighbes men to go.v. mile from the armie, and to mete with.xxiiii.horsmen of Geldres which set on thē, but they withdrew themselfes into a litle garden, and shot at their enemies, and slewe twoo horsmen and.v. horses, gauled and hurte many of thē, discomfited the remnant, and brought two great horses to tharmie, and euery man was sore hurte, but in no petel of death thāked be God. The siege thus continuyng, not without skirmishes.xxix.daies sir Edward Poūynges, & sir Jhō Dighby dined with monsire de Rony

and all other Englishe capitaines, and petie Capitaines, dined with an Almain called Clene Anderline, except sir Mathew Broune, and Jhon Fogge, whiche kepte the felde, and Richard Wethill, whiche kepte thee trenche and was sore besette: and in the dinner tyme, thei of the toune issued out on thenglishemen, and hurte and toke, one Sheldwiche of Cãterbury prisonet and one Wiles: and thenglishemen hurt and slew many of theim, and compelled theim to returne by force of Arrowes, and so thei reculed with one prisoner. For Wiles, which was led betwene two of the Geldres, perceiuing rescue comming, after as he came to an hyll thrust the two Gelders doune the hill before him, and so ranne backe to his compaignie, whiche thyng the two Geldres that led him perceiuing ranne to Sheldwiche and slew him. The Burgonions perceiuing, that Sir Edwarde Pownynges was displeased with this chaunce, exhorted him with his menne to assault the toune, whiche, by thaduise of bastard Emery answered that thee cause was theirs, and not his Maysters: and if he gatte the toune by assaulte, the king his Master should not haue it but if they would geue the assault, he woulde ioyne with theim whiche thing thei would not do, because thei had kinsemen and frendes, within the toune: sauyng one daie a few Almaines assaulted a Bulwerke, and wer slain and take.

The Englishe capitaines perceiuing that thei laie there in vaine, cõsiderying the strength of the toune, and also how their armye was not in numbre to enuiron the toune, for euer thei had one Gate open, wrote to the kyng which willed them with all spede to returne, and so thei did.

Sir Edward Pownynges went to the Court of Burgoyn, where he was highly entertayned of the young prince, & the Lady Margaret his aunte, and receiued great thãkes and giftes for hys pain. And other capitaines, as syr Jhon, Norton, sir Jhon Fogge, sir Jhon Scot, and syr Thomas Lind, were made knightes of the Prince. And the lady Margaret, perceiuing the coates of the souldiers too be foule with lyng on the ground (for euery man lai not in a tent) gaue to euery yoman a cote of wolen clothe of yalowe, red, white and grene coloures, not to her litle laude and praise emong thenglishemen. After that sir Edward Ponynges had ben highly feasted, and more praised of all men for his valiantnes, and good ordre of his people, hee returned with his cõpaignie into England, and had lost by warre and sickenes, not fully an. C. persones.

When the Englishemen were departed, Geldres issued out daily, & made skirmishes and fraies with the Burgonions, and asked for theyr Archers, and Winter beganne sharpelye too approche, and by abounddaunce of raine, the riuer of the Masse roase so high, that the Trenches were drowned, and of force men were compelled to remoue And when the Capitaines considered the strengthe of the Towne, how it was fortified, victailed and manned, and how by the rising of the Riuer it was made stronger: thei determined to raise the Siege, and too burne and destroye all the Villages and Tounes aboute, of

of the which toune of Uẽlow, would haue succor in winter, and to mete again, at the Prime time of the yere. Thus was the siege raised, and the countrey wasted and spoyled, and then euery capitain returned home.

In June the kyng beyng at Leicester, tidynges wer brought to him, that Andrew Barton a Scottishe manne, and a pirate of the sea, saiyng that the kyng of Scottes, had warre with the Portingales, did rob euery nacion, & so stopped the kynges stremes, that no merchauntes almost could passe, and when he toke thenglishmenes goodes, he said they wer Portyngales goodes, and thus he haunted and robbed at euery haues mouthe. The kyng moued greately with this craftie pirate, sent sir Edmond Haward lord Anmiral of England, and lord Thomas Haward sonne and heire to therle of Surrey, in all the hast to the sea, whithe, hastely made redy two shippes, and without any more abode, toke the sea, and by chaunce of wether were seuered. The lorde Haward lying in the Downes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotlãde, and so fast thesaied lorde chased him, that he ouer tooke hym, and there was a sore battaill: thenglishme wer fierce, nand the Scottes defended them manfully, and euer Andrew blewe his whistell to encorage his men, yet for al that, the lord Haward and his men, by cleane strength entred the mayne decke: then the Englishemen entred on all sides, and the Scottes foughte sore on the hatches, but in conclusion, Andrewe was taken, whiche was so sore wounded, that he died there: then all the remnaunte of the Scottes wer taken, with their shippe called the Lion.

All this while, was the lorde Admirall in chace of the Barke of Scotlande, called Jenny Pirwyn, whiche was wont to saile with the Lion in compaignie, and so muche did he with other, that he laied him on borde, and fiercely assailed him, and the Scottes as hardy and well stomaked men them defended, but the lorde Admirall so entoraged his men, that they entered the Barke and slewe many, and toke all the other.

Thus wer these two shippes taken, and brought to Blacke Wal, the seconde daie of August, and al the Scottes were sent to the Bishoppes place of Yorke, and there remained at the kynges charge, til other direccion was taken for theim.

After this, the kyng sent the bishop of Winchester, and certain of his counsaill, to tharchebishop of Yorkes place, wher the Scottes wer prisoners: & ther the bishop rehersed to thẽ, wher as peace was yet between England and Scotlãd, that thei contrary to that, as theues & pirates, had robbed the kynges subiectes within his stremes: wherfore, thei had deserued to die by the law, & to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scottes, we knowlege our offence, & aske mercie & not the lawe. Then a priest, which was also prisoner said, my lordes we appele from the kinges iustice to his mercy. Then the bishop asked him if he wer authorised by thẽ to sai so, & thei cried al yea yea, thẽ said he, you shal find ỹ kinges merci, aboue his iustice. For wher you wer ded bi ỹ law, yet by his merci, he wil reuiue you, wherfor, you shal depart out of this realme

within.xx.daies,vpon pain of death,if you be founde after the.xx.daie, and prai for the kyng,and so they passed into the Countrey.

The kyng of Scottes, hearyng of the death of Andrewe of Barton, and takyng of his twoo shippes, was wonderfull wrothe, and sent letters to the kyng,requiryng restitucion, accordyng to the league and amitie.The kyng wrote with brotherly salutaciõs,to the kyng of Scottes,of the robberies and euill doynges of Andrewe Barton, and that it became not one Prince,to laie a breache of a league, to another Prince in doyng Justice vpon a pirate or thiefe,and that al the other Scottes that were taken, had deserued to dye by Justice, if he had not extended his mercie:& with this answere, the Scottishe Herauld departed home. p

Duryng this season, there began greate warre,betwene Pope July, and the Frenche kyng. Loys the.xii.the occasion beganne by one Jhon Bentiuoyle,a greate lorde of Italie,whiche kepte the citee of Bologne le Grace,from the Pope,whiche,by the aide of the Frenche kyng, gatte thesaied citee,from the forenamed Jhon Bentiuoyle:but afterward because thesaied Pope July,tooke peace with the Venecians,the French kyng turned from the Pope,and made warre on hym, in the behalfe of Jhon Bentiuoyle,and toke from hym again,thesaid citee of Bologne.

The kyng of Englande,wrote often to kyng Loys of Fraunce to desist from the persecutyng of the Pope,which was his frende and confederate:to which writyng he gaue litle regard, wherefore,the kyng sent him woorde,to deliuer hym his lawfull enheritaunce,bothe of the Duchie of Normãdie and Guyan, and the countreis of Aniow and Mayne and also of his Croune of fraunce, els he would come with suche a power,that by fine force he would obtein his purpose. For al these writinges,the Frenche kyng still made warre in Italie,and the kyng could of him,haue no certain nor determinate answere. Wherefore, after greate deliberacion had,by the aduise of his counsaill, he determined to make warre on the Frenche kyng, and his countreis,and called to him Maximilian the Emperor,and Ferdinand kyng of Arragon,and diuerse other princes,and made preparacion, bothe by sea and by lande,and fortified his frontiers against Fraũce, and set furth shippes to the sea,for defence of his merchauntes,whiche wer daily in ieoperdy, vnder a pretensed peace of the Frenche kyng, Lewes the.xii.

The kyng this yere,kept the feast of Christmas at Grenewiche,wher was such abundaunce of viãdes serued,to all comers of any honest behauor,as hath been fewe times seen.And against Newieres night,was made in the halle a castle,gates,towers, and dungion,garnished wyth artilerie,and weapon after the most warlike fashion:and on the frount of the castle, was written le Fortresse dangerus,& within the castle were vi.ladies,clothed in Russet Satin, laide all ouer with leues of Golde, and euery owde,knit with laces of blewe silke and golde. On their hedes,coyfes,and cappes all of golde

After this castle had been caried about the hal,and the quene had beheld

helde it,in came the kyng with fiue other, appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satyn,spangled with spãgles of fine gold,the other halfe riche clothe of gold,on their heades cappes of russet satin, embroudered with worckes of fine gold bullió.These vi.assaulted the castle,the ladies seyng them so lusbie & coragious, were content to solace with them and vpon farther communicacion,to yeld the castle,and so thei came doune and daunced a long space.And after the ladies led the knightes intothe castle, and then the castle sodoinly vanished,out of their sightes.

On the date of the Epiphanie at night,the kyng with a.xi.other wer
x disguised,after the maner of Italie, called a maske,a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold,with visers and cappes of gold, & after the banket doen,these Maskers came in,with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches,and desired the ladies to daunce,some were content,and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen.And after thei daunced,and commoned together as the fashion of the Maskes is,thei toke their leaue and departed,and so did the Quene,and all the ladies

The.xb.date of Januarij began the Parliament, where the Bisshop
xx of Cantorburie,began his oracion with this verse,Iusticia & pax osculate sunt,vpon whiche,he declared how Justice should be ministered,and peace should bee nourished,and by what meanes, Justice was put by, and peace turned into warre.And there vpon he shewed,how the Frẽch kyng would do no Justice,in restorynge the kyng his right enheritaũce wherfore,for lacke of Justice,peace of necessitie must turne to warre.

In this Parliament was graunted,twoo fiftenes of the temporaltie, and of the clergie twoo disines:Duryng which Parliament, one Newbolt yoman of the kynges Garde,whõ, the kyng highly fauored, slewe wilfully a seruaunt of my lorde Willoughbies, in the palaice at Westminster,wherfore,the kyng abhorryng that deede,and settyng a side al
xx affeccion,caused him to be hanged in the Palaice of Westminster,wher he hong twoo daies, in example of other.

In this season, one Jherome Bonuise, whiche was borne in Luke, and was a factor in London for Merchauntes of that nacion,and had plaied Bankroute,and was conueighed out of the realme for debt,was nowe in suche fauor with Pope July, that he made hym his Collector, and Proctor in England: and so he kept a greate porte,and resorted to the kyng and his coũsaill,for the Popes affaires,(which then wad sore troubled by the Frenche kyng)so that he knewe,bothe the Popes coun-
xl saill,and the kynges,and falsly and vntruly, resorted by nighte, to the Frenche Ambassadors,lyng in London,and to theim discouered,what the kyng and the Pope entended, which was not so closly doen,but the king knewe it: and so he was laied for,and was taken cõmonyng,with one of thesaid Ambassadors,vpon Londõ wall at midnight,& brought to the Tower,where he remained,till by the suite of his frendes,he was

deliuered,and shortly for shame,boyded the realme.

After that it was concluded, by the body of the Realme, in the high Courte of Parliament assembled, that warre should bee made on the Frenche kyng and his dominions, the kyng with all diligence caused newe shippes to be made and repaired,and rigged the old,caused Gonnes,Bowes,Arrowes,and al other artilery,and instrumentes of warre to be made,in suche nombre and quantitee, that it was wonderfull to se what thynges wer doen,bothe for sea and lande in so shorte space.

The kyng of Arragon,whiche also had warre with the French kyng. and hearyng that his sonne the kyng of Englād would make warre in Fraūce,did write to hym that the duchie of Guyan,was his true enheritaunce,whiche,adioyned to his coūtrey of Biskey:wherfore,if the kyng of Englande would entende to recouer his Duchy first,and send an armie of men to Biskaye,and so to begin at Bayon, whiche is the keye of Guyan,he would aide them with ordinaunce,horsemen,and beastes for cariages,with other necessaries apperteignyng to thesame. p

The kyng and his counsaill, puttyng their affiaunce in the promise of the kyng of Arragon,prepared a noble armie al of fotemen,and smal ordinaunce, trustyng to the kyng of Arragon for aide of horsemen and greate ordinaunce,and of thesame made capitain, the noble lorde Thomas Grey Marques of Dorset, to whom,he assigned many other gentlemen, as you shall here after in the next yere. pp

The.iiij.yere.

THE kyng greatly studiyng, to furnisshe furthe his warre, whiche he had begonne against the Frenche kyng, caused sir Edwarde Hawarde his Admirall, with all diligence to take the sea,whiche,with all spede possible made ready diuerse goodly and tal shippes, as the souereigne and other to the nombre of.xviii beside litle shippes: and in his compaignie were Capitaines,syr Weston Browne,Griffith Doune,Edwarde Cobham, Thomas Wyndam, Thomas Lucie, Willyam Pirton,Henry Shirborne, Stephen Bull, George Witwange, Jhon Hopton, Willyam Gimstone,Thomas Draper,Edmond Coke,Jhō Bordet,with diuerse other. When all these were shipped,they sailed to Douer,and skowred the seas,and so came before Portesmouthe,about the middes of Maye. xxx

The third daie of Maie,a gentlemen of Flaunders, called Guyot of Guy,came to the kynge, wyth.v.C. Almaines al in white, whyche was cutte so small,that it could scace hold together.After they had mustered at Blacke Hethe, the kyng made hym knight, and gaue hym a greate chayne,and a yerely pencion,and sent hym with his band to Southampton.About midde Maie, the lorde Marques and other noble men.appoynted by the kyng for the iorney of Bilkay,as the Lorde Hawarde, sonne and heire to the erle of Surrey,the Lorde Broke,the Lorde Willoughby,the Lorde Ferrers,the lorde Jhon,the lorde Anthony, and the xl

lorde

the lorde Leonard Grey, all three brethren to the Marques, sir Griffith Upp Riche, Woozeis Barkeley, sir Wylliam Sandes, the Baron of Burffozd, sir Richard Cornwalhis brother, William Huse, Jhō Welton, Willyam Kyngston Esquires, sir Henry Willoughby, and diuerse other with souldiours, to the nomber of.x.M. men, came to Southampton and there mustered. To se the lozdes and gentelmen, so well armed and so richely appareled in clothes of gold, and of siluer, and Velluettes of sundery coloures, pounsed and embroudered, and all pette capitaines in Satin and damaske, of white and grene, and yomen in clothe of the- x same coloures. The Baners, Penons, Standerdes, and Gittons, fresh and newly painted, with sundry beastes and deuises, it was a pleasure to behold. And when sir Willyam Sandes knight, appoynted Threasorer for the warres had paied all the wages, then euery man was commaunded to his shippe. Then you should haue sene byndyng of males, and fardelles, trussyng of coffers and trussers, that no manne was idle: and so on the.xvi. daie, al the armie were shipped in Spanische shippes, vitailed for that iorney, and passed the Medles of Wight all thesame daie, and so did the Lorde Admirall, whiche laie abidyng the wynde at Portesmouth, and toke his course to Britain, of whō I will speke after. xi The wynde serued the Marques and his compaigne so well, that he with his whole armie arriued in Biskay, at a porte called Passagh, Southe West of Fountrabie. The thirde daie of June, the lorde Marques and all his faire compaignie landed, and tooke the fielde, and him wisely embattailed for his sauegard. The Biskaynes that brought vitaile to the armie, saied to the souldiours: Sirs you bee arriued her, in trust that the kyng of Arragon will helpe you with ordinaunce and cariages we here no preparation that he maketh nor neuer sent vs worde to prepare for your comming, of the whiche wee maruell muche. These worzes ranne daily through the hoste, whiche made many men sad & to muse: and the Biskanes sore feared, least thenglishmen would destroye xv their countrey, because their kyng kepte not promise with theim, but the Marques made suche streight Proclamacion, that no souldiour durste do any iniurie to them. Within three daies after that the armie had lien in the feld, there came to him an erle, and another noble man, to welcome hym and his compaigne. Then the Lorde capitayn remoued his field, and toke another place nerer Fountraby, more plenteous of water and woode, and there pitched his fielde, euery daie lookyng for aide of the kyng of Arragon, but he harde of none. Then he called a Counsail, and deuised how thei might haue beastes to draw ordinaunce and cariages xvi then one sir Jhon Stile an Englishman, caused to be bought two.C. Mulettes an Asses, of suche price as the Spanyardes gayned greatly, and when they were put to cary, they would neither bere nor drawe, for they were beastes which were not exercised afore. Then the lorde Marques muche lamented that chaunce, for if he had had redy two hundred drawyng beastes, he might haue runne a great waie in Guian with his

powèr, whiche then was not fortified, neither of men of warre, nor munitions, nor artilarie.

The Frenchemen of Bayon, hearyng of the Englishemennes campe, made a greate askry betwene the riuer of sainct Maria and Bayon: the Englishmen perceiuyng thesame, passed the riuer in good ordre of battail, al being on foote for lacke of the horsmen that the kyng of Arragó promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchemen on horsebackes that thei fled, and many horses foundered, and many a man was brosed or thei came to Bayon: at the whiche thenglishmen laughed & lamẽted. Firste, to se their cowardnes, second, to remembre what thei might haue doen, if thei had had horses mete for their purpose: yet all thys notwithstandyng, thei retired to their campe in suche ordre, that the Spanyardes wondered muche, bothe at their fierce corage and sobre ordre.

The kyng of Nauar hearyng of the puissaunt armie of the English men lyng in Biskey so nere to his countrey, was sore troubled, & wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the lord Marques, a bisshop and diuerse other, to shewe to hym and all his coũsaill, that if it pleased them, his countrey should sende them victaill and al thynges necessarie for their money, and to do any other pleasure that thei could do, whiche might be to the pleasure of hym and all his armie, so ỹ his realme should be sure of any inuacións to be made by his people

The Marques beyng capitain generall, with the aduise of the other Lordes and counsaill, muche highly thanked the king of Nauar of his good wil, aide, and comfort, which thynges onely they required: and if it pleased hym, that his people will and maie victaill vs, we shall not onely paie theim for it, but also warraunt the passyng and repassing for vs and oures in sauetie, and that by vs no preiudice shalbee dooen to hys realme, nor by our consent. With whiche answere the kyng of Nauar was ioyous, and suffered his people to victaill, and resort to the hooste, with al thinges necessarie and belongyng to thesame, in greate windes and stormes, for that tyme happened muche wind and raine, whiche sore encombered the souldiours, that laye nightly on the bare grounde, for euery man had not a tent or pauilion, whereof some wer lame, and some deffe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there .xxx. daies, in the seconde moneth ther came from the kyng of Arragon, a bisshop and other nobles of his coũsail: but whẽ it was knowen that it was thesame bisshop that made the answere to the lorde Darcie at Cales Wales, as you haue hard the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delaies: but he requested the lorde Marques to take patience, for shortly suche preparacion should be made, that he should se & proue, that it should be to ỹ honor of his Master, and to his great renoune: to whõ the Marques answered, that vpon confidence of the king of Arragons promise that thei should lacke no beastes mete for drawyng, and horsemen the kyng of England had sent him and his compaignions thether, whereof we haue trusted

sith

sithe our firste hether commyng, whiche thynges if we had had, we had doen other enterpyses then we haue doen: for now we haue lien here in campe, to the great charge of our Master, the kyng of England, and to no profite, and to our losse and great hurt. For at our arriuall the cõtrey of Guyan for the which we came, was vnprouided of men of warr, municions and ordinaunce, by reason whereof (if all thynges had been accomplished of the part of your Master as we trusted) we might haue had that whiche we came for, and if our commission had not been to folowe the kyng your Masters wil, as to whom we bee sent, I assure you we would haue dooen other wise or this: but now the Frenchmen haue fortefied, victailed, and manned their tounes, and wee haue spent tyme and dooen nothyng at all, lyngeryng for the kyng your Master, to the losse of vs and great blemishyng of our honours.

The bisshop perceiuyng that the Englishe capitaines wer couragious and discontent with their idle abode, flatteryngly desired theim to tary a while for the best, for a backe enemie sated he, is to bee regarded. Then saide the lorde Marques capitain general, if we knewe the kynges entent, it would suffice vs. Then sated the bisshop you shal knowe it shortly: and so he departed frome the armie.

Tharmie this lyngering, euer desirous to be at the busines that thei came for, their victaile was muche part Garlike, and the Englieshmen did eate of the Garlike with all meates, and dranke hote wynes in the hote wether, and did eate all the hote frutes that thei could gette, which caused their bloudde so to boyle in their belies, that there fell sicke three thousande of the flixe, and thereof died. xviii. hundred men.

The lorde Marques and other capitaines perceiuyng this mischief, sent to the kyng of Arragon certain Lordes of the hooste to know his pleasure. The whiche answered them with gentle fashion, that the cõsaill of Englande and his counsaill, had taken an order in all thyng of late, and how the duke Dalua a greate prince of Spain, should shortly with an armie royall ioyne with theim, and so to procede in their enterprise. With whiche answere and small chere, the lordes of Englande departed, and made report to their capitain accordyng, whiche thought it verie sleight, but euer he regarded his Masters commaundement, and counsailed all the lordes to be content with thesame.

The armie lyng thus still and the sickenes not slaked, the people beyng idle, some euill disposed persones saied, that euery capitain was alowed. viii. d. for a common souldier, whiche was vntrue, for thei had alowed onely. vi. d, and so began together compaignies, the lordes perceiuyng this, toke with them their trustie seruauntes, and toke the beginners of the mischief whiche wer of the retinue of my lorde Willoughby and put them in warde. When thei wer arrested, other of like euil disposicion began to crake and face, whiche thyng beyng perceiued, the lorde Marques by the aduice of other capitanes caused serche to bee made, and so founde out the beginner of the mischief, whiche was deliuered to

Willyam

Willyam Kyngston Esquire then Prouost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

During the tyme that the armie laie thus lyngering, the Frenchmen diuerse times came to behold the Englishemen, and when thei sawe any part of the armie remoue toward theim, incontenent thei fled, and so the English archers euery daie went a forragyng on the borders of Guian almoste to Bayon, and brent many prette vilages, but euer they desired to haue tidynges of the king of Arragon, and to know what thei should do, for they wer commaunded to be ruled by them.

The Englishemen thus liyng idely abidyng the aide of the kyng of Arragon, tidynges came daily into the host, how the Duke Dalua was commyng with a great puissaunce to joyne with the English army, and so to inuade Guyā: thenglishe capitaines wer joyful of these tidynges, not so muche for the aide of the Spanyardes which they litle regarded, but for the beastes for cariage of greate artilerie, whyche they brought not with theim, in hope of the kyng of Arragons promes: for if thei had beastes for their cariage, and greate ordinaunce accordyng to the appoyntement, they would haue doen otherwise, whiche thyng sore greued their hartes.

Now thei thus lokyng for the Duke Dalua, hard euery daie how he marched towarde theim, and was within a daies iorney or litle more of them, of ỹ which the Englishmen wer meruelous joyful, but the Duke which pretended another thyng, sodainly remoued his armie in a nyght with such diligence that he entred the realme of Nauer, and was before the citie of Pampilona the chief citie of Nauer before the kyng wist of it, whiche nothyng suspected of that pollicye.

Thus the kyng was sodainly trapped, supposyng tharmie of Spain to haue been reised to inuade Guyan, and hauyng nothyng defensable for the warre, in the nyght fled out at a posterne into Fraunce where he after died. The citie of Pampilona and all the coūtrey of Nauer, being vnprouided of artilarie & other defences, yelded thēselfes to the Spanyardes, and thus was the realme of Nauer wonne, which thyng made the lorde Marques and his compainie not a litle to maruell. So shortely after came to the lorde capitain and the Englishemen, diuerse Lordes sent from the kyng of Arragon, whiche sated: The kyng our souereigne lord, sendeth to you great gramercies, and highly thanketh you for your pain, and so it is that by Goddes grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken and conquered the realme of Nauer, and if that countrey had not bee taken, thei might haue intercepted al suche ordinaunce and victail, as the king of Arragon our master might haue sent to you, but now you bee in suche a surctie and his puyssaunce with you and yours with his, that ye maie sauely joyne, whiche you shall see shortly, ye and he hymself in proper person to joyne with you. Well said the lorde Marques capitain generall, we haue soiourned long here abidyng his commyng, and if the commission and expresse commaundement

ment of the king my souereigne lord wer not, that I should do nothing without the assent of the king your master, I assure you that the Frenchmenne should haue knowen that Englishmen had been heere, and not to haue lien so long in idelnes as we haue done: but if thee kyng your master doo as you reporte, it shalbe muche to his honor and to our greate comforte, and so the lordes of Spayne departed.

As the armie of Englishmen thus laie in campe, there was a village called Sancta Maria, in whiche diuerse of the Englishemen, and especially suche as haue ben sicke, resorted and reposed theim selfe, not to the litle aduantage of the toune, so it fortuned that a Spanyarde gaue euil language to an Englisheman, whiche gaue him a buffet on the face, the toune rose and sett on the Englisheman and gathered in suche a multitude, that the Englisheman whiche was the first beginner was slain, because onely thre Englishemen came to his rescue, whiche wer all hurte. The Almaynes that laie at the tounes ende, strake Alarum whiche hearyng the campe, cried to harnes euery man. The tidinges were brought to the campe, that thei of the toune had slain an Englishman, and would bid battaill: the souldiers hearyng this, in a rage ranne to the toune in suche maner, that the capitaines could not staie them, and slew and robbed the people without mercy. The people fled ouer the water into Guian. The capitaines seeyng this with their priuie seruauntes kepte thee straightes, by the which the souldiers returned with pillage and napetie, brasse, pewter, beddes, plate, and other houshold stuffe, and apparell which was commaunded to be layd doune by the lordes on a hepe. And after the lordes went to the toune to se what harme the Englishmē had doen, there thei found many Biskaynes slain, and the toune robbed, and the people fled. Then thei by sobre meanes & gentle exhortatiō, brought al the souldiers to the campe: then Proclamacion was made that euery man vpon payn of death should bring in his pillage. Now ther wer. xxi men of whom one was a gentelman whiche had taken awaie. x. thousād Duckates, who fled toward Gascoyne and were taken, and brought before the lord capitayn, and other, and adiudged to die: of the whiche. vii. wer put in execution, and the other. xiiii. should haue died the morow after, if the lordes of Spaine had not ben there at their iudgement which with greate diligence and labor gat their pardon: and so all the pillage almost was restored, and the countrey pacified.

Then one daie the Frenchemen whiche hard of this riot and trouble in the hoste, issued out of Baion toward the Englishemennes armie, the Englishmen hearing thereof, marched toward them & when the Frenchmen perceiued that thei were asskried, thei sodainly returned. Thenglish menne percetuing that the Frenchemen would not tarie, went to a good toune called sainct Jhon de Luce, and bret, robbed, and killed the inhabitauntes, and so from thence spoiled diuerse other villages, aboute ȳ borders of Guyan. Thus the armie laie til the moneth of October, and winter began sore to encrease, and the lord Marques capitain generall

fell sore sicke, & then the lord Hayward had vnder hym the whole gouer-
naunce of tharmy, to whom wer sent diuers lordes of the pryuy counsail
of Spain saying: the kyng our master sendeth you word, that he would
gladly come to you but the ceason is spent, the ground is so moyst that
cariage cannot be conueighed, the teldes so barrain that beastes cannot
fede, and the wether so troubleous that people cannot wel lye abrode in
campe: therfore he would desire you al these thinges considred, to breke
vp your feld, and seuer your self to the tounes and villages of his coū-
trey, tyll the spring of the yere, at whiche tyme there shall resorte to you
freshe succors out Englande, and he hymselfe will be with you with al x
ordenaunce necessary as becommeth to suche an armye, and then shall
procede the first pretensed enterprice, to the honor of the kyng your mā-
ster and ours, and not to your small fame and renoune. When this mes-
sage was hard by the whole counsaill, no manne was contented, but the
lorde Hayward which had the whole gouernaunce vnder the Marques
saied: what report of honor can wee make of the kyng of Arragon your
master, for at his desier we be come hether, and here haue lien in campe a
long space, euer tarieng for performaunce of his promise, & yet nothing
hath he performed, our people be dedde of the flixe in greate numbre: we
gentelmen euerychone doth muche lament this long idelnes, by reason xx
where of many a tall man hauing nothyng to do but abiding your ma-
sters pleasure hath falle to some mischief, or by sicknes, or els for misdo
yng executed by Justice. What shall the kyng our master report of vs
slothfulnes' whiche hath spent hym innumerable treasure and nothinge
gained? And yet we would make Winter warre, and the king of Arra-
gon your master vs denieth of suche thinges as hee promised, and wil-
leth vs like cowardes to our dishonor, to reise our Campe without any
notable act doen to the frenchemen, for which cause we came.

The Spaniardes perceiuing the grudge of the Englishemen, sayed
that tyme passed could not be reuoked, and that they had not lien idely xxx
for the frontiers of Guian had susteined such dammage, as in many ye-
res thei shall not recouer again, and all this while the Frenchmen durst
not medle with you, so that you haue lost no honor, and if you tary here
this Winter by your daily Skirmishyng, thei shall receiue greate da-
mage: duryng whiche time, the kyng our master hath commaunded, ỹ
thinges mete and necessary for you to be at your commaundement and
in the spring of the yere, he shall ioyne with you, soo that your enemies
and his shall well knowe your puissaunce, for he taketh all enemies too
you to be his, so with faire wordes the counsaill of Spayn departed.

Then the lorde Hayward beyng chief, because the Marques was sick xl
counsailed with all the other lordes and capitaines, and so in the end of
October thei agreed to breake vp their campe, and so thei did, and thee
lorde Marques and his people went to sainct Sebastian, thee lord Ha-
ward and his retinew to Rendre, & the lord Willoughby to Gatschang
sir William Sandes and many other capitaines to Fountrabie, and so

euery

euery capitain with his retinew wer seuered in diuerse villages.

The Englishe souldiers, what for sickenes, & what for miserie of the countrey, euer desired to returne into England. The kyng of England aduertised by the kyng of Arragon of his entent, and how he would set forward the first spryng, sent Wynsore his Herauld of Armes to hys armie willyng them there to tary, & that he would sende them new aide, vnder the conduite of the lorde Harbert his Chamberlain: which lettet when it was redde, the souldiers began to murmure and grudge after such a sort, saiyng: that thei would not abide and dye of the flixe in such a wretched countrey, to be defrauded and mocked of the kyng of Arragon the next yere, as thei wer this yere, and spake such outragious wordes, that the capitain could not staie them, in so much that thei in a fury had slain the lorde Haward & diuerse other, if thei had not folowed theri myndes, and so thei hired shippes and putte the lorde Marques in one whiche was so weake that he asked where he was: and then euery man shipped, whiche was in Nouembre, and in the beginnyng of decembre thei landed in Englande. The kyng of Arragon was sore discontent with their departyng, for thei spent much money and substaunce in his countrey, & saied openly, that if thei had taried he would haue inuaded Guyan, and the Englishemen wer glad that thei were departed out of such a countrey, wher thei had litle health, lesse pleasure and much losse of tyme: but by their liyng there, the kyng of Arragon stale the realme of Nauer, and the Englishemen left as muche money there, as he sent into England with his daughter.

When the Marques sailed into Spayne in the moneth of May, the same tyme sir Edward Haward Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you haue hard before sailed toward Britain, and on Trinitie Sundaie arriued at Bertram Bay in Britain, with.xx. great shippes, and sodainly set his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an askrie, and sette their beacons on fire, & shot out of a bulwarke that they had fortified at the poynt of the Baye. but the Englishemen whiche wer in the ship of Willyam Gonstone Grocer of Londō, toke first land maugre them all, and al other after, and so manfully thei set on the bulwarke that thei wan it, and the Britans fled and many slain. Then the Admirall set his men in an ordre, and passed in the countrey seuē myles, burnyng and wastyng tounes and villages: and in his returne he skirmished with diuerse mē of armes and slewe diuerse of theim, and notwithstandyng the Britōs fought valiauntly for defence of their coūtrey, yet thei lost and nothyng wan: and so the lorde Admirall returned to his shippe.

Upon mondaie the.xxiii. day of May he landed in the mornyng, and cōmaunded to burne the lorde Piers Megans place, and the toune of Conket and diuerse other places, and chased the Britones to the Castle of Brest, and for all assembles and showes that the Britons made, yet thei suffered the Englishmen peaceably to returne with their praies & gaines. The Britons seyng the hurte that the nauie of England did to

them, saide: alas the king of Englande hath euer before this time succoured vs, and now he entendeth to destroy vs, shame come to him that is the cause thereof,

The first daie of June the Englishemen toke lande in Crotton Bay: then the Lordes of Britain sent worde to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abide, thei would fight with him in plain felde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and said, go say to them that sent the, that al this daie thei shall finde me here, tarieng their comming. Then he to encourage diuerse gentelmen dubbed theim knightes, as sir Edward Broke brother to the lorde Cobham, sir Griffithe Doune, sir Thomas Windā, sir Thomas Lucie, sir William Pitton, sir Henry Shirborne, sir Stephen Bull, sir Jhon Burdett: Then the lorde Admirall highly incouraged his mē, when he saw the Britons come, whith was .x. thousand at the least, the Englishemen but onely .xxv. C. or fewe aboue, bidding thē remembre the honor and renoume that should come to them, if thei gained the iorney, and yet if thei wer slain, their valiauntnes was to be prained, & their true diligence to do their master seruice much to be allowed.

When the Britons sawe the ordre of the Englishmen and their bāners displaied, thei wer sodainly astonied, then a gentelman of Britain of muche experience, aduised the other capitaines not to fight, but to returne a litle & to take a strong grounde, and to watche the Englishemē, when thei returned to ther shippes, and then to take thauauntage. And so the captaines began to returne: and when the commons saw them returne, al thei raune awaie as faste as thei might, supposyng that their capitaines had seen or knowen some great perell toward them, because thei were not priuy of their Capitaines counsail. And when thei came home to their houses, some saied the battaill was greate, and some saied that the Englishemen wer .xl. thousande. The lord Admirall seing this chaunce, when nighte came departed to his shippes: but yet they knewe not why thei fled, till after he hard the truthe. The gentelmen of Britain called a greate counsaill, saying that the Englishemen daily wasted the countrey on the sea cost, and that there was no trust in the commonalty, and that the gentelmen alone could not defende the countrey, wherfore thei concluded to send a messenger to the lorde Admirall, desiring hym of a safe conduite for diuerse persones to speake with hym, the which he gently graunted. Then certain lordes of Britain toke a bote, and came to the ship of the lorde Admirall, where he was set withall the counsaill of the captaines about him. Then thei desired him humbly to surcest of his rigorous and cruel warre, and especially of burning of tounes whiche is to you no profite, and if you will haue thee castle of Brest, it shall be at your commaundement, so that you be able to defend it, and we desire nothing so muche as peace. Nay saied the Lorde Admirall, wee are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then thei humblye required hym for Goddes sake to graunt theim peace for sixe daies, so that they might sende to the kyng their lorde, to aduertise him of their trouble & ca

calamitie. Then the lorde Admirall answered, that gentelmen ought to defend their cõtrey by force, rather then to sue for peace: with the whiche saiyng the Britons wer ashamed: yet thei hartely thanked him, and so he made them a banket and thei departed: & thei sent a land for freshe water and other fresh victailes, and then hearing that there wer men of warre vpon the sea, he coasted frõ them alongest al the coastes of Normandy, stil skowring the seas, so that no enemie appered: and at the last came and late by the Isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on thenglishe cost: duryng whiche time diuerse shippes kept the North seas vnder the cõduite of sir Edward Ichingam, Jhon Lewes, & Jhon Louedale, which dilygently skowred the seas.

This yere the king had a solempne Justes at Grenewich in June: firste came in ladies all in White and Red silke, set vpon coursers trapped in thesame sute, freated ouer with gold, after whom folowed a foũtain curiously made of Russet Satin, with eight Gargilles spoutyng Water, within the Fountain sat a knight armed at al peces. After thys Fountain folowed a lady all in blacke silk dropped with fine siluer, on a courser trapped in the same. After folowed a knight in a horslitter, the Coursers and litter appareled, blacke with Siluer droppes. When the Fountain came to the tilt, the Ladies rode rounde about and so did the Fountain and the knight within the litter. And after them wer brought twoo goodly coursers appareled for the Justes: and when they came to the Tiltes ende, the twoo knightes mounted on the twoo Coursers abidyng all commers. The king was in the fountain, and sir Charles Brã don was in the litter. Then sodainly with greate noyse of Trompettes, entered sir Thomas Kneuet in a Castle of Cole blacke, and ouer the castell was writtẽ, The dolorous Castle, and so he and therle of Essex, the lorde Haward and other ran their courses with the king and sir Charles Brandon, and euer the king brake moste speres.

The Kyng euer remembryng his warres, caused all his shippes and Galies to be rigged and prepared, with all manner of ordinaunce & artillery mete for shippes of ware. And emongest all other, he decked thee Regent a ship royal as chief ship of that nauie, and then caused souldiers mete for the same shippes, to muster on Blackeheth, and he appointed capitaines for that time, sir Anthony Oughtred, sir Edward Ichingham, William Sidney, and diuerse other Gentelmen, whiche shortlye shipped & came before the Isle of Wight, but in their passage a Galeye was lost by the negligence of the Master.

The king euer desiryng to see his nauie together, roade to Portesmouthe, and there he appoynted capitaines for the Regent, sir Thomas Kneuet master of his horse, and sir Jhon Carew of Deuonshire. And to another ship royal called the soueregne, he apponcted sir Charles Brãdon, and sir Henry Guildforde, and with theim in the Soueregne were put. lx. of the tallest yomen of the kinges Gard, and many other gentelmen wer made Capitaines. The king made a greate banquet to all the

capitaines, and euery one sware to another euer to defend, aide, & cõfort one an other without failyng, and this they promised before the kyng, whiche commuted theim to God, and so with great noyse of minstrelsie thei toke their shippes, whiche wer in nombre 25 of greate burden, and well furnished of all thinges.

The Frenche kyng hearyng what dammage thenglishmen had don in Britaine, strongly furnished his Nauie in the hauen of Brest, to the nombre of xxxix. saile, and for chief ordeigned a Carick of Brest, appertaigning to the Quene his wife, which was Duches and heire of Britayne called Cordelier, whiche was a strong ship furnished in all poyntes, and so thei set forward out of Brest the. x. daie of August, & came to Britaine Bay, in which place the selfe same day, being the day of. s. Laurence the Englishe Nauie was arriued. x

When the Englishe menne perceiued the French Nauie to be out of Brest hauen, then the lorde Admirall was very ioyous, then euery man prepared accordyng to his duetie, the Archers to shote, the Gonners to lose, the men of Armes to fight, the Pages went to the toppe Castle with dartes: thus all thinges beyng prouided and set in ordre, the Englishe men approched toward the Frenchemen, whiche came fiersly forwarde, some leauing his Ancre, some with his foresaile onely to take the moost auauntage: and when thei wer in sight, thei shot ordenaunce so terribly together, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The Lorde Admirall made with the great ship of Depe, and chased her stil: sir Henry Guilford and sir Charles Brandon, made with the greate Caricke of Brest, beyng in the Souereigne, and lated stemme to stemme to thee Caricke, but by negligence of the Master, or els by smoke of the ordinaunce or other wise, the Souereigne was cast at the sterne of thee Carick, with which auãtage the Frenchemenne showted for ioy: but when sir Thomas Kneuet whiche was ready to haue borded the greate ship of Depe, saw that the Souereigne had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Oughtred chased hard at the starne, and bouged her in diuerse places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodainly the Regent crappeled with her a long boord and when thei of the Carick perceiued that thei could not depart, thei let slip and Ancre, and so with the streme the shippes turned, and ỹ Caricke was on the wetherside, and the Regent on the lye side, the fight was very cruell, for the archers of the Englishe parte, and the Crossebowes of the Frenche part did their vttermoste: but for al that the Englishmen entered the Caricke, whiche seing a varlet Gonner being desperate put fire in the Gonne powder as other saie, and set the whole ship of fire the flame whereof set fire in the Regent, and so these twoo noble shippes which wer so crappeled together that thei could not part wer consumed by fire. The French nauie perceiuing this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Iles adioynyng. The Englishmen in maner dismated, sent out boates to help them in ỹ Regent, but the fire was so greate that in maner no mon durst approche, sauing that by the Iames of Hul wer xx xxx xl

certein

certein Frenchmen that could swimme saued. This burning of the Caricke was happy for the frenche nauie, or els thei had been better assailed of thenglishemen, whiche wer so amased with this chaunce, that thei folowed them not. The capitain of this Carick was sir Piers Morgan and with him ij.C. men slain and ded: and with sir Thomas Kneuet and sir Jhon Carow wer. vii. C. men drouned and brent, and that nighte all the Englishemen late in Bartrain Baye, for the frenche flete was sparcled as you haue hard.

The lorde admirall called al the capitaines together, desiryng theim not to be abasshed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought now that this was the worste fortune that could happen to theim, therfore to studie how to be reuenged, and so thei concluded all to go to the sea. whiche thei did, and on the coast of Britain toke many shippes, and such as thei could not cary away they set on fire, small and great to a greate nombre on al the coast of Britain, Normandy and Picardy, and thus thei kept the sea.

The king of England heryng of the losse of the Regent, caused a great shippe to be made, such another as was neuer seen before in England and called it, *Henry grace de Dieu*

The French kyng heryng that his flete was thus deuided, and of the losse of his greate Caricke, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Sir Jhon, whiche had three Galies of force, with diuerse Foystes & Rowgalies so well ordinãced and with suche peces as was not seen in shippes before his comming: for he late on the coast of Barbary, to defende certein of the Religion of the Rhodes comming to Tripoly, and at thee Frenche kinges request came into Britain and there taried.

In Nouembre the kyng called his high Courte of Parliament, and there was concluded that the kyng himself in person, with an army roiall would inuade his realme of Fraunce, with fire and Sworde, which thing beeyng knowen to his subiectes, and especiall to such as shoulde go with him, no man can doubt, but that preparacion mas made of harneis, weapon, artillery, banners and al other thinges necessary for such an enterprice.

The kyng after this Parliament ended, kept a solempne Christmas at Grenewiche to chere his nobles, and on the twelfe daie at night came into the hall a Mõut, called the riche Mount. The Mount was set full of riche flowers of silke, and especially ful of Brome slippes full of codes, the Braunches wet grene Satin, and the flowers flat Gold of Damaske, whiche signified Plantagenet. On the top stode a goodly Bekõ geuing light, round aboute the Bekon sat the king and fiue other, al in cotes and cappes of right Crimosin veluet, enbroudered with flatt gold of Dãmaske, their coates set ful of spangelles of gold, and foure woodhouses drewe the Mount till it came before the quene, and then the king and his compaignie discended and daunced: then sodainly the Mounte opened, and out came sixe ladies all in Crimosin satin and plunket, em-

 broudered

broudered with Golde and perle, with French hoodes on their heddes and thei daunced alone. Then the lordes of the Mount toke the ladies and daunced together: and the ladies reentred, and the Mounte closed, and so was conueighed out of the hall. Then the kyng shifted him and came to the Quene, and sat at the banquet which was very sumpteous. And after the Purificacion of our Lady, the kyng created sir Charles, Brandon Viscount Lisle. In Marche folowing, was the kinges naue of shippes royall, and other mete for the war set furth to the numbre of xlii. Beside other Belengers, the lorde Admiral was chief, and with him sir Water Deuereux Lorde Ferreis, sir Wolstan Brownc, sir Edwarde Ischingham, sir Antony Poyntz, sir Jhon Wallop, sir Thomas Wyndam, sir Stephen Bull, Wilyam Fitz Wilyam, Arthur Plantagenet, William Sidnay Esquires, and diuerse other noble and valiaunt Capitaines: thei sailed to Portesmouth, and there laie abiding Wynde duryng whiche tyme, the kyng sent into Flaunders for such thinges as he neded, & caused them to be brought to Caleis against his comming

When the wynde serued, the Nauy royall of England waied anker and made saile into Britain, and came into Bertram Bay, and ther lay at Anker in sight of the Frenche Nauie. Now you muste vnderstande, that all the greate Nauie whiche the Frenche kyng had prepared late in the hauen of Brest, so well furnished in al thinges, that no doubt it was a wonder to se: but when thei wer ready to sette furthe, and sawe the Englisli fleete on the coast, thei determined clerely to saue thẽselfes in Brest hauen. Then the Englishemen determined clercly to sett on them in the hauen, and so in good ordre of battail sailed forward, but at the first entry one ship, whereof Arthur Plantagenet was capitain, fell on a blind rocke, & brast a sondre, by reason whereof, al the other staied to the gret displeasure of al the remnaunt, and not to the litle ioy of the Frenchmen whiche shott at them without any doing harme. So the Englishe captaines perceiuing that thee hauen was dangerous to enter without an expert lodesman, cast about and returned to their harboroughe at Bertram Baye again.

The Frenchemen perceiuing that the Englishmen intended to assaile them, moored their shippes as nye to the Castle of Brest as thei could, and set bulwarkes on the land on euery side to shote at thenglishemen. Also thei frapped together .xviii. greate Hulkes, that came to the Baye for salt, and set them on a rowe, to the intent that if the Englishe menne would haue assaulted them, thei would haue set them on a fire, and lett them driue with the streme emongest the Englishe Nauie, Prior Jhon also laie still in Blacke Sable or Whitesande Baye, and plucked hys Galies to the shore, and sett his Basiliskes and other ordenaunce in the mouthe of the Baye, which Bay was Bulwarked on euery side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The lorde Admirall perceiuing the Nauie of Fraunce to lye thus in feare, and not willing nor daring to come abrode, but to ly as prisoners in

in a dongeon, wzote to the kyng to come thether in person, and to haue the honoz of so high an entrepzice: whiche wziting the kynges counsail nothing allowed, foz putting the kyng in ieopetoy vpon the chaunce of the sea. Wherefoze the king wzote sharpely to hym, to accomplisshe that whiche apperteined to his duete: whiche caused hym too take courage and put thinges in aduenture as after you shall here.

¶ The .v yere.



AS you haue hard befoze the lozde Admiral of Englād lay stil on the coast of Bzitain in the Bay, called Bartrames Bay, so that foz feare of hym and the Englishe Nauie, neither the great shippes in Bzest hauen durst once moue to the lea ward, noz yet Pzioz Jhō foz al his strong Galeis would once set out a saile: sauing now & thē send furth his smal Foystes, to make a shew befoze thenglish nauy whiche chased them to their Bay, but because thengtilsh shippes were so greate thei could not entez the Bay, and so manned out boates and toke one of the best Foystes, and that, with greate daunger, foz the Galies and the bulwarkes shot all at one time, that it was a wōz der how the Englishemem escaped. The .v yere.

xx The Admyzall of Englaude perceuing the Fzenche mennes pollecy, called a counsaill, and there determined tirst to assaile Pzioz Jhon and his Galies, liyng in Whitsand Bay, and after to set on the remnaunt in the hauen of Bzest. Then first was appointed that Water lozd Ferreis sir Stephen Bul and other capitaines, should go a land with a conuenient compaignie, to assault the Bulwarkes of Whitsand Bay, while ỹ Lozde Admyzall entered with towe Barges and litle Galies into the Bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assailed bothe by water and land

This was it fully agreed by the whole counsail: but alas, this noble capitain counsailed by a spanishe knighte called sir Alphous, Charant,

xxi whiche saied that he might entre the Bay with litle ieopatdy, called to hym William Fitz William, Willyam Cooke, Jhon Colley, and syz Wolstan Bzowne as the chief and his moste trusty frendes, and declared to them that the matter was litle, and the honoz greate, if they only tooke on them that enterpzice, and let none other know of it. Thei like men of haute courage and desiryng honour gladly assented: so on saint Markes day, the xvi. daie of Apzill, the said Admirall put him self in a small towe barge, with thzee other small rowing shippes, and his awne ship boate, and so towed sodainly into the Baye, where Pzioz Jhon had moozed his Galies iust to the gzound, whiche Galies with the bulwar-

xl kes on the lande, shot so terribly that thei that folowed wer afraid: but assone as he came to the Galies, he entered and dzaue out thee Frenchemen, William Fitz William within his shippe was soze hurte with a quarrel. The Bay was very shalow, and the other shippes could not entre, foz the tide was spent, whiche thyng the Frenchemen perceiuing, &

that

that there could come no succoure to the Admirall, wyth Worris pikes entered again the Galies, and fought with the Englishmen in the Galies. And the Admirall perceiuyng their approchyng, thought to haue entered again unto his rowe Barge, whiche by violence of the tide was dryuen doune the streme, & so with a pike was throwen ouer the borde and so drouned, and there the forenamed Alphous was slain, and al the other boates and vesselles scaped hardely, for if thei had taried, the tide had failed them and then all had been lost. The lord Ferreis and other capitaines muche were dolent of this chaunce, and some saied he dyd it without counsaill, and so he hath sped. And therfore although that they would haue sette on the Nauie in Brest hauen, yet hauyng no Admiral nor commission, thei determined to do nothing farther till thei knew the kynges pleasur, and so sailed into Englande. The Frenche Nauie perceiuyng that the Englishmen made toward England, came out of their hauens, and Prior Jhon set furthe his Galies and Foystes, and costed Briain and Normãdy, and coasted ouer to the coast of Sussex and al his compaignie, and landed on the sea coast, and set fire on the poore cotages. The gentlemen that dwelte nere, shortely reised the countrei, and came to the coast and droue Prior Jhõ to his Galeis. This was al the hurt that this stout capitain of so great fame did to England, sauyng he robbed certein poore Fisshermen of Whitynges. The kynge hearing the death of his Admiral was not a litle sory, consideryng both ẏ nobilitie of his birthe, and the valiauntnes of his persone, but all sorowe auaileth not whẽ the chaunce is past. Therfore the kyng hering that the Frenche Nauie was abrode, called to hym the lorde Thomas Haward, elder brother to sir Edward Haward late Admirall, and sõne and heire apparant to the Erle of Surrey, and made him Admirall, willyng him to reuenge his brothers death, which with great reuerence, thanked the kyng of the high truste ẏ he had put him in. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly & valiauntly did skower the sea, that the French men had no lust to kepe the coast of England, for he fought with theim at their awen portes.

The kyng whiche had all thynges necessary and mete for the warre, entendyng to passe the sea in propre person, appoynted the valiaũt lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, and his Steward of his houshold to be capitain generall of his forward, and in his compaignie wer lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Derby, lorde Decowrey Prior of. S. Jhons, sir Robert Radcliffe Lord Fitzwater, the Lorde Hastynges, the Lorde Cobham, sir Rice Ap Thomas, sir Thomas Blount, sir Richard Sachuerell, sir Jhon Dighby, sir Jhon Askewe, syr Lewes Bagot, sir Thomas Cornewall, and many Knightes and Esquiers & souldiers, to the nombre of. viii, M. menne, whiche all passed the sea, and to Caleis in the middle of May.

The lorde Herbert called sir Charles Somerset, chief Chamberlayn to the kyng, the ende of thesame moneth with. vi. M. men passed the sea

iii

in whose compaignie were these Erles, of Northumbèrlande Percie, of Kent Graye, of Wilshire Staffoꝛd, the loꝛde Fitzwater, the loꝛde Dudley, the loꝛde Delawar, sir Thomas West his sonne, sir Edward Huley sir Robert Dimmocke, sir Dauie Owen, with many other gentelmenne, some with speres on hoꝛsbacke, some with pikes on foote, some with dimilaunces, and this was the reereward. Such good diligẽce was made that these two capitaines with all their compaignie, furnished with artilerie, pouder, tentes, cariages, and all thinges necessary foꝛ the warres were landed at Caleis the last daie of Maij

x After thei had soiouꝛned certain daies in Caleis, and that all thynges requisite wer ready, thei caused a trumpet to blowe and made Pꝛoclamacion that euery man should departe out of the toune, and so to begin the campe. The erle of Shꝛewesbury with his compaignie first toke the felde, after him folowed the loꝛde Harbert with his compaignie, in maner of a retereward. And after him folowed the valiaunt sir Rice ap Thomas with .v.C. light hoꝛse and Archers on hoꝛseback, and ioyned hym to the foꝛward. Then was ther oꝛdꝛe taken what persones should conduite the victailers that came from Caleis, and who should conduite ỹ victailers that came out of Flaunders, foꝛ without sufficiẽt conduite no xx creature durste bꝛyng any victaile to the armie. These two loꝛdes thus embattailed remoued the .xvii. daie of June to Sandilfelde, and on the xviii. daie thei came to Hargison, on ỹ farre side of the water, as though thei would haue passed streightly to Bulleyne, but thei thoughte otherwise, foꝛ the next daie thei tooke another waie, and coasted the countrey with suche diligence, that the xxii. daie of June thei with al their people oꝛdinaũce, and habilimentes of warre, wer come befoꝛe the strong citie of Tirwin, and pight their Tentes a myle from the toune, and foꝛ that night embattailed them self: ãd as certain captaines wer in counsaill in the loꝛde Herbertes tent, sodainly out of the toune was shot a gonne, the xx pellet wherof slewe a noble capitain called the Baron of Carew, sitting there in counsaill, whiche sodain aduenture dismaied muche thee assemble. But the loꝛde Herbert valiauntly cõfoꝛted them, saiyng: this is the chaunce of warre, if it had hit me you muste haue been content, a noble harte in warre is neuer a feard of death. All the countrey of Arthoys & Picardy, foꝛtified their holdes, and made shewes as the English army passed, but thei durst not once assaile them.

The citie of Tirwin was strongly foꝛtified with walles, rampaires, bulwarkes, with diuerse foꝛtresses in the diches, which were so bꝛode & so plum stepe ỹ was wondꝛe to beholde. The loꝛde Pountremy was capitain generall, and with him wer within the citie .vi.C. hoꝛsmen furnished, and twoo .M.v.C. Almaines beside the inhabitauntes of the citye. the walles & towers wer ful of oꝛdenaunce, which did oftentymes great displeasure to the Englishemen. The Erle of Shꝛewesbury laied siege to the toune, on the Noꝛth West side. and the loꝛde Herbert on the East side oꝛ end ward, the Frenchmen issued out of the toune and skirmished

with

with the Englischemen, but the Archers shot so fast that they draue the Frenchemen into the citie, and slewe and toke diuerse of them. The lord Herbert which laie in the open sight of the toune, hauing no hil or other thyng to succour or defende him, caused great trenches to be made, and so maugre his enemies he approched very nere ỹ cite: likewise therle of Shrewesbury with thee forward, gat into an holowe ground or valey nere to the citie. Daily the Frenchmen shot at thenglishmē, and diuerse tymes issued out and skirmished, and euer thei lost by skirmishyng, but by shotyng of ordinaunce thei hurte diuerse Englishmen. Wherfore the lordes commaunded the pioners to raise a great trenche in whiche they laied the great ordinaunce, and daily as thei might they approched: syr Rise ap Thomas with the horsmen daily skowered the countrey, & many tymes encountered with the Frenchmen, and slewe and toke diuerse prisoners, so that the Frēchmen drewe not toward the siege, but turned another waie. Upon the Wundaie beeyng the. xxvii. daie of June. xxiiii Cartes charged with victaill, wer by the Garrison of Calcis conduted to Guisnes, and ther the Crewe of the castle and toune of Guisnes with three. C. foote men, vnder the conduite of sir Edward Belknappe, al beeyng in nombre. iiii. C. lx. men, set furthe to conduite the saied victailes to tharmie lyng before Tirwyn, and so thei passed to Arde. And while the Carters passed the toune, the horsemen fel a drinkyng in the waie, and the foote men wer al out of ordre. The duke of Uandosme capitain generall of Picardie, which laie in a bushement in the forest side of Guysnes with. viii. C. light horsemen, toke his aduauntage and set on the victailers, the Carters perceiuyng that losed their horses and fledd to the toune, whiche was but a myle of and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Uaux capitain of Guysnes did al he could, to bryng the foote men in an ordre: but the Frenchmen set on so quickly that thei could not set theim in ordre, the horsmen of Guysnes whiche wer but onely. xxiiii. toke their speres and ioyned with the Frenchemen: the Archers of Englande why che passed not. lx. shot manfully, & a noble capitain called Baltier Dechien and diuerse other, but the Frenchemen wer so many in nombre and in good ordre, ỹ thei slew. viii. gentlemen of the Garrison of Guysnes, and. xxx. Archers slain and many hurte, and so thei distrussed the victailes, and caused sir Nicholas Uaux, and sir Edward Belknappe to flie taward Guisnes. This misauenture fell by tariyng of the horsmen and breaking of array, for if tharchers had taried together it had happened otherwise, for ỹ fewe Archers that held together, slewe and hurt diuerse Frenchemen: For on the felde laie. lxxvii. great horse which neuer wēt thence, by the which it appered that the Frenchemenne went not quite a waie without losse. Whē tidynges of this misauenture came to the lordes at the siege, thei wer not a litle displeased: and sir Rise ap Thomas caused his Trompet to blowe to the stirroppe. and he with his horsmen sought the Duke of Uandosme all the contrey, whiche hearyng of the commyng of sir Rise, with great hast retreted backe to Bangey Abbey, where

where the French kynges greate army laie. Sir Rise heryng ẏ he was returned came the next day agayn to ẏ sege. The rumour of this skyrmish spyong all the English pale toward Flaunders, wherfore the tounes fiered ther bekons & range *alarme*; diuers honorable men ẏ had passed ẏ see wᵗ cõpanies of souldiours & were in Caleis, marched forward in order of battaile, but heryng of ẏ departing of *Mounsir de uandosme*, they rested. Then was new prouision made for vitaile & sent daily frõ Caleis to Turwyn by such cõduite, ẏ the Frenchmen would no more meddill, and the army also was wel vitaled out of Flaunders and Henawde.

The army of England thus lay before the strong toune of Turwin: ẏ noble kinge of Englãd not forgettyng his entrepryce prepared al thing redy to passe the see in proper persone, and caused sir Jhon Wilshire to puruey for.iij.C. hoyes to carry ouer his artillery and habilimentes of warre & all his shippes of warre were on the see skowering euery coste of his realme. And when all thinges were prest, he accompanied wyth many noble men &.vj.C. archers of his garde, al in white gabberdines & cappes, departed from his manour royall of grenewich the.xv. daye of June & so he & the quene with small iorneys came to Douer castell & there rested, & made the quene gouerner of the realme, & commaunded William Warram then bishop of Cantorbury and sir Thomas Louell a sage knyght & diuers other, to gyue there attendaunce on the quene. And cõmaunded therle of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes woulde make any entrepryce in his absence. Then the kyng toke leue of the quene & of the ladies which made such sorow for the departyng of their lordes & husbandes, that it was greate dolor to beholde, and so he with al his army toke his shippe the last day of June beyng the daye of sainct Paule.

In the mornyng when the kyng was shipped & made saile, al ẏ army folowed, to the nomber of.iiij.C. shippes, and the winde was so, ẏ they were brought euen on the coste of picardy open vpõ S. Jhons Roade, & with the flud they haled a long the coste of Whitsand wᵗ trumpettes blowynge and gonnes shotynge, to the great feare of them of Bolleyn which plainly might beholde this passage, & so came to Caleys hauen.

The kyng was receiued into a bote couered with arras, & so was set on londe. He was appareilled in almaine ryuet crested & his vãbrace of the same, & on his hedde a chapeau mõtabyn with a rich coronal, ẏ folde of the chapeau was lined with crimsym satẽ, & on ẏ a riche brooch with ẏ image of sainct George, ouer his riuet he had a garmẽt of white cloth of gold with a redde crosse, & so he was receiued with processiõ & wᵗ his deputie of Caleys called sir Gylbert Talbot, and all other nobles and gentlemẽ of the towne & countrey, & so entred in at the lanternegate & passed the stretes tyll he came to Saincte Nycholas churche, & ther he alighted & offered, & frõ thens he went to ẏ stapleinne wher he supped.

When the kyng entred Caleys, al the banished men entred wᵗ him & were restored to ẏ liberty of ẏ toune. To tell of ẏ gonne shott of ẏ toune

& of the shippes at the kynges landing it was a great wonder, for men of good estimacio reported ỹ they harde it at Douer. The kyng lyenge thus in Caleys, all his armye except a few of his counsayll & other that gaue their attendaunce on hym laye encamped at Newnam bridge, in which campe about a.xj. of ỹ clock at night there rose an eskrye, so that the towne of Caleys began *alarme*, with that the kyng waked & came to the walles, & demaunded what the matter ment, the yoman of ỹ tētes, called Richard Gybson, shewed him howe that certayne horsmē & footmen of Fraunce, profered to come ouer the hauē, & the archers that laie next the see side entred into ỹ water & defended ỹ passage, wh which defence ỹ Frenchmē returned, & so ỹ kyng was satisfied. But after this a frēchmā of Whitlād bay & one of Bullain were takē, ỹ one called Charles de bone, ỹ other Peter vernowne, which confessed ỹ frō the toune of Whitland came.lx. horsmen &.ij.C. footmen of the garrison of Bullein & the countrey adioynyng entendyng to passe by Rice banke at the low water marke, ouer ỹ hauē of Caleis at a certayn foord shewed to thēby a spy which serued ỹ yomā of ỹ tentes of vitailes, & shewed thē that the tētes were pitched vnder Caleis walles betwene ỹ toune & the cāpe, so that thei might burne thē quykly or the toune could issue, or the campe remoue. But ỹ Englishmē kept so good watch as you haue heard that xx their entrepryce came to none effect. The morow after being ỹ first day of July, ỹ noble lord Hayward admirall of Englād landed at Whitland Bay, & entred, spoyled & brent ỹ toune, & returned to his ships for allỹ Bullonois, & so recōpensed the imaginacion that the bayly of Whitland & the Bullonoys had entrepryse for the burning of the kynges tētes.

On fryday at night blew such a storme ỹ seuered all the nauy, & some were drowned. Upon the.viij. day of July, the lord Marques Dorset, therle of Essex, ỹ lord Lisle rode into Flaūders & ther toke ỹ mousters of the lord Lynny, the lord Walō, sonne to the lord of Barow, & bastard Emery which wh ther retinue were thē admitted into ỹ kynges wages xxx & the lord Linny wh a.C. & .l. speres was appointed to go to the lorde Herbert: & the lord Walon & bastard Emery wh ther bondes were appointed to go to therle of Shrewsbury liēg before Tirwin: These strāgers were warlycke persons on light horses. While the siege laye thus before Tyrwyn as you haue harde, the Frenchmē diuerse times issued out on horseback and many a staffe was broken & manye a proper feat of armes done. Likewise the Almaynes on foot woulde diuerse tymes issue out wh handgonnes, and morish pycks & assaile the Englishmē, but by force of the archers thei were euer driuen home agayn, & euery day the Englishmen shott at the towne and dyd them muche displeasure. xl

The.xxj. day of July (when al thinges by counsaill had ben ordered concernyng the order of battayle) the kyng passed out of ỹ toune of Caleis in goodly array of battaile & toke the felde: And notwithstādyng ỹ the forward & the rerewarde of ỹ kyngs great army were before Tirwyn as you haue harde: Yet the kynge of his awne battayle made.iij.

battailles after the falchion of the warre, the lord Lisle marshall of the hoste was capitaine of the forward, & vnder him.iij.M.men. Sir Richard Carew w̄.iij.C.men was ẏ right hand wyng to the forward, & ẏ lord Darcy w̄.iij.C.mē, wyng on ẏ left hand, the skourers & forriders of this battaile were ẏ Northūberland mē on light geldynges. Therle of Essex was Lieutenant generall of the speres, & sir Jhon Pechy was vicegouernour of ẏ horsmen: before ẏ kyng went.viij.C.Almaynes all in a plūpe by thē selfs: after thē came the standard w̄ the redde Dragō, next the banner of our lady, & next after ẏ banner of ẏ trinitie, vnder ẏ
x same were all the kings houshold seruauntes, thē went ẏ bāner of ẏ armes of Englād borne by sir Henry Guldford, vnder which bāner was the kyng him self, w̄ diuers noble men & other to ẏ nōber of.iij.M.men The duke of Buckynghā with.vj.C.mē.was on ẏ kyngs left hād egal w̄ ẏ Almaynes, in likewise on ẏ right hād was sir Edward Pounynges w̄ other.vj.C.men egall with ẏ Almaynes. The lord of Burgainie w̄ viij.C.men, was wyng on ẏ right hand, sir Williā Cōpton w̄ ẏ retinue of ẏ bishop of Winchester, & master Wolsey ẏ kings Almoner to ẏ nōber of.viij.C.was in maner of a rereward, sir Anthony oughtred & sir Jhō Neuell w̄ the kinges speres ẏ folowed, were.iiij.C.& so the hole army
xx were.xj.M.& iij.C.men. The master of the ordinaunce set foorth the kynges artilary, as fawcons, slynges, bōbardes, cartes with powder, stones, bowes, arowes & such other thinges necessary for the felde, the hole nomber of the cariages were.xiij.C.the leders and driuers of the same were.xix.C.men and all these were rekened in the battaile, but of good fightynge men there were not full.ix.M.

Thus in order of battaile ẏ kyng rode to Seutreyca & ther lodeg ẏ first night, on friday ẏ garrison of Bulleyn mustered nye to Fines Hill & were askryed by ẏ Northūberland mē, which marched toward thē, but ẏ Frenchemen returned. On saterdaie the hoste remoued to Hāb-
xxx well & ther rested. On sonday, & on mondaie he entered into ẏ Frenche groūde nye to Arde, & ther euery gentlemā had on his coate of armes, & these tydynges were brought to ẏ kyng ẏ the Frēch army approched whiche tidinges pleased him well, for he desyred nothyng but battaile. Tewsday the.xxvj.daye of July the kynge passed forward in order of battayle & euer ẏ Frenchmen costed a farre of to take the Englyshmen at some auantage, but thei kept them so close in order, ẏ they could not fynd them out of array. Hodwbeit, by negligence of the carters ẏ mystooke ẏ waye a greate Curtall called the Jhon euangelist, was ouerthrowen in a depe ponde of water, & coulde not quicklye be recouered.
xl The kyng heryng ẏ his enemies approched, leuyng ẏ gonne (because the master carpenter sayde ẏ he would shortely way it out of the water) set forward his hoste, and in good order came to Dornahan where is a fayre castell stādyng in a wodde countrey, the Frenchmē were euer lurkyng in the woddes viewing ẏ kyngs cōduite & order as he passed, and so he lefte the towne of Dornahan on his right hande, and came

to a billage on a litle riuer where the ordinaūce pitched. And when the kyng came to the ryuer he perceyued that many gentlemen made daū-
the courage of the kyng. ger to entre into the riuer: Wherfore he a lighted downe of his horle & without any more abode entred the riuer, then all other entred & came ouer. Then was tydynges brought to hym, that the Frenchmen were nere at hande and would fight that nyght: the kyng styll abode in order of battaile, euer lokynge for the commynge of the Frenchmen, and at night wooide was brought that they were reculed, and then he entred into hys tente.

Wednesday the.xxvj. daye of July the releffe of the speres brought x
in alkry, wherfore the kynge commaunded to blow to the standarde, & auaunced his banner & toke a faire feld or banke abidyng the comming of the Frenchmen. The capitaines generall of the army of the Frenche kyng were the lord dela Palice and the lorde of Piens, accompaignyed with the duke of Longuyle, therle of sainct Polle, ỹ lorde of Florynges, the lorde Cleremounde, & Richard *dela Pole* traytour of England sonne to ỹ duke Jhon of Suffolke: with these capitaines were cōming. xj. M footmen & .iiij. M. horsmen, all prest in battayle & came w̄ in. ij. miles of the kyng of Englande, and there the footmen staled & came no farther: certaine horsmen to the nomber of. iij. M. and aboue marched forward xx
and at the ende of a wodde shewed themselfes open in the sight of the Englishe army. The kyng perceiuyng there demeanure, commaunded al his footmē not to remoue, but to stand still. The Frenchmē remoued and came sumwhat nerer to a place of execuciō: then the master Gōner losed a pece of artilery or two. As the kyng lay thus styll abydyng his enemies, and that the horsemen stode still in sight, the greate armye of Fraunce approched, whiche the Englishmen could not descrye by cause of an hyll that was betwexte thē. The Northerne men ran to ỹ Frēchmen, which manly encontered with them & strake some of them downe and maugre all there powre brought certaine prisoners to the kyng of xxx
England. Therle of Essex capitaine of ỹ kynges speres with. ij. C. speres lay in a stale, if the Frenchmen had come nerer. Then sodainly apered in sight a great company of horsmen and the kyng knewe not what thei were: but at ỹ last it was perceyued that it was the valiant knight sir Rice ap Thomas with his retinue whiche came to the kyng aboute none: which gentilly receyued him & sent hym to therle of Essex, which incontinentely departed and compassed the hill and came to therle, and when they were ioyned, they drewe thē about the hyll accompaignied with sir Thomas Gylforde capitayne of. ij. C. archers on horseback, to thentent to haue set on ỹ Frenchmē, which perceiuyng ỹ, & dowghting xl
more nōber to come after, sodainly drewe back & ioyned them w̄ there great battaile. Then therle of Essex & thenglishe horsmen folowed thē tyll they came nere the great army of Fraunce and then staled, and sent light horsemen to knowe ỹ cōduite of ỹ French army. When ỹ Frenchmen of armes were retorned to ther battaile, both ỹ footmē & horsmen

reculed

reculed in order of battell and went back a pace, the Englyshe styrrers perceyuyng this, folowed.iij. leages and returned to therle, makynge repoꝛte of that they had sene, & then he brake vp his stale & came to the kyng, declaryng to him how the Frenshemen were reculed. Thys daye was called the dꝛye wednesday, foꝛ the day was wonderfull hoat & the kyng and his army were in oꝛder of battaile from.vj. of the clock in the moꝛnyng tyll.iij. of the clock at after noone, & some died foꝛ lack of moysture & allmost in general euery man was burned about ẏ mouth with hete of the stomack, foꝛ dꝛynke lacked and water was not nere. After this, the kyng remoued towarde Tyꝛwyn hauyng his hoꝛsmen behind hym, lest the Frenshmen shoulde sodainly sett on hym behynde, & as the kyng was settyng foꝛward, the loꝛde Walowne of Flaunders came to the kyng with his hoꝛsmen which were in the kynges wages, and the kyng declared to him what had chaunced. As the army passed by negligence thesame day in a lane, was ouerthꝛowen one of the kinges great bombardes of Iron, called the redde gonne, and there left: When the night began to appꝛoche the kyng rested and toke his campe.ij. myles from sainct Omers on the noꝛthsyde.

the dꝛy Wednesday.

On the thursdaye beyng the.xxviij. day of July the master carpẽter with an hundꝛed carpenters & laboꝛers without knowledge of ẏ marshal went to waye vp ẏ great gonne that was in the ponde as you haue harde, & by foꝛce of engynes dꝛewe it vp and laied it on a carte redy to cary: But sodainly out of a wodde issued.viij.C. Frenchmen with speres, crosbowes & handgonnes, and assayled the pooꝛe labourers which valiantly defended themselfes: but oppꝛessed with multitude, the most parte was slayne and the remnant taken, & they & ẏ pece of oꝛdinaunce caried to bulleyne. This misauẽture fel, foꝛ the master carpẽter would woꝛke all of his awne hedde without counsayll, with which chaunce ẏ kyng was soꝛe displeased. The Frenchmẽ ioyous of this chaunce, assembled a great nomber, to take the other gonne ẏ lay still in the high way. Wherfoꝛe the loꝛde barnes beyng capiteyne of the pioners & laboꝛers heryng of the misauenture, & consideryng that ẏ other gonne was lyẽg behynd pꝛepared al maner of engines to recouer thesame. The moꝛow after, the kyng entended to reyse his camp, but whẽ he harde of ẏ great pece of oꝛdinaunce that was left behynde, & that ẏ Frenshmẽ assembled together, he was in a greate musynge and so taryed and commaunded the Almaynes to retrate backe and to succour them that went foꝛ the pece of oꝛdinaunce. The Almaynes went fooꝛth and staled within two mile, where the pece of oꝛdinaunce lay, and farther thei woulde not go.

The earle of Essex with his company of speres, sir Rice ap Thomas, w̃ his compaignie, sir Jhon Neuell with the Noꝛthũberland men set foꝛward to helpe the loꝛd Barnes foꝛ recouery of the gonne. And sodainly the noꝛthꝛen hoꝛsmen espied where al the great army of the Frenshmẽ were commyng foꝛward, & so repoꝛted to therle of Essex, ẏ to sir Jhon pechy Lieutenant of the hoꝛsemen & speres & other capitaines, whiche were

were in the place where the said goune was left with a hundred horsme which hering therof sent worde to sir Rice, which hering therof desired the erle of Essex to come & to take grounde in that place where he was, which remoued in greate haste: In the meane season by ỹ diligent labor of the Lord Barnes, the pece of ordinaunce was rayled & carted, and further was it caried, by this tyme the French army apered in sight.

When therle of Essex saw the great nomber of the Frenchmen, in all hast he sent to the lord Walon, willyng him w̃ his company to come to there ayde, the lord Waloun sayd to ỹ messenger, go tel your capitayne ỹ I come hither to serue the kyng of England more then one daye, and therfore I would all thenglishmē would returne, for w̃ ỹ great power of Fraunce thei be not able to fight, for I esteme thē. ix. or. x. M. men at the lest: with this aunswer ỹ messenger departed & made relaciō to the erle of Essex & other capitaynes which there w̃ were sore discōtent: by this time ỹ scowrers of ỹ French parte were come harde to ỹ handes of the Englishmē: then began ỹ light horsmen to skyrmyshe, ther was folowyng & reskuinge on both parties, & in open sight some of both parties slayne. Then marched forward the hole battaile of the Frenchmē with stādardes, penons & banners wauerynge, and sumptuous bardes, & riche harnys glyteryng, the mē of armes in great nōber were in ranges a long redy to chace & charge. Sir Rice ap Thomas beyng a man of great experiēce, sagely perceyued in what case ỹ matter stode, sayd to therle of Essex, sir we be not. vij. C. horsmē, let vs not be to folysh hardy our cōmission was to fette ỹ gonne & none other, let vs folowe ỹ same, therle agreed therto & so softely & not in flyeng maner retreted & folowed ỹ gonne. The Frenhmē perceiuyn ỹ, cried al is ours let vs folowe, then pricked forward. ij. M. men of armes & came iuste to ỹ backes of ỹ Englishmen, then thenglishemen cried sainct George & cast them selfe about and made retorne to ỹ Frenchmen, sir William Tyler & sir Jhon sharpe were the first charged, and after all the other Englishmen, there was a dreadfull chase, for the men of armes of Fraunce flede so fast, that glad was he that might be formost, the hole hoost seynge ther horsmen returnyng in flight, sodainly in great hast returned without any more doyng. Then the erle of Essex staled to an hyll, & ther caused his trōpet to blowe to the standard for feare of subtyll dealynge: and when they were gathered together vnto array, he returned.

The. xxix. daye of July the kyng with his army came to Arkus, and there embattailed him selfe in a strong grounde, & to hym came the erle of Esser and the other capitaines with the gonne, and made reporte of ther aduenture, which thanked them hartely, & ther he lay till Mōday in whiche time came many noble men of Flaunders to visite him, and many of the common people came to se hym.

Mondaye the fyrste daye of Auguste, the kynge remoued his campe to a village myddell way betwene Saynct Omers and Tyrwyn, and ther fell suche a rayne that the ordynauuce coulde scace be remoued

the

the arable grounde was so softe.

Thursday the.iiij.day of August, the kyng in good order of battaile came before the citie of Tyrwyn & planted his sege in most warlikewise his campe was enuironed with artilerie, as Fawcones, serpentynes, caste hagbushes, and tryde harowes, spien trestyls, and other warlike defence for the sauegarde of the campe. The kynge for hym selfe had a howse of tymber with a chymney of yron, & for his other lodgynges he had great & goodly tentes of blewe water worke garnyshed w̄ gelow, & white, diuerse romes within the same for all offices necessary, on the & toppe of the paulions stode the kynges bestes holdynge fanes, as the Lion, the Dragon, the Greyhounde, the Antelope, the Donne kowe: within all the lodgynge was poynted ful of the sunnes risynge, the lodgynge was. C. xxb. foot in length. Tirwyn beseged.

The kyng lyeng before Tirwyn, his great ordinaūce sore bet ỹ toune walles, & thei within likewise shot out of the towne ordinaunce, & slewe diuers Englyshmen in the trenches, among which shottes thei had one gonne ỹ euery day & night was ordinarely shotte at certayne howres without fayle: this gonne was of Thenglishmen called the whystelyng gonne, but it neuer did harme in the kynges feld. The siege thus lyeng & before the citie of Tyrwyn, Sir Alexander Baynam a capitaine of the myners, caused a myne to be enterprised to enter into ỹ towne, but the Frenchmen perceyuyng that, made a countermyne & so destroyed the other myne, and diuers myners slayne within the same. The Frenche army houed euer a farre to take ỹ Englishmē at auantage as thei went a forragyng, & many a skirmish was done, and many good feates of armes acheued on bothe sydes, and diuers prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certaine light horsmē called Stradiotes with shorte styroppes, beuer hatts, smal speres, & swerdes like Semiteries of Turkay: dyuers tymes the Northren light horsmen vnder the conduite of && sir Jhon Neuell skirmished with these stradiottes and toke diuerse of them prisoners, and brought them to the kyng.

While the kynge lay thus before Tyrwyn, the capitayne of Bullen knowynge by hys espialles that many of the garryson of Caleys were with the kyng at the siege, and also that daylye vitailles were brought out of Englande to Caleys to succour the campe, imagened a great entrepryce and sent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion aad rule, & declared to them what honour they shoulde obteyne yf they hurted or spoyled the out partes of Caleis, the kyng of England beyng on that syde the see. The men of warre perceiuyng the good courage of ỹ capi- && taine, assented to his purpose, & so wyth all diligence they to the mōber of a. M. men in the euenyng set forward, and came to Newnam bridge by. iij. of the clock in the morning, and founde the watchē that kepe the bridge a slepe, & so entred ỹ bulwerke & slewe the watchmen, & toke the ordinaunce of ỹ bridge & then let the bridge fall, so ỹ all entred ỹ would. The capitayn of Bulleyn kept. vj. C. men for a stale at ỹ bridge, & sent ỹ

other into the marrisches and medowes where the Cattell fedde, and some of the Frenshmen came to Caleys gate, & were asspyed of ỹ watch and so range *alarme*, the Englishe souldiours ran to the walles, and sawe the Frenshemen without ỹ toune walles: then they knew that Newnā brydge was lost, and would haue issued out, but Sir Gylbert Talbott Deputie ther, would not suffer any gate to be opened. Now it happened ỹ without Caleys gates were Richard Hunnyng & Richard Brickes of the Caterie, and .iij. or .iiij. of the kyngs seruauntes whych lay there to sende prouisions to the hoost: whiche heryng of this *alarme*, called to them the kynges bakers, and cowpers, & a fewe shippemem, which lay in the hauen, and corragiously folowed the Frenchmen. Thenglishemen were not past .vj. skore persones, & set on ỹ Frenchemen as thei were a forragyng or they might assemble together, & slew them doune right & toke no prisoners in maner, & so thei came to Newnam brydge & toke it & put the Frenchmē backe: But or Thenglishmē had thus gathered them selfes together, the Frenchmen had forraged all with in the riuer vp to sainct Peters, and had driuen away the cattell & the ordinaunce of Newnam brydge and so passed till they came where the stale laye, & ther they taried lokyng for ther company that were gone a forragyng to Caleys walles. About .v. of the clock in the morenynge, the gate of Caleys called Bulleyn gate, was opened, & then issuyd out one Culpiper the vnder marshall with .ij. C. archers with the banner of Saincte George, & with great hast came to Newnam bridge, where thei found the kynges seruauntes & the other that had wonne the brydge & then they all together marched toward the Frenchemen, whiche kepte the stale. The Frenchmen thought it had ben there awne cōpany that had returned, till they saw the banner of S. George, then they knewe that their company were ouerthrowen, & that they must nedes fight or dy. Then thenglishmē though thei were the smaller nomber, baliantly set on the Frenchmen, which with great force thē defended, but at the last thei were all discomfited & .xxiiij. slayne and .xij. skore taken prisoners and ther ordinaunce and hole booty recouered. These prisoners were brought to Caleys, and there sold in open market: Amonge all other a Cowper of ỹ towne of Caleys bought a prisoner of this booty ỹ dwelt in Bulleyn, and had of the prisoner .C. crownes for his raunsome, and when the mony was paied, the Frenchmē praied the Cowper to se him saue deliuered and to conduite hym out of danger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowlege of hys frendes, all alone went wt the Frenchman till he came beyonde the Cawsey and ther would haue departed: but the Frenchmen perceiued, that the Cowper was aged & cl that no reskewes was ny, by force toke ỹ Cowper prisoner & caried him to Bulleyn, and made him paye .ij. C. crownes for his raunsome, thus thorowe foly was the poore Cowper deceaued.

The folye of a Cowper.

The .xj. day of August beyng thursday, the kyng lyeng at the siege of Tyrwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian thēperour was in ỹ toune

of

of Ayze. The kyng prepared all thinges necessarie to mete with thẽpe-
rour in triumphe. The noble men of the kynges cãpe were gorgeously
apparelled, ther courlers barded of cloth of gold, of damaske & brode-
rie, theire apparelle all tissue cloth of gold and syluer, and gold smithes
woorke, great cheynes of balderickes of gold, and belles of bullion, but
in especial ỹ duke of Buckingham, he was in purple satten, his apparel
and his barde full of Antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and
full of spangyls and littell belles of gold meruelous costly & pleasaunt
to behold. The kyng was in a garment of greate riches in iuels as per-
xl les and stone, he was armed in a light armure, the mayster of hys horse
folowed him with a spare horse, the henxmẽ folowed beryng the kyngs
peces of harnys, euery one mounted on a greate courser, the one bare ỹ
helme, the seconde his graũgarde, ỹ thirde his spere, the fourth his axe
and so euery one had some thyng belongyng to a man of armes: the ap-
parell of the.ix. henxmen were white clothe of gold & crymsyn cloth of
gold, richely embrawdered with goldesmythes woorke, the trappers of
the corsers were mantell harneys coulpened, and in euery bent a long
bel of fyne gold, and on euery pendaunt a depe tassel of fyne gold in bul-
lion, whiche trappers were very ryche. The kyng & themperour mett
xlx betwene ayze & the campe, in the fowlest wether that lightly hath bene
sene. Themperour gentely enterteined the kyng, & the kyng likewyse
hym, and after a littell communication had betwen them, by cause the
wether was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperour and all hys
men were at that daie al in black cloth for the Empryce his wife was la-
tely diseased. After that ỹ kyng was this retorned to his campe, with
in a daye or twayne ther arryued in ỹ army a kynge of armes of Scot-
lãd called Lyon with his cote of armes on his back, & desyred to speke
with the kynge, who with in shorte tyme was by Garter cheffe kyng of
armes brought to the kynges presence, where he beyng almost dis ma-
xxx yed seynge the kyng so nobly accompanied, with fewe woordes, & me-
tely good reuerẽce, deliuered a letter to ỹ king, which receiued ỹ letter
and redde it him selfe, & when he had redde it, without anye more delay
he him selfe aunswered after this sorte. Nowe we perceyue the kyng of
Scottes our brother in law & your master to be ỹ same person whome
we euer toke hym to be, for we neuer estemed hym to be of any truthe &
so now we haue founde it, for notwithstandynge his othe, his promise
in the woord of kyng, & his awne hand & seale, yet nowe he hath brokẽ
his faith and promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and
entendeth to inuade our realme in our absence which he dirst not ones
xl attempte, our person beynge presente, but he sheweth him self not to be
degenerate from the condicions of his forefathers, whose faythes for ỹ
most parte hath euer ben violated and ther promises neuer obserued,
farther then they liste. Therfore tell thy master, first that he shall neuer
be comprised in any league where in I am a confederate, & also that I
suspecting his treuth (as now the dede proueth) haue left an erle in my

realme

realme at home whice shalbe able to defende him and all his powre, for we haue prouided so, that he shall not fynde our land destitute of people as he thynketh to do: but thus saye to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotland, & yͭ he holdeth it of me by homage, & in so much as now contrary to his bounden duety he beinge my vassall, doth rebel against me, wͭ Gods help I shal at my returne expulse him his realme, & so tell him: sir sayd the kyng of Armes, I am his naturall subiecte, & he my naturall lord, & yͭ he commaundeth me to say, I may boldely saye wͭ fauor, but the commaundemētes of other I may not, nor dare not saye to my souereigne lorde, but your letters maye with your honour sent, & declare your pleasure, for I may not say suche wordes of reproche to him whome I owe only my allegeaunce & fayth. Then sayd the kynge, wherfore came you hyther, will you receyue no aunswere? yes sayde Lion, your answere requireth doyng and no writyng, that is, that immediatly you should returne home: well said the kynge I wyll returne to your domage at my pleasure, & not at thy masters somonyng. Then the kyng cōmaunded garter to take hym to his tente & make him good chere, which so dyd, and cherished him wel for he was sore appalled: after he was departed, the kyng sent for all the chefe capitaynes, and before them and all hys counsaill caused the letter to be redde, the trewe tenor whereof folowethe worde, by worde.

¶ The Letter of the kynge of Scottes.

» Right excellent, right high, & myghty Prince, our deerest brother &
» Cousyng, we commaund vs vnto you in our mayst harty maner, & re-
» ceyued fra Rakheraulde your letters quharuntill, ye approue and al-
» low the doynges of your commissioners lately beyng with ours, at the
» borders of bathe the realmes for makyng of redresse, quylke is thought
» to you and your counsell should be continnet and delaet to the. xv. day
» of October. Als ye write, flaars by see aught not cōpere personally, but
» by their attorneis. And in your other letters with our heraulde I lay, xxx
» ye ascertaine vs ye wil nought entre in the treux takē betwext yͭ maste
» Christian kyng and your father of Aragon because ye and other of the
» hale liege, nether should ne may take peace, treux nor abstinēce of warr
» with your common enemy, without consent of all the cōfederates. And
» that the Emperour kyng of Aragon, ye and euery of you be boundē to
» make actuall warre this instant somer agaynst youre common enemie.
» And that so to do is concluded and openly swore in Paules kyrke at
» London vpon sainct Markes daye last by past. And ferther haue de-
» nyed saueconduyte vpon oure requestes yͭ a seruitor of ours might ha-
» ue resorted your presēce, as our herauld I lay reportes: Right excellēt xl
» right high and mightie Prince our derest brother & Cousyng, the sayed
» metyng of our and your commissioners at the borders, was perempto-
» rily appyncted betwyxt you and vs eftir diuerse dietes for reformacid

before

before contynued to the Commissioners metyng, to effecte that due re- «
dresse suld haue ben made at the sayde metynge, lyke as for our parte, «
our Commissioners offered to haue made that time: And for your part «
na malefactour was then arrested to the saide diet. And to glose thesa- «
me, ye nowe wyght, that saars by seenede not compere personally, but «
by their attourneys, quylk is agayne lawe of God and man. And gefe «
in crimenall accion, all saars sulbe nought compere personally, na pu- «
nicion sulde folowe for slaughter, and than bane it were to seke farther «
metynges or redresse. And hereby apperes as the dede shewes, that ye «
x wyll nouther kepe gude weyes of iustice and equitie nor kyndnes with «
vs, the greate wronges and vnkyndnes done before to vs and our lye- «
ges we ponderate quhilk we haue suffered this long time in vpberyng «
maynsweryng noundresslynge of Attemptates, so as the byll of the ta- «
ken of in haldyng of bastard Heron with his complices in your countre «
quha slewe our wardan vnder traist of dayes of metyng for iustice, and «
therof was silat and ordaynt to be delyuered in slaynge of our liege no- «
ble men vnder colour by your folkes, in takynge of vthers oute of oure «
realme, prisonet and cheinet by the cragges in your cõtre, with halding «
of our wifes legacie promist in your diuerse letters for dispite of vs, «
xx slaughter of Andrew Barton by your awne commaund quha than had «
nought offended to you nor your lieges vnredressed, and breakynge of «
the amitie in that behalfe by your dede, and with haldynge of our ship- «
pes and artilarie to your vse, quharupon eft our diuerse requisitions at «
your wardens, Commissioners, Ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrate & «
als shewe by vthers vnto vs, that ful redresse suld be made at the sayde «
metynge of commissioners, and sa were in hope of reformaciõ, or at the «
lest ye for our sake walde haue desisted fra inuasion of our frendes and «
Cousynges with in their awne countres that haue nought offended at «
you as we firste required you in fauoure of oure tendre Cousynge the «
xxx duke of Geldre, quham to destroye and disinherite ye send your folkes «
and dudde that was in them. And right sawe latly desyred for our bro- «
ther and Cousynge the mast Christen kynge of Fraunce. quham ye ha- «
ue caused to tyne his countre of Millaigne, and nowe inuades his selfe «
quha is with vs in secunde degree of blude, and hase ben vnto you «
kynde witoute offense and more kyndar than to vs: notwithstandyng «
in defense of his persone we mon take parte, and therto ye because of «
vthers haue geuen occasion to vs and to oure lyeges in tyme by past, «
nouther doyng iustly nor kyndely towardes vs, procedynge alwayes «
to the vtter destruction of oure nereste frendes, quha mon doo for vs «
xl quhan it shall be necessarie. In euyll example that ye wyll hereafter «
be better vnto vs quham ye lightlye fauoure, manifestlye wranged «
your sister for our sake incõtrary our writtes. And sayeng vnto our he- «
rauld that we giue you fayre wordes & thinkes ỹ cõtrary, in dede suche «
it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, trustynge that ye shoulde
haue emended to vs or worthin kyndar to oure frendes for our sakes, «
and «

» and sulde nougtight haue stopped oure seruitors passage to labour
» peax, that thei might as the papes halines exherted vs by his breuites
» to do. And therapon we were contēted to haue ouersene our harmes &
» to haue remitted thesame, though vther informacion was made to our
» haly father pape July by the Cardinall of Yorke youre Ambassadour.
» And sen ye haue now put vs fra all gude beleue through the premisses,
» and specially in denyenge of saueconduyte to our seruauntes to resorte
» to your presence, as your ambassadour doctor west instātly desyred we
» sulde sende one of oure counsayll vnto you apon greate matters, and
» appoynctyng of differentes debatable betwixt you and vs, furtheryng &
» of peax yf we might betwyxt the most Christen kyng and you, we neuer
» harde to this purpose saueconduite denied betwixte infideles. Herfore
» we write to you this tyme at lengthy playnes of our mynde, that we re-
» quire and desyre you to desiste fra farther inuasion and vtter destrucciō
» of our brother & Coulynge the mayst Christen kynge, to whome by all
» confederacion bloude and alye and also by newe bande, quhilk ye haue
» compelled vs lately to take through your iniuries & harmes without
» remedy done daily vnto vs, our lieges and subdites, we are bounden &
» oblist for mutuall defence like of vthers, like as ye and your confedera-
» tes be oblist for mutuall inuasions and actuall warre: Certifienge you &
» we will take parte in defence of our brother & Coulyng the maist Chri-
» sten kyng. And wil do what thing we trayest may crast cause you to de-
» sist fra perluite of hym, & for denyt and pospoynct iustice to oure lieges
» we mon gyue letters of Marque accordyng to the amitie betwixte you
» and vs, quharto ye haue had lyttell regarde in time by past, as we haue
» ordaint our herauld the bearer herof to saie, gife it like you to here him
» and gyfe him credence: right excellent, right high & mighty Prince our
» derest brother and Coulyng, the Trinitie haue you in kepyng. Geuen
» vnder our signet at Edynborowe the. xxvj. daye of July.

When the kynge rede this letter, he sente it in all haste to the Earle & of Surrey into England, whyche then lay at Pomfrett, and caused an other letter to be deuised to the kyng of Scottes, the copie whereof foloweth.

» Right excellent, rigth high, and mighty prince, &c. and haue receiued
» your writyng, Dated at Edenburgh the. xxvj. day of July by your he-
» raulde Lyon this bearer, wherin after rehersall & accumulaciō of ma-
» ny surmised iniuries, greses and damages doone by vs & our subiectes
» to you and your lieges, the specialites wherof were superfluous to re-
» herse, remembryng that to theim & euery of theim in effect reasonable
» aunswere founded vpon law & conscience hath tofore ben made to you &
» and youre counsail, ye not only require vs to desiste from farther inua-
» sion & vtter destruction of your brother & Coulyng the Frenche kyng,
» but also certifie vs that you will take parte in defence of thesayd kyng,
» and that thyng which ye trust may rather cause vs to desiste, from per-
» suite of him, with many contriued occasions & communications by you

causeles

causeles sought and imagined, sowninge to the breache of ỹ perpetuall peace, passed, concluded and swoꝛne, betwixt you and vs, of which youꝛ imagined querelles causeles deuised to breake to vs contrarye to youꝛ othe promised, all honoꝛ and kindnesse: We cannot maruayle, consydering the aũcient accustomable maners of youre progenitours, whyche neuer kepte lẽger fayth & promyse than pleased them. Howebeit, yf the loue and dread of God, nighnes of bloud, honoꝛ of the woꝛlde, lawe and reason, had bound you, we suppose ye woulde neuer haue so farre proceded, specially in our absence. Wherin the Pope and all Pꝛintes chꝛistened may wel note in you, dishonoꝛable demeanour when ye liyng in awayte seke the wayes to do that in our sayd absence, whych ye would haue bene wel aduised to attempte, we beyng wythin our Realme and pꝛesente. And foꝛ the euydeut appꝛobaciõ hereof, we nede none other pꝛoues ne witnesse but youꝛ owne wꝛitinges heretofoꝛe to vs sent, we beynge wythin our Realme, wherin ye neuer made mencion of taking parte wyth our enemie the Frenche kynge, but passed the tyme wyth vs tyll after our departure from our sayde Realme. And now percase ye supposinge vs so farre from our said realme to be destitute of defence agayuste youre inuasions, haue vttered the olde rancoꝛ of youre minde, whiche in couert maner ye haue long kepte secrete. Neuertheless, we remembꝛynge the bꝛitilnes of youꝛ pꝛomise and suspectynge though not wholy beleuyng so much vnstedfastnes, thought it ryght expediẽt and necessarie to put our said realme in a redines foꝛ resisting of your saide enterpꝛises, hauyng firme trust in our Loꝛd God and the rightwisnes of our cause with thassistence of our confederates and Allies wee shalbee able to resist the malice of all Scismatyques and their adherentes beynge by the genarall counsayll expꝛesselye excommunicate and interdicted, trustinge also in tyme conueniente to remember our frendes, and requite you and oure enemies, which by suche vnnatural demeanour haue geuen sufficiente cause to the dysheryson of you and your posteritie foꝛ euer from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, whiche ye now attempte to inuade. And yf the example of the kyng of Nauarre beinge excluded from his royalme foꝛ assistence geuen to the Frenche king cannot restraine you frõ thys vnnaturall dealinge, we suppose ye shall haue like assistence of the sayde Frenche kinge as the kinge of Nauarre hath now: Who is a kinge withoute a realme, and so the French kynge peaceably suffereth hym to contynue wherunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofoꝛe touched in this oure wꝛiting, we nede not to make any further aũswer to the manyfolde greues by you surmised in youre letter: foꝛasmuche as yf any lawe oꝛ reason coulde haue remoued you from youre sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and often tymes sufficiently aunswered to thesame: Excepte onelye to the pꝛetended greues towchynge the denyynge of of our saueconduyte to your Ambassadoure to bee last sent vnto vs: Where vnto we make this aunswere, that we had graũted

„ ted thesayde saufeconduite,and yf your herauld would haue taken the
„ same with him lyke as he hathe bene accustomed to sollicitie saufecon-
„ duytes for marchauntes and others heretofore,ye might as sone haue
„ had that,as any other,for we neuer denied saufeconduyte to any youre
„ lieges to come vnto vs & no further to passe,but we se wel,lyke as your
„ sayde herauld had heretofore made sinister report contrary to trueth
„ so hath he done nowe in this case as it is manifest and open. Fynally,as
„ towching your requisition to desist from farther attemptyng againste
„ our enemy the French kyng, we knowe you for no competent iudge of
„ so high authoritie to require vs in that behalfe:wherfore God willyng &
„ we purpose with the ayde and assistence of our confederates & Allies to
„ persecute thesame,and as ye do to vs and our realme,so it shalbe remē-
„ bred and acquited herafter by the help of our lord and our patrone S.
„ George. Who righte excellent, ryghte hyghe and mightie Prynce, &c.
„ Yeuen vnder our signet in our campe before Tyrwyn the. xij. daye of
„ August.

When thys letter was written and sealed, the kynge sent for Lyon the Scottishe herauld,and declared to him that he had wel considered his maisters letter,and therto had made a reasonable answere, & gaue to him in reward a hundred angels,for which reward he humbly thanked the kyng and so taried with gartier alnight, and euer he sayd that he was sorye to thinke what domage shoulde be done in Englande by his mayster or the kinge returned, and so the next day he departed into Scotlande,but or he coulde haue shyppe and wynde hys mayster was slayne.

After the defiaunce declared by the king of Scottes herauld, ỹ king of Englaud wrote to the quene and other which he had left behynd of his counsayl, to prepare in al haste for the defence of thesayde kynge of Scottes,which so did w̄ great diligēce as you shal heare shortly after.

Whyle the king lay thus at siege before Tyrwyn,the frēchmē studied al the wayes possible how to vitayle ỹ towne of Tyrwyn, & imagined in a nyght by some waye to conuey vitayle to ỹ towne: wherfore euery day they sent stradiates to espie by whiche way they mighte take their most auantage,and many times the Englishe horsmen met w̄ the stradiates and of them slewe parte.

The French kynge woulde in any wyse that the kyng of Englande shoulde bee foughte wyth all,wherfore he sent the duke of Uandosme. The duke of Longuile with diuerse other valiant captains of Blāgoy. Then was there a conclusion taken that ỹ duke of Alanson should with xl v. M. men fyght with the erle of Shrewsbury, or els to kepe that nother he nother the lord Harbert should aide or come to the kynges battayle, & with the king should skyrmysh the duke of Uandosme & Longuyle,whyle in the meane season the cariages with vitayle myght entre the toune. For accomplishyng of this enterpryse, the Frenchmen made

greate

greate purueaunce and al on horsebacke, this was not so secretly cõclu-
ded but the kyng of England had an ynkelyng therof, and sent worde
to the Emperour which lay at Ayze and knewe nothyng of this deuyse
and desyred hym to come to the campe to haue his aduyse:which glad-
ly aunswered that he woulde come the morowe after. The kyng conti-
nually sent forth his light horses to seke the countrey and to se yf anye
apparaunce wer,and they euer brought tidinges of such things as thei
saw,so that alwayes it was forsene that the kyng nor hys people shuld
be taken vnpurueied,nor the Frenchmen shoulde not come on them so-
xdainly vnaskried.

While these thinges were thus in commonynge and immagenyng.
Themperour Maximilian and all his seruauntes,whyche were retei-
ned with the king of Englãd in wages by the day, euery person accor-
dinge to his degre,and Themperour as the kinges souldioure ware a
Crosse of saynte George wyth a Rose, and so he and al his traine came
to the kinges campe the.xxiij.day of August beyng Fridaye,and there
was receyued wyth greate magnificence and brought to a tente of
cloth of golde all ready appareled accordynge to hys estate, for all the
tente within was syled wyth clothe of golde and blewe veluet, and all
xxthe blewe veluet was embrowdered with.H.K.of fyne golde,and hys
cupboorde was rychely furnyshed and officers appoyncted to geue on
hym attendaunce:and there he taried tyl Sonday,and from thence he
went agayne to Ayze for his pleasure. The kyng and his coũsayl were
informed by their espialles, and also it was confessed by certayne pri-
soners,howe the French army which lay at Blangoy,entended to vitail
the cytie of Tyrwyn. Wherefore on Fridaye at nighte,the.xiij.daye of
of Auguste the Duke of Buckyngham, the Earle of Essex, the Mar-
ques Dorset the Lorde of Burgaynye,the Lorde Willoughby,and di-
uerse other gentlemen wyth.vi.thousand men on foote and the Lorde
xxxWalon and the Lorde Ligny with ther horsemen were layed at Gin-
gate on the south syde of Tyrwyn, where they were all nyghte in or-
der of battayle,awaytynge the reskewe of the citie,but the Englyshmẽ
were askryed,and so the Frenchmen brake their purpose for that time:
and so the Duke of Buckyngham and hys compaygnions returned to
the campe. Mondaye the.xiij.daye of Auguste by infortune, wythoute
anye cause knowen, there fell a greate debate betwene the Almaynes
of the kynges felde and Thenglyshmen, in so muche that they fell to
fightinge and many men slayne, the Almaynes sodaynely ranne to the
kynges ordinaunce and toke it, and embattayled them selfes,and bent
xlthe ordinaunce agaynst the kinge and his campe. Thenglyshmen were
greately fumed with this matter: in so muche the archers set forward
to haue ioyned with the Almaynes, and they lykewyse prepared their
pykes, but the capytaynes tooke suche payne that the fray was appe-
sed and al things done for that time,but as this cõmocion was in trou-
blen the Emperour came frõ Ayze and saw al the demener of both par-

ties and was glad to se the discrete handelyng of the capitaynes. After Themperour was come to the kinges feld, the king called Thēperour and all the lordes of his counsayll together assertеyninge them that he was credibly enformed that the Frenchmen entended to reskew the citie of Tyrwyn, wherefore it was agreed that the mayster of the ordynaunce shoulde in haste make fyue bridges ouer the water for the armye to passe ouer, to thentent to besiege the citie on that syde: the carpenters dyd so there deuer that nyght, so that by daye al the brydges were made, so that all the horssemen passed ouer and askryed the countrey. On Tewsdaye the.xvi.day of August the kynge reysed his cam- xv
pe, and wyth greate ordinaunce and all other artilerie and cariage he passed the Ryuer, and to him came Sir Jhon Neuel with hys lyghte horssemen and tolde hym that behynde the tower of Gingate was a great plumpe of horsemen. In the meane season, as sir Jhō Neuel told the kinge these tidinges, by another waye was the Erle of Essex, Sir Jhon Peche and the kings speres passed and skirmished with the plūp of speres that Sir Jhon spake of, and there were manye profers made on both sides, but in conclusion the Frenchmen wer compelled to leaue their stale, and one horseman taken and sente to the kynge whyche in hope of pardon of his raunsome shewed howe that the Frenche armye xv
with their full power and strengche were comming from Blangoy the nomber of fyftene thousande horssemen of armes to ayde Tyrwyn on that side of the water. And to thentente that the armye of the Lorde Stuarde, and the Lorde Chamberlayne shoulde not ayde the kynge, there wer appoyncted fyue thousande of the fiftene thousande horssemen on the other side of the water. As these tidinges was tolde came one from Sir Ryce, and sayde that a prisoner that he had that day taken, confessed that the citie shoulde be reskowed thesame day, and that he had askryed a nomber of horssemen to hys iudgemente vppon the poyncte of six thousande. Then sodaynely came the Northren menne, xvi
whyche affirmethe, that they had sene the Frenthe armye in order of battayle commynge forwarde, but they iudged them not paste twelfe thousande menne. Then the kynges felde was pytched and the ordynaunce set, but some counsayled the kynge to take doune hys tentes but the kinge sayde I will this daye that my felde be made and sette in as royall wise as maye bee, and all my ryche tentes sette vp, whyche was done. Then the kynge called the Lorde Darcy, and commaunded hym to kepe his felde, treasure ordynaunce and other stuffe, which was lothe to go from hys Mayster but by streyte commaundemente. Then euerye man prepared hym selfe to battayle resortynge to the xvi
standarde, the horsemen marched before the footmen by the space of a myle, still came curroures berynge tydynges that the Frenche armye approched. The kynge bad sette forwarde and to auaunce hys banner in name of God and sainct George. The Almanies seyng this (to what purpose it was not knowen) sodaynelye embateled them selfes on the

left

lefte hande of the kinge and lefte the byefte or fronte of the kynges bat-
tayle bare. As the kynge was thus marchinge forwarde towarde the
battayle, to hym came the Emperoure Maximilian wyth. xxx. men of
armes, he and al his company armed in on fute with redde croffes: thē
by the counfayll of the Emperour the kynge caufed certayne peces of
fmall ordinaunce to bee layed on the toppe of a longe hyll or banke for
the oute fkowerers: Thus the kynges horffemen and a fewe archers
on horffebacke marched forwarde. The kynge woulde fayne haue
bene afore wyth the horffemen, but hys counfayll perfwaded hym the
x contrarye, and fo he taryed wyth the footmen accompanied wyth thē-
perour.

The Frenchmen came on in. iij. ranges. xxvj. mēs thickenes & wel they perceiued the kinges battayle of footmen marching forward: the erle of Effex capitayne of the horfemen, and fir Jhon Peche w the kinges horfmen and the Burgonions to the nomber of a. xi. C. ftode with banner diſplaied in a valey. The Lorde Walonne and the lord Ligny with baftarde Emery and there bend to the nomber of. iij. C. horfmē feuered themfelfes and ftode a fyde from the Englifhmē: fo then thenglifhmen were but. vij. C. yet they with banner diſplayed remoued vp
xx to the toppe of the hill, and there they met with fir Jhon Gilford a. C. talle archers on horfebacke, which had aſkryed the Frenchmen. Now on the toppe of the hill was a fayre plaine of good grounde, on the lefte hand a lowe wodde, and on the right hand a falow felde. The lord Walonne and the burgoniōs kepte them a loofe, then appered in fight the Frenchmen with banners and ftandardes diſplaied. Then came to the capitaines of Thenglifhmen of armes, an Engliſh officer of armes called Clarenfeux and faide, in Gods name fet forward, for the victory is youres for I fe by them, they will not abyde, and I wyll go wyth you in my coate of armes. Then the horfemen fet forward, and the archers
xxx alighted and were fet in order by an hedge all a long a village fide called Bomy: the Frenfchmen came on wyth. xxxiij. ftandardes diſplayed and the archers fhot a pace and galled their horfes, & the Engliſh fpeares fet on freſhly, crieng fainct George, & fought valyātly w the Frēchmen and threw done their ftandarde, the duft was greate and the crye more, but fodaynly the Frenchmen fhocked to their ftandarde and fled and threw awaye their fperes, fwerdes and mafes and cut of y bardes of their horfes to ronne the lighter, when the hinder part faw y former flye, they fled alfo, but the foner for one cauſe which was this. As y Englyfh horfemen mounted vp the hil, the ſtrdiates were cōmynge doune
xl wardes on the one fyde of the hill before the French hoft, which fodainly faw the banners of the Englyfh horfemen, and the kinges battayl folowyng vpwarde, wening to them that all had bene horfmen, then thei caft them felf about and fledde, the Frenchmen wer fo faft in array that the ſtradiates could haue no entre, and fo they ran ſtil by thēdes of the rāges of the French army: and when they behinde faw the fall of their

standardes and their stradiates in whome they had greate confidence retorne, they that were farthest of fledde firste, then vp pranced the Burgonions and folowed the chace: thys battayle was of horsmen to horsemen but not in egal nomber, for the Frenchmen wer tenne to one, whyche had not bene sene before tyme, that the Englyshe horssemen gatt the victorye of the men of armes of Fraunce. The Frenchemen call this battaylle the iourney of Spurres because they ranne awaye so faste on horssebacke. Thys battayll was the.xvj. daye of Auguste, in the whyche battayle was taken the Duke of Longuile, Loys brother to the Earle of Dunoys whyche had maryed the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the Lorde Cleremounde and manye other noble men to the nomber of twelue skore and all broughte to the kynges presence, and lykewise al the standardes and banners were brought to the king. The Burgonions kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The same wente that *Mounsire de la palayce* was by them taken and lett go Thenglyshemen folowed the chace thre mile longe, from the felde to a water in a valeye, and there a Frencheman sayde to Sir Gyles Capell, that one daye they woulde haue a daye, whyche answered hym agayne in Frenche that it was a bragge of Fraunce: and so the Englishmen returned to the kynge, whyche was commynge forwarde who gaue them thankes wyth great praysynges for the valyantnes, and there he made Sir Jhon Pech Banneret and made Jhon Car knight whyche was sore hurte, and Sir Jhon Peche had hys Guyd home taken and diuers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre. Then the kynge retreted to Gingate, to whom came sir Rise and shewed him how hoat the Frenchmen had skirmished with hym all daye on the other syde of the ryuer, and how therle of Shrewsbury with banner displayed was al day prest in ordre of battayle to haue fought with the duke Alanson and therle of sainct Polle and the lord of Floringes which with.v.M. men as you haue heard were appoincted to reskewe the toune on that syde, where the Lord of Shrewsbury lay, and to let him to come to aid the king, but howsoeuer that it happened, they stode stil and came not doune but onelye skirmished with sir Rice. The citie of Tyrwyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they saw their helpers cõming nere they thesame day proudely issued out on the lord Harbert & skirmished with his people very valiantly, and thei within also shot out ordinaunce of al partes. The lorde Harbert and his captaines corragyously defended them, and so sore they set on the Frẽchmen, that they draue thẽ by force to their gates for al their succors, and many of them wer slaine: this night the kinge sent for the duke of Longeuile and the lorde Cleremound and diuerse other noble men, and the duke supped at the kinges borde that night.

The iourney of Spurres,

Then the Frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together & returned the Blangoy.xii. myle frõ the coste, and there talked of their losses, and because they knewe not who were taken and who wer slain therfore,

therefore they sent an heraulde to the kynge to knowe the nombet of ỹ prisoners, the kinges counsayll according to their desyre sente to them the names. The kyng beynge assertayned that the French kinges purpose was yet agayne to geue him battayll, commaunded the best of the prysoners shoulde be conueyed to the toune of Ayre in Flaunders: but when thenglishemen had brought them thyther, the capitayne denyed that thenglishmen shoulde entre the toune wyth prisoners of Fraunce with whome he and his countrey had peace: but yf the Frenche menne woulde desire lodginge for their ease, they shoulde be permitted to entre. But thenglishmen in a fury aunswered, that yf you wyll not suffer vs to kepe our prysoners, we wil slay thē: then the Frenchmen mekely prayed the capitayne to suffer the Englishemen to entre, and sware to their kepers to bee true prysoners, and so they entered and after were conueyed into England. The Lord Powntremy of the house of Cresquy capytayne generall of Tirwyn perceyued the dyscomfyture of the French partie, and perceyued how the Earle of Shrewsbury and the Lorde Harbert had brought thither great ordinaunce so nere ỹ toune that nerer it coulde not be broughte, and that in the walles was suche batterie that it was not lyke to continue, yet he manfully defended the citie, and shote gonnes euerye daye as he was accustomed and neuer was in despayre, tyll the .xviij. daye of thesayde monethe he sawe the kynge remoue his campe from Gyngate and layed hys campe on the southe syde of the toune betwene their reskewe and the toune: then when he sawe this and consydered that hys succoures were put backe and that the toune was sore febeled, and that the kinges greatest ordinaunce was bent againste the toune, he therfore by the aduyse of other capitaynes sent to therle of Shrewsburye and the Lorde Harberte a trumpet, desieryng abstinence of warre for a daye, they incontynente sent to the kynge to knowe hys pleasure, the kinge aunswered that he woulde not graunte till he knewe the consideracion: then the captayne sent woorde that with saufeconduyte he woulde come and speake with the kinges counsayll, which to him was graunted, then he sent certayn commissioners whiche offered to delyuer the toune wyth all the ordynaunce and municions withoute anye fraude, so that the townes men that woulde there dwell myght haue lyfe and goodes safe, and that ỹ men of warre might departe wyth horse and harneys, for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse and harneys, was of litle valure to so great a prince. After that the kyng and his counsayll had debated this matter, it was aunswered the commissioners that althoughe the kynge knewe their penury of vitayle and the dayly mortalitie amonge them and that the towne by reason of greate batteries was not able longe to resiste, yet because they asked mercye he woulde not extende rygor, and graunted there requeste, so that they delyuered the towne wyth all the ordynaunce as they had promysed, to the whyche all they were sworne, and so returned. And thesame nyght therle of Shrewsbury

entred the toune & had the walles and towers and the banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victory, & the lord Powtremy with al the garrison departed with horse and harnes according to the appointment. Then the Lord George Talbot erle of Shrewsbury, with .iij. C. men serched the toune for feare of treason, or that any inconuenience might be vnto the king and his people: and after that he saw al thing sure, he called al the tounes mẽ together, and sware them, to be true to the king of England. When all this was done, the kynge on the .xxiiij. day of August entered into the citie of Tyrwyn, at. ix. of the clocke before none with great triumphe & honour, his persone was apparelled in armure gilt and grauen, his garment and barde purple beluet full of borders, and in al places trauersed with branches in ronnyng worke of fyne golde, the branches were of hawthorne wrought by goldsmithes craft wounde with a braunche of Roses, and euery flower, lefe and bury were enbossed: After whome folowed his henxmen w̃ the peces of armure accustomed: thus with great glory this goodly prince entered and toke possession of the towne of Tirwin and was receiued at the Cathedral church with procession, and they heard masse & dyned in the bishoppes palice, and at after none retorned to his campe, leuing in the towne the Earle of Shrewsbury with his retinue. The xxvi. daye of August the kyng remoued agayne to Gingate, and there it was agreed ỹ the walles, gates, bulwarckes and towers of Tirwin should be defaced, rased and cast doune: of whiche conclusion the Emperour sainct worde to sainct Omers, and to Ayre, which beyng ioyous of that tidinges (for Tyrwyn was for them a scorge) sent thither pioners with all maner of instrumentes, and so they & thenglish pyoners brake doune the walles, gates and towres of the foundaciõ & filled the dyche and fiered the towne, except the Cathedral church and the palaice, and al the ordinaũce was by the king sent to Ayre, to be kept to hys vse. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should ley his siege to the citie or Towne of Turney, wherfore he set forward thre goodlye battailes, the first was conduited by therle of Shrewsbury, the second battayle led the kyng hym selfe with whome was Themperoure. The rereward was conduyted by the lorde Harbert: & so the first night thei laye in campe beside Ayre, which night vitayle was skant, diuerse Englyshmen taryred in Tirwin when the kyng was past for pillage & fyered certayne houses, on whome came sodainly the French stradiates & some they slew and some they caste into the fier, thei that fledde, scaped narrowly.

xxv

Tyrwin burned.

xxvi

Wednesday the .xiiij. day of September the king and his army came to Beatwyn, and there had plenty of all thinges, and on the morowe he with his army passed forward and came to a strayt where was a foord and al the carriages must nedes come doune a stepe hill to the foord & so to the streyt, where as one wagon scace alone might passe, and ỹ wether was hoat and the beastes had not droncke all day, wherfore at the foorde

foorde the horses woulde drynke maugre ther leders, and so the cariages wēt not al hole together which was a doubtful case, but yet by wise ordre thei passed the streyt & so did the army & came to a place betwene Cauon and Cambline and there lodged that nighte in a plaine barren grounde, and the next day remoued his campe and the forwarde passed a bridge called pount Auandien into Flaunders side & ther lay, the king lay at the other ende of ỹ bridge on Arthoys syde, & the rereward lay in a fayre grounde behinde the king.

Saterday the.xvii.day of September tidings came to ỹ king how
x the Frenchmen had assembled a great puissaūce & would fight with the king, wherefore the king caused his forward to remoue farther & sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage the pount dassaus. Then the greate ordinaunce passed the bridge of pount auandien and the king was remoued frō thence & his tentes were takinge vp, an askrye was made ỹ the enemies were in sight, which noise was sodainly ceased, and sir William Sādes with.vij.C.Englishmen & strangers was appointed to kepe the bridge and certayne ordinaunce was to him appointed.

When the king and al the carriages were passed, then the lord Harbert remoued ouer the bridge and encamped hym behinde the king by
xi a fayre mille, when the kinge was encamped and all thinges in order, there came to him a noble man of Flaunders called the lord Rauensten which after his humble reuerence done, shewed ỹ king that the young prince of castel Charles and the lady Margaret gouernes of the sayde prince most hartely desired him for his pastime after hys long trauayle to come and repose in his toune of Lisle and to see hys brother ỹ prince and the ladies of the court of Burgoyne, saynge that it became not ladies to visite him in his marciall campe whyche to them was terrible. The king gētelly graunted his request, & then he sent his officers thether to make prouision and appoynted the Duke of Buckyngham the
xii Marques Dorset therle of Essex and the lord Lisle and dyuerse other to geue ther attendaunce on him, and committed his campe to his coūsayll. Then he mounted on a courser, his apparel and barde were cloth of syluer of smal quadrant cuttes trauersed and edged wyth cutt cloth of golde, and the border set full of redde rooses, hys armore fresshe and set ful of iuels, the Maister of hys horse Sir Henry Guylforde, and the Henshmen folowed as you haue heard before, and ỹ coursers richly appareled and so were many capitaynes that wayted on the kinge: by the way met the king the lord Rauensten wyth many noble men and a myle without the toune ther mette with him the Bourgesses of Lysle
xi and presented to him the keies of the toune, sayeng, that Themperour their souereygne lord had so cōmaunded them to do. The king praised their obediēs to their souereygne, & thāked thēperour & thē for so high a presente as the keyes of such a toune. Neuertheless he had suche cōfidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse then hys owne subiectes, and so delyuered the keyes to the prouost of the toune, which was wel

accom-

accompanied:then mette the king a great nomber of nobles of Flaun-
ders,Brabant,Hollande and Henawde,which nobly receiued him. Af-
ter them came the Coũty of Palãtine or Paulsgraue oneof ỹ electors of
the empire with.xxx.horsses al his men gorgiously appareilled after ỹ
fashion of his countrey,and hũbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lisle
the captayn of the toune stode with a garrison in armure wel appoinc-
ted,al the stretes were set on both sides with burning torches and di-
uerse goodly pagiantes pleasant to beholde:thus he passed thorow the
towne with his swerde and maces borne before hym,and alighted at ỹ
hal doze with his swerd borne, where met wt him thẽperour the prince
of castel & the lady Margaret and hũbly saluted him:then for reuerẽce
of themperour,the kinge caused his swerde to be put vp and his maces
to be leyed doune,then was the kinge and all other nobles lodged and
feasted according to their degrees.

In the toune of Lisle was a noys, that thre gonners with handgõ-
nes should haue slayn the king:For which rumor many were attached,
but nothinge proued,but when thys tidinges came to the campe, they
were neuer mery til they saw the king agayne, great was the chere wt
bankettes,playes,commodies, maskes and other pastymes that was
shewed to the king in the courte of Burgoyne, and so in solace he soior-
nied there Sondaye and Mondaye the.xix.day of Septẽber:the.xx.
day he sent woorde that his army shoulde remoue towarde Tournay,
and so they remoued to a place conueniẽt betwene Tournay and Lisle
and certain capitaynes were appoincted to kepe the passage at ỹ bridge
of Auandien.

After that the king had taried at Lisle.iij.dayes,and had wel repo-
sed hym selfe,he toke his leaue and thanked the Emperour & the young
prince & the lady Margaret & al the ladies of all his high chere & solace
and about six of the clock at nyght he departed out of Lisle,and ỹ noble
men broughte the kinge forth and so returned, and then the captayne
shutt the gates.

When the kyng was a mile and more out of the toun,he asked wher
he campe lay:and no man there could tel the way, and guyde had they
none,the night was darcke and mistie:thus the king taried a lõg while
and wist not whither to go, at last they mett with a vitayler commyng
from the campe which was their guyde and brought thẽ thither. The
mayster of the ordinaunce shotte diuerse peces of ordynaunce but they
were not harde,but in safetie the king with all hys company returned.

The.xxj. day of September the kyng remoued his campe towarde
Tournay and lodged within thre miles of the citie,on a corne grounde
by the riuer. The which night came to the king Themperour and the
Paulsgraue whiche were lodged in ryche tentes, and noblye serued of
all byandes and thynges necessarye . The people aboute Tournay
were with their goodes fledde to the citie, and yet the cytye hadde no
men of warre to defende it, but wyth multitude of inhabitauntes the

citie

citie was wel replenished: the king cõmaunded sir Rice and hys horse-
mẽ to bewe one quarter, and therle of Essex and hys company another
quarter, and the lorde Walowne & the lord Ligny the other quarters:
so the.xxij.day of Septẽber these.iiij.capitaines at one time were sone
openly with banners displaid before the toune, and there made a longe
stale & retorned. The king sent Gartier king of armes & a pursuant of
armes with a trompet to somon the citie, which declared ỹ the kinge of
England and of Fraunce commaunded thẽ to yelde to him his citie and
to receiue him as their natural lord, or he would put thẽ and their citie
x to swerde, fyer and blud. To whom they proudely answered, that thei
toke no citie of him to kepe, nor none wold they rẽder, wᵗ which answer
he departed. Then they fortified their walles, & made prouision for vi-
taile, corne, wine & artilerie, & for al fortificacions that might be gotttẽ.
And the citie of it selfe was strong, well walled & turrited wᵗ good Bul-
warkes & defences: But when they saw the kynge with such a puissãce
draw nere to the citie, they were sore abashed and called a generall coũ-
sayl: then the prouost sayde, brethren you knowe how ỹ the king of En-
gland sent an heraulde to somon vs to rendre to hym this citie, or elles
he woulde put it & vs to the swerde, fyer and bloude, we answered we
xx would be at defence: now he is come in our syght to fulfylll the message
sent by hys herauld, & now is come ỹ time of our defence, & in this mat-
uer stãdeth.iij.mischiefes, one is our bounden deuty & allegeaũce ỹ we
owe to our soueraygne lord king Loys of Fraunce, the second the lifes
of vs, our wyfes, childzen and neyghbours, the third how to defend the
final destrucciõ of this auncient cyty whych is likely to fall, whiche citie
was neuer conquired & now our citie is hole (your lyfes in sauity, your
goodes your own) determine whither you wil haue warr or peace: thẽ
the cõmon people cryed al war, war, war, then said the prouost, take cõ-
passiõ of wyfes & childzẽ & of the olde folke, cõsyder yf you haue no quick
xxx reskue you can not contynue againste yõder puisance, al tho your cora-
ges were as good as Hectors or Achylles, thys ỹ wyfest of ỹ citie & I
haue cõsidered. Then sodaynly was there in ỹ coũsayll, a bantparler, a
botcher whych heryng this, called a great nomber of his affynite & wẽt
out of the counsayl, & so out of the gates & set fier of the suborbes on all
sydes. When the counsayl sawe the myndes of the commons and that
ther wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the people and
mayntayned them for ther defence. The kyng rayfed his campe & came
in Array of battayle before Tornay, the Earle of Shrefbury with the
forward was a littell space on the right hand brest with the kyngs bat-
xl tayle, and the lord Harbert with the rereward on the left hande in lyke
manner, the day was faire and the harneis glistered and banners wa-
ued that they of the citie were sore afrayed: thus stode the kinges bat-
tayles in Array before Tournay. Then the kynge commaunded hys
greate ordynaunce to bee caried in the waye passynge towarde the cy-
tie & so euery thing according to his commaũdement was accõplished.

Then

Then the king him selfe with a fewe persones rode betwene hys ordy-
naunce and the towne, and rode in great aduenture so nere the walles
that he might bewe ỹ walles and the toures very wel: they shote oute
of their toures peces of ordinaunce and hurt such as came within their
leuel. Thent hey rong the alarme bell, which was harde wel in ỹ felde.
Then the citezens issued out at the gate by the riuer and manfully pro-
fered skirmyshe, but they with archers were sone driuen backe to theyr
gates. The Englishe cariers , that came wyth the harbeshers to take
ground ranne to the gates of Tornay, and toke certaine wagons with
beere & vitayle and yet ỹ Turnoyes dirst not resiste, although thei wer
in greater nomber then the men of cariage. In this skirmish the horsse
of the lord Jhon Gray brother to the Marques Dorset which went to
defende the Cariours was slayne with a gonne, and he not hurt. After
ỹ the king in person had thus in ieopardie auentured him self & bewed
the toun, he caused immediatly .xxj. peces of gret artilery to be brought
in a plain feld before the toune, and when they were charged, they wer
immediatly shotte, and the most part of the stones fell within the cytie,
and so they shotte diuerse shottes one after another.

Then the king with al his battayle planted hys siege on the northe
parte of the citie: Therle of Shrewsbury with his battayl warded to-
ward the south syde of the ryuer and there lay that nyght. The Lord
Harbert with the rereward plãted his battail on the west side of the ci-
tie, and with great ordynaunce dayly bet the walles and toures of the
citie. On the morow beynge the .xxiij. day: the Lorde Talbot Earle of
Shrewsbury accõpanied with the noble men of his battayll whose na-
mes you haue heard at his first passyng the sea, passed ouer the riuer of
Tornay and planted his siege on the sonth syde stretching to the Easte
ende of the citie, & bẽt his artillery against the walles of the citie. Thus
was the citie of Tornay besieged on all partes, & euer in hope of reskue
valyantly defended her selfe.

Now must I leue the Kynge at the siege of Turnay, and diuerte to
thinges done in Englande in his absence, and declare how the kyng of
Sctottes inuaded the realme of Englande, and how he was defended
and fought with al, and in conclusion slayne the .vij. day of this moneth
of September.

When the king of Englande was determined in his high courte of
Parliament to passe the sea, in proper person, for the recouery of his re-
alme of Fraunce, he & hys coũsayll forgat not the olde Prankes of the
Scottes which is euer to inuade England when the kynge is oute, or
within age: and also he had knowlege that at Camphere in zeland the
Scottes dayly shipped long speres called colleyne clowistes, armure &
artilerie, whych dealyng made his grace and his counsail to dowt, not-
wythstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the sacramẽt to
kepe the peace, yet for voy dynge of al dowtes, the kyng appoynted the
lord Thomas Haward erle of Surrey sonne to the lord Jhõ Haward

duke

duke of Norffolke and high treasourer and marshall of Englande, to he hys lieutenaunt in the North parties agaynste thesayed kyge of Scottes, yf he fortuned to inuade (as he dyd in dede) accordynge to the old traytorous accustome of hys progenitors, and that the sayed earle should reise the powers of the contrey of Chester, Lancaster, Duresme Northumberlande, Westmerlande, and Comberlande, besyde other aydes to be poyncted by the quene. And when the kynge shoulde take shippe at Douer, he toke the Earle by the hande and sayde, my Lorde I truste not the Scottes, therfore I praye you be not negligent: then x sayde the earle I shall so do my duety, that youre grace shall fynde me diligent, and to fulfyll your will shalbe my gladnes: The Earle coulde skantly speake when he toke hys leaue, for the departinge from the noble prynce hys souereigne Lorde and kynge, and from the floure of all the nobilitye of thys realme, beynge redy in suche an honorable iorney. And when he was somewhat settelled in hys mode, he sayde to some that were about hym: Sory may I se hym or I dye, that is cause of my abydinge behynde, and yf euer he and I mete, I shal do that in me lyeth to make hym as sory yf I can: meanynge thesame by the kyng of Scottes. From Douer he attendid on the quene to London, comfortynge xx her the beste he myght, and shortely sent for hys gentelmen & tenauntes, whiche were .v. C. able men, whiche mustered before syr Thomas Iouell, knyght, the .xxj. daye of July, & the .xxij. daye he rode thorough London Northward, and came to Doncaster, and there commaunded syr William bulmer knight, to make haste to the marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the castels & fortresses on the frontiers with .v. C. archers on horsebacke: for the Earle by open tokens dayly perceiued that the Scottes entended warre. Then the sayde Sir William with all spede departed and came to the borders and the erle came to Pomfret, the firste daye of August, and there taried. After that Syr Wyl- xxx liam bulmer was come to the borders, one daye in Auguste, the Lorde Chamberlayne and warden of Scotlande wyth .vij. or .viij. M. men wyth banner displayed entered into Englande, and brent and haryed a great praye in Northumberlande, that herynge syr William bulmer, called to hym the gentelmen of the borders wyth hys archers, and all they were not a thousande men. And when they were nere assembled, they brought them selfes in to a brome felde, called Mylfeld, where the Scottes shoulde passe. And as the Scottes proudely returned wyth their pray, the Englishemen brake oute, and the Scottes on fote lyke men them defended, but the archers shotte so holy together, that they xl made the Scottes geue place, & .v. or .vj. hundred of them were slayne, and .iiij. hundred and more take prisoners, and the pray reskued beside a great number of geldynges that were taken in the countrey, and the lord Hume, lord Chamberlayne fled, and his banner taken. This was the fyrst open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, whiche call thys iourney the yll Roade.

The Earle of Surrey, beynge at Pompfret, called to hym the moste parte of the Gentelmen of the Counties to hym apoynted as is before reherſed, declaringe to them the Kynges hygh commaundement, shewynge them, that he beynge there the Kynges Lieutenaunt muste nedes haue ayde and counſayll: Wherefore he ſwaare the mooſte wyſeſt and experte gentelmen in ſuche cauſes of the kynges counſayll and hys for that tyme, for the better compaſſynge hys charge and purpoſe, and for too brynge euery thynge in dewe order: Fyrſt they toke a determinacion wyth Syr Philippe Tylney knight, Treaſurer of the warres, howe the charges ſhoulde be payde, and ſecondarely wyth syr Nycholas applyarde, maſter of the ordinaunce, for the conueyaunce of the Kynges Royall ordinaunce, pouder and artillerie to Newcaſtell, and ſo forwarde as the caſe ſhoulde requyer, whyche Syr Nycholas by William Blacknall, clercke of the Kynges ſpyceri, ſent the ſayde ordinaunce and artyllerye to Durham before, ſo that all thynges, concerning that office were in a redynes. The Earle forgatt not to ſende to alll Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, Knyghtes, Gentelmenne, or other whiche had tenauntes, or were rulers of Tounes or liberties (able to make men) to certifye what number of able men horſed and harneſed, they were able to make within an houres warnynge and to geue there attendaunce on hym, and alſo he layed Poſtes euery waye, whyche Poſtes ſtretched to the marches of Wales to the counſayll there, by reaſon whereof, he had knowlege what was done in euerye coſte.

The earle was enformed by the Lorde Dacres, of the numbrynge and preparyng of men in Scotlande, and Proclamacions ſoundynge to the breche of peace, and yet though he conſidered that the Roade made by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande into England, beynge diſtruſſed by Syr William Bulmer, as is afore reherſed, was an open breche of the perpetuall peace: yet theſayde Lorde Dacres auyſed the Earle for many and greate weyghty cauſes, not to reyſe or ſtyrre the powers of the countrey, to hym appoynted tyll he myghte perceyue & openly know the ſubtyle purpoſe and entent of the Scottes aforeſaid, leſt yf the Scottes had perceyued the Engliſhemen redy to fight, they woulde haue deſiſted of theyr purpoſe for that tyme, tyll the Engliſhemen were returned to their countreys, and then ſodaynely to ryſe agayne.

Then the Erle knowynge that the towne of Barwyck was ſtrong ynough, ſent to the Capitayne of Norham, certefienge hym, that yf he thought the Caſtell in anye daungier or debylitie, he woulde put hym ſelfe in a readynes to reſkew it, if it were beſeged, the Capitayn wrote to the Earle, thankynge hym and prayed GOD that the Kynge of Scottes woulde come wyth hys puyſſaunce, for he woulde kepe hym playe tyll the tyme that the kynge of Englande came out of Fraunce to reſkew it, whyche aunſwer reioyſed the Earle muche.

After

After the kyng of Scottes had sent hys defyaunce to the kynge of Englande, lyenge before Tyrwyn, as you haue harde, he dayly made hys musters, and assembled hys people ouer all hys Realme, whereof the brute was that they were twoo hundred thousand, but for a surety they were an hubdred thousand good fightynge men at the lest, & with all hys hoste and power entered into Englande (and threw doune pyles) the.xxij. daye of August, and planted hys siege before the Castell of Norham, and sore abated the walles. The Earle hard tydynges thereof the fyue and twenty day of August, beynge sayncte Bartheleme-
x wes daye.

Then he wrote to all the Gentelmen of the shyres aforesayde, to be wyth hym at Newcastell, the fyrste daye of September next wyth all there retynew accordynge to the certificat. On the morow, he wyth hys fyue hundred menne came to Yorke, and the.xxvj. daye he went toward Newcastell, and not wythstandynge that he had the fowleste daye and nyght that coulde be, and the wayes so depe, in so muche that hys guyde was almoste drouned before hym, yet he neuer ceased, but kept on hys iorney to geue example to them that shoulde folowe. He beynge at Durham was aduertised how the Kynge of Scottes wyth
xx hys greate ordinaunce had rased the walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made thre great Assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitaynes valiauntly defended hym, but he spent vaynely so muche of hys ordinaunce, bowes and arrowes and other municions that at the laste he lacked, and so was at the.vj. daye compelled to yelde hym symplye to the Kynges mercye. Thys castell was thought impregenable, yf it had bene well furnished, but the Scottes by the vndiscrete spendynge of the Capitayne, toke it in sixe dayes: thys chaunce was more sorowful to the Earle then to the Bishoppe owner of thesame. All that nyghte the wynde blewe corragiously, wherfore the earle doubted least,
xxx the Lorde Hawarde hys sonne greate Admyrall of Englande shoulde perishe that nyght on the sea, who promised to lande at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompaynie his father, whych promyse he accomplished.

The Earle harde Masse, and appoynted wyth the Prior for saincte Cutberdes banner, and so that daye beynge the thyrty daye of August he came to Newcastell: thither came the Lorde Dacres, Syr William Bulmer, Syr Marmaducke Constable, and many other substanciall Gentelmen, whome he reteyned wyth hym as counsayllers, and there determined that on Sundaye nexte ensuynge, he shoulde take the
xl feelde at Bolton in Glendale, and because many souldiours were repayrynge to hym, he lefte Newcastell to the entent that they that folowed, shoulde haue there more rome, & came to Alnewyke the thyrde daye of September, and because hys souldiars were not come, by reason of the foule waye he was fayne to tarye there all the four the daye

S. Cutberds banner.

beynge Sundaye, whiche daye came to hym the Lorde Admyrall his sonne, with a compaignye of valyaunt Capitaynes and able souldiars and maryners, whiche all came from the sea, the commynge of hym muche reioyced hys father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of greate credence and experience. Then the Erle and his counsayll, wyth great deliberacion appoynted his battayles in order with wynges and with ryders necessarie.

¶ Fyrste of the forwarde was capitayne the Lorde Hawarde, Admyrall of Englande, with suche as came from the sea, and wyth hym syr Nycholas Applyarde, syr Stephan Bull, syr Henry Shyreburne, syr Wylliam Sydney, syr Edwarde Echyngham, the Lorde Clyfford, the lorde Conyers, the lorde Latymer, the Lorde Strope of Upsale, the lorde Egle, the lorde Lomley, syr William Bulmer with the power of the Bishoprycke of Durham, syr Wylliam Gascoyne, syr Christopher Warde, syr Jhon Eueryngham, syr Thomas Wetham, Syr Water Gryffith, and many other.

¶ Of the wynge on the righte hande of the forwarde, was Capitayne syr Edmonde Hawarde knyght, Marshall of the hoste, and with hym Bryan Tunstall, Raufe Brearton, Jhon Laurence, Rycharde Bolde Esquyers, and syr Jhon Bothe, Syr Thomas Butler knyghtes, Rycharde Donne, Jhon Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Jhon Clarnys, Bryan Stapulton, Robert warcoppe, Rychard Cholmeley, wyth the men of Hull, and the Kynges tenauntes of Hatfelde and other.

¶ Of the wyng of the left hande, was Capitayne syr Marmaduke Constable wyth hys sonnes and kynnesmen, syr William Percy, and of Lancashere, a thousand men.

¶ Of the rerewarde was Capitayne the Earle of Surrey hym selfe, and wyth hym the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, Syr Philippe Tylney, syr George Darce, syr Thomas Barkeley, syr Jhon Rocliffe, syr Christopher Pykerynge, Rycharde Tempest, syr Jhon Stanley wyth the Bysshoppe of Elyes seruauntes, Syr Bryan Stapulton, Lyonell Percy, wyth the Abbot of Whitbyes tenauntes, Christopher Clapham, syr William Gascoing the younger, syr Guy Dawney, Maister Magnus, Mayster Dalbyes seruauntes, syr Jhon Normanuyle, the citizens of Yorke, syr Nynyan Markanuyle, syr Jhon Wylloghby wyth other.

¶ Of the wyng on the tight hande was capitayne the lorde Dacres wyth his power.

¶ On the lefte hande wynge was syr Edwarde Stanley knyght, with the residue of the power of ỳ countye Palantyne & of Lancaster.

¶ And when all men were appoynted and knewe what too do. The earle and hys counsayll concluded & determined emonge other thynges to sende Rouge Crosse, pursiuaunt of armes with a trompet to the

kynge

kynge of Scottes, wyth certayne instruccions, signed by thesayd erle, conteynynge wooꝛde by wooꝛde as folowety.

Fyꝛste where there hath bene suyte made to the kynge of Scottes by Elyzabeth Heron, wyfe to Wylliam Heron of Foꝛde, now pꝛysoner in Scotlande, foꝛ castynge doune of the house oꝛ Castell of Foꝛde, and as thesayde Elizabeth repoꝛteth vppon communicacion had, the sayde kynge hath pꝛomysed and condiscended to thesayde Elizabeth, that yf she any tyme befoꝛe none, the fift daye of September, woulde bꝛynge and deliuer vnto hym the Loꝛde Johnstowne, and Alexander Hume,
x then pꝛysonerꝛs that time in England, he then is contented an agreed that thesayde house oꝛ Castell shall stande wythout castynge doune, bꝛennynge oꝛ spoylynge thesame: Whereunto thesayde Earle is content with that, vppon this condicion, that yf thesayde kynge wyll pꝛomytte the assuraunce of thesayde Castell, in maner and foꝛme afoꝛesayde vnder hys seale, to deliuer thesayde Loꝛde of Jhonstowne and Alexander Hume, immediately vppon thesame assuraunce. And in case thesayde kynge can and wyll be content to delyuer thesayd Heron out of Scotlande, then thesayde Earle shal cause to be deliuered to the sayde kynge the two gentelmen and two other, syꝛ Geoꝛge Hume and
xx Wiliam Carre.

Farther thesayde Earle woll that you Rouge Crosse, shewe the sayde kyng, that where he contrary to his othe and league, and vnnaturally agaynste all reason and conscience, hathe entred and inuaded this hys bꝛothers realme of Englande, and done great hurte to the same, in castynge doune Castelles, Towres, and houses, bꝛenninge, spoylynge and destroiynge of the same, and cruelly murderynge the kynge of Englande hys bꝛothers subiectes. Wheꝛefoꝛe the sayde Earle wyll be readye to tꝛye the rightfulnes of the matter wyth the kynge in batttaill by Frydaye next commynge at the farthest, yf he of
xxx hys noble courage wyll geue hym tarienge, and abode, within this the Kynges Realme so longe tyme: And the same thesayde Earle pꝛomiseth, as he is true knyghte to God and the kynge of England hys Mayster. And befoꝛe Rouge Crosse shoulde departe wyth thesayde instruccions, thesayde Loꝛde Admyꝛall gaue hym in credence too shewe thesayde kynge of hys commynge, and parte of his compaignye on the sea wyth hym: & that he hadde soughte the Scottyshe Nauye, then beynge on the sea, but he coulde not mete with theym, because they were fledde into Fraunce, by the coste of Irelande.

xl And in asmuche as thesayde kynge hadde diuerse and many tymes caused thesayde Loꝛde, too be called at dayes of true, to make redꝛesse foꝛ Andꝛew Barton, a Pirate of the sea, longe befoꝛe that banquyshed by thesame Loꝛde Admyꝛall, he wasnowe come in hys awne pꝛoper persone too be in the Vauntgarde of the felde to Justifye the

deathe of thesayde Andrewe, agaynste hym and all hys people, and woulde se what coulde be layed to hys charge thesayde daye, and that he nor none of hys compaignye shoulde take no Scottshe noble man prysoner, nor any other, but they shoulde dye yf they came in hys daunger, oneles it were the kynges awne persone, for he sayde he trusted to none other curtesye at the handes of the Scottes.

And in thys maner he shoulde fynde hym in the Vauntgarde of the felde by the grace of GOD and sayncte George as he was a trew Knyghte. Yet before the departynge of Rouge Crosse wyth thesayd instruccions and credence, it was thoughte by the Earle and hys counsayll, that thesayde kynge woulde fayne and Imagen some other message, too sende an Heraulde of hys wyth thesame, onely to View, and ouer se the maner and order of the kynges royall armye, ordinaunce, and artillerie, then beynge wyth the Earle, wherby myghte haue ensued greate daungier to thesame, and for exchuynge thereof, he hadde in commaundemente, that yf any such message were sente, not to bryng any person, commynge therewith, within three or two myle of the felde at the nyghest, where thesayde Earle woulde come, and heare what he would saye: And thus departed Rouge Crosse wyth hys trumpet apparayled in his Cote of armes.

On Mondaye the fyfte daye of September, the Earle tooke hys felde at Bolton in Glendall as he had appoyncted, where all the noble men and Gentelmen met wyth their retynewes too the number of six and twenty thousande men, and aboute mydnighte nexte ensuyng, came the trompette, whyche went wyth Ronge Crosse, and declared howe the kynge of Scottes, after the message done to hym by Rouge Crosse accordynge too hys instruccions, thesayde kynge detayned hym, and sent one Jlay a Harauld of hys wyth hym vnto the Earle, to declare too hym thesayde kynges pleasure, too whome the Earle sente Yorke Heraulde at armes, to accompaignye thesayde Jlay, at a Village called Wylo, twoo myles from the felde, vntyll the commyng thether of thesayde Earle the next morow.

The sixte daye of September, early in the morynge, the Earle accompaignied with the mooste parte of the Lordes, Knyghtes and Gentelmen of the felde, euery man hauynge with hym but one man to holde hys horsse, and so thesayde Heraulde met wyth the Earle, and with blunt reuerence declared to him that he was come from hys Master the kyng of Scottes, whyche woulde knowe, whyther the Earle sente anye suche message by Rouge Crosse, the Earle iustified thesame, saynge farther, that Rouge Crosse hadde thesame message of hym in writynge signed wyth hys awne hande, whereunto thesayde Jlay sayde, as touchynge the sauynge from brennynge or destroynge, and castynge doune of the Castell of Forde, for the deliueraunce of thesayd pryseners.

prisoners. The Kynge his Mayster woulde therto make no aunswer. But as too the abydynge for battayll betwene that and Frydaye, then nexte folowynge, the Kyng his Master badde hym shewe to the Earle, that he was as welcome as any noble manne of England vnto thesame kynge, and that yf he had bene at home in his Towne of Edenborough, there receyuyng suche a message from thesayd Erle, he woulde gladlye haue come & fulfylled thesayde Earles desyre: and the Heraulde assured the Earle on the Kynge his Maisters behalfe, that thesame kynge woulde abyde hym battayll at the daye prefixed, whereof thesayde
x Earle was righte ioyous and muche praysed the honourable agremēt of thesayde Royall Kynge and estemed thesame to procede of an hygh and noble courage, promysynge the Heraulde that he and good suerty wyth hym shoulde be bounde in ten thousande pounde sterlynge, too kepe thesayde daye appoynted, so that the kyng woulde synde an earle of his, and thereto a good suerty with him to be bounde in lyke summe, for the performans of thesame: And farthermore the Earle bad the Heraulde for to saye to his maister, that yf he for his parte kept not hys appoyntmente, then he was content, that the Scottes shoulde Baffull hym, which is a great reproche amonge the Scottes, and is vsed when
xx a man is openly periured, and then they make of hym an Image paynted reuersed, with hys heles vpwarde, with hys name, wonderynge, cryenge and blowinge out of hym with hornes, in the moost dispitefull maner they can. In tokē that he is worthy to be exiled the compaignie of all good Creatures.

Then Ilay deliuered too the Earle a littell Cedule, wrytten with the kynges Secretaries hande vnsigned, the tenor wherof foloweth.

CAs to the causes alleged of oure commynge into Englande a- "
gayne oure bande and promyse (as is alleged) thereto we aunswere, "
xxx ower brother was bounde also farre to vs as we to hym. And when "
we sware laste before hys Ambassade, in presence of oure counsayll, we "
expressed specially in oure othe, that we woulde kepe to oure brother, "
yf oure brother kepte to vs, and nat elles, we sweare oure brother "
brake fyrste to vs, and sythe hys breke, we haue requyred dyuerse ty- "
mes hym too amend, and lately we warned oure brother as he dyd not "
vs or he brake, and thys we take for oure quarell, and with Goddes "
grace shall defende thesame at youre affixed tyme, whyche with God- "
des grace we shall abyde. "

And for asmuche as thesayde Kynge kepte styll Rouge Crosse
xl wyth hym, who was not yet returned, thesame Earle caused thesayde Ilay too be in the keppynge of Syr Humfrey Lysle and Yorke Heraulde, in thesame Vyllage, vntyll the tyme that a seruaunte of thesayde Ilay myghte ryde in all haste too the Royall Kynge of

Scottes,for the deliueryng of thesayde Rouge Crosse. Then the erle Joyous of the kynges aunswer,returned to hys campe, & set forward fyue myle,too a place called Woller Hawgh,in suche order of battayll, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that nighte, three littell myles from the kynge of Scottes,and betwene the kynge and hym was a goodly and large corne felde, called Mylfelde whyche was a conuenient and fayre grounde for twoo hostes to fight on,there euery hoste myghte perceyue other.

The morowe beynge Wednesdaye, the.viij.daye of that moneth, the kynge of Scottes caused hys greate ordinaunce too be shotte at the Englishe armye, but it hurte neither man nor beaste. When the kynge of Scottes sawe that Jlay was deteyned,he sent away Rouge Crosse to the Erle,by whome,and other of the borders he was aduertised that the kynge laye vppon the syde of a hyghe mountayne, called Floddon on the edge of Cheuyot, where was but one narowe felde for any manne to ascende vp thesayde hyll to hym, and at the foote of the hyll laye all hys ordinaunce. On the one syde of hys armye was a greate Marrishe, and compassed wyth the hylles of Cheuyot, so that he laye to stronge too be approched of any syde:excepte the Englishemen woulde haue temeariously ronne on hys ordinaunce, whiche matter well considered by the Earle and hys sonne, and other of the counsayll there, they called too theim Rouge Crosse, and sent hym the nexte daye to the kynge of Scottes, willinge hym too shewe the kynge, that the sayde Earle, with dyuerse of the kynges nobles and subiectes hadde auaunced them selfes too geue battayll to hys grace, trustynge that accordinge too his promise, he woulde auaunce hym selfe and hys armye to ioyne the battayll, whyche as yet he hath not done. Wherefore he desyred the kynge that he myghte haue knowlege by noone that daye, whether he of hys noble courage would discende the hyll, where he laye and too geue battayll or not:and yf he saye that Jshal not knowe his entent,or wyll saye,that he will kepe the ground: then shewe hym that he perceyueth well that that place is no indifferent grounde for twoo armyes too fighte, and therefor Jwill looke for no mo of his delayes. The same daye beynge oure Ladye day the Natiuite Rouge Crosse departed to the kynge of Scottes, whyche woulde not heare hym speke,but sente one of hys seruitours to heare his message:Whiche seruitour after he hadde disclosed the same to the kynge,made aunswer,that it besemed not an Earle, after that maner to handle a kynge,and that he woulde vse no sorcery,nor had no truste of any grounde:

You haue harde before, howe Jlay the Scottishe Heraulde was returned for Rouge Crosse, and as sone as Rouge Crosse was returned,he was discharged, but he taryed with Yorke an Englishe Heraulde makynge good chere, and was not returned that mornynge that

Rouge

Rouge Crosse came on hys message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and hys Trompet were detayned by the seruante of Jlay, whyche the daye before went for Rouge Crosse, assurynge them that yf Jlaye came not home before none, that he was not liuynge, and then they shoulde haue their heddes stryken of, then Rouge Crosse offered that hys seruaunte shoulde goe for Jlay, but it woulde not be ex-
cepted, but as happe was, Jlay came home before none, and shewed of hys gentell enterteynynge, and then Rouge Crosse was deliue-
red, and came to the Englishe armye, and made reporte as you haue
x heard.

Then the Englishemen remoued their felde on the water of Tyll, and so forthe ouer many hylles and streytes, marchynge towarde the Scottes on another syde, and in their sight the Scottes burned cer-
tayne poore Uyllages on the other syde of the Marishe.

The Englishemen, alwayes leauynge the Scottishe armye on the left hande, toke their felde vnder a wood syde, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, & betwene the two armyes was the Ry-
uer of Tyll, & there was a littell hyll that saued the Englishemen from the gonne shotte, on which hyll the lorde Admyrall perfightly saw and
xx discouered them all.

In the euenynge of thesame daye it was concluded betwene the Earle and hys counsayll, and moste parte of the armye thereto agreed, that the Uauntgarde with the ordinaunce shoulde passe ouer agayne the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twysell bridge the.ix. daye of September, and the rerewarde to passe ouer at Mylforde, pnttynge theym selfes as nye as they coulde betwene the Scottes and Scot-
lande, and so to geue battayll to the Scottes on the hyll, called Flod-
don hyll. Frydaye the sayde nynth daye, the Lorde Admyrall, lyke a valiaunte Knyghte, passed ouer Twysell brydge wyth the Uant-
xxx garde, marchynge towarde hys enemyes, lyke diligence was made by the Earle for passynge ouer at Mylforde wyth the rerewarde, saiynge to hys Cappytaines, now good fellowes, do lyke Englishe-
men this daye, take my parte lyke men, whyche parte is the Kynges parte, and I wyste you woulde not, I wyll in my awne person fighte with the Kynge of Scottes, rather to dye honourablye by his cruel-
tye, then to lyue in shame, or that any reprosche shoulde be layed to me hereafter.

To whome they aunswered, that they woulde serue the Kynge and him truely that daye. The Englishe armye that daye hadde no bitayle
xl and were fastynge, and two dayes afore they had onely dronke water, and coulde scace get anye other sustenaunce for money, and yet they kept array on horsebacke from fyue of the clocke in the mornynge tyll foure of the clocke at after none, and were alwayes in the sighte of the

Scottes

Scottes.

The kynge of Scottes perceyuinge the Englishemen, marchinge towarde Scotlande, thought that they woulde haue entered into Scotlande, and burne and forray the plentifull countray, called the Marche, for so was he made beleue by an Englisheman named Gyles Musgraue whyche was familiar wyth the kyng of Scottes, and dyd it for a pollecie to cause hym to come doune from the hyll: Wherefore the sayde kynge caused hys tentes to be remoued to an other hyll in grate haste, least the Englishemen shoulde haue taken thesame hyll: And at theyr departynge they sette fyer on theyr litter and other fylthye ordure, accordynge to theyr custome, and of the fyer and smolder dyd ryse suche a smooke so thicke and so darke, that the one host coulde not perceyue the other, for the wynde dyd dryue the smoke betwene the twoo armyes, the Scottes euer keppynge the heyght of the hyll on the edge of the cheuyot, and the Englishemen passed forward styll in the lowe grounde, and euer in the couert of the smoke, in so muche that bothe the hostes were very nere together, within the space of a quarter of a myle, before one of them coulde perceyue another for the smoke. Then, when the Englishemen had passed a lyttell brooke, called Sandyfforde, whyche is but a mans step ouer, and that the smoke was passed, and the Ayre fayre and cleare, eche army myghte playnly see one an other at hande. Then the Lorde Admyrall perceyued foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote wyth longe speres lyke mooryshe pykes: whyche Scottes furnished them warlike, and bent theim to the forwarde, whyche was conducted by the Lorde Admirall, whyche perceyuynge that, sent to hys Father the Earle of Surrey hys *Agnus dei* that honge at hys breste that in all haste he would ioyne battayll, euen wyth the bront or breste of the vantgarde: for the forward alone was not able to encountre the whole battayll of the Scottes, the Earle perceyuynge well the saiynge of hys sonne, and seynge the Scottes ready to discende the hyll auaunsed hym selfe and hys people forwarde, and brought theym egall in grounde wyth the forwarde on the left hande, euen at the bront or breste of thesame at the foote of the hyll called Bramston, the Englishe army stretched East and West, and their backes Northe, and the Scottes in the Southe before theim on the forsayde hyll called Bramston.

Then oute brast the ordinaunce on bothe sydes wyth fyre flamme & hydeous noyse, and the Master gonner of the Englishe parte slew the Master gonner of Scotlande, and bet all hys men from their ordinaunce, so that the Scottishe ordynaunce dyd no harme too the Englishemen, but the Englishemens Artyllerie shotte into the myddes of the kynges battayll, and slewe many persones, which seynge the kyng of Scottes and hys noble men, made the more haste too come too ioynynge, and so all the foure battayles in maner discended the hyll at once.

once. And after that the shotte was done, whiche they defended wyth Pauishes, thei came to handestrokes, and were encontred seuerally as you shall here.

Fyrste on the Englyshe syde next the West, was Syr Edmonde Hawarde knyghte, Marshall of the hoste chief Capitayne of a wynge on the ryghte hande of oure vantgarde, and was encountryd wyth the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth hys battayle of sperys on foote, to the number of ten thousande at the leaste, whiche foughte valiauntly, so that they by force caused the litle wynge to flye, and thesame Syr i. Edmonde thre tymes felled to the grounde, and left alone, sauynge his standarde berar, and twoo of hys seruauntes, to whome came Jhon Heron bastarde sore hurte, saiynge there was neuer noble mans sone so lyke too be loste as you be thys daye, for all my hurtes I shall here lyue ande dye wyth you, and there thesayde Syr Edmonde Hawarde was in agreat daunger and ieopardy of hys lyfe, and hardelye escaped, and yet as he was goynge to the bodye of the Vantgarde he met with Dauy Home, and slew hym hys awne hande, and so came to the Vantgard.

Secondely, Eastwarde from the sayde battayle was the Lorde ij. Admyrall wyth the Vantgarde, wyth whome encountred the Earles of Crasforde and Montroos, accompaygned, wyth many Lordes, Knyghtes, and Gentelmen, all wyth sperys on foote, but the Lorde Admyrall and hys compaignie acquyted themselfes so well, and that with pure fightyng, that thei brought to grounde a great number, and both the Earles slayne.

Thirdely, Eastwarde from the Lorde Admyrall was the Earle of iij. Surrey, Capitayne generall, to whose standarde the kynge of Scottes in hys awne person marched, beynge accompaygned wyth many Bishoppes, Earles, Barons, Knyghtes and Gentelmen of the Realme with a great number of commons, all chosen men with speres on foote, whiche were the most assuredlyest harneshed that hath bene sene, & that the tallest and goodlyest personages with all, and they abode the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noyed, and yet except it hit them in some bare place it dyd them no hurt. After the shotte endyd, the battayll was cruell, none spared other, and the kynge hym selfe foughte valiauntly. O what a noble and triumphant courage was thys for a kynge to fyghte in a battayl as a meane souldier: But what auayled hys stronge harnes, the puyssaunce of hys myghtye champions wyth whome he descended the hyll, in whome he so muche trusted that wyth hys stronge people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue banquished that day the greatest Pryncе of the world, if he had ben there as the erle of Surrey was, or els he thought to do such an hygh enterprice hym selfe in his person, that shoulde surmount the enterprises of all other princes: but how soeuer it happened

God

God gaue the stroke, and he was no more regarded then a poore souldier, for al went one waye. So that of his owne battaill none escaped, but Syr William Scot knight his chauncelour, and Syr Jhon forman knight, his seriaunt Porter, whiche were taken prisoners, and wyth great difficultie saued. This may be a great myrror to al prynces, how that they aduenter them selfes in such a battaill.

Forthly, Eastwarde was Syr Edwarde Stanley knight, capitayn of the left wynge wyth the sayde earle, whyche clame vp to the toppe of the hyll called Bramston, or the Scottes wyste, and wyth hym encõtred the earles of Huntley, Lennour and Argile, with a great number of Scottes whyche were sore fought wyth all, whyche perceyuing the earle of Huntley toke a horse and saued hym selfe, yf he had taryed he had bene lykely to haue gone wyth hys compaignie: suche as fled, the sayde Syr Edwarde and his people folowed them ouer thesame grounde, where the Earles battell firste ioyned, and founde ther the Scottes, whyche were by the Earles battaill slayne before, & sodainly left the chase and fell a spoyling, and spoyled the kynge of Scottes, and many that were slayne in his battaill, but they knew him not, & founde a Crosse and certayn thynges of hys, by reason wherof some saide that he was slayne by that wyng, whyche coulde not be true, for the prisoners of Scotland testified that the kynges battayll fought onely with the Earles battels, but for a truthe this wynge dyd very valiauntly: wherfore it was thought that the sayd syr Edwarde myght that daye not haue bene missed.

All these.iiij.battels, in maner fought at one tyme, and were determined in effect, littell in distance of the beginnyng and endynge of any of them one before the other, sauyng that syr Edward Stanley, which was the last that fought, for he came vp to the toppe of the hyll, & there fought with the Scottes valiauntly, and chaced them doune the hyll ouer that place, where the kynges battaill ioyned. Besyde these.iiij. battayles of the Scottes were twoo other battayls, whyche neuer came to hande strokes.

Thus through the power of God on Fridaye, beyng the.ix.daye of September, in the yere of our Lorde.M.D.xiij.was James the.iiij. kyng of Scottes slayn at Bramstone (chiefly by the power of the earle of Surrey, lieutenaunt for kynge Henry the.viij.kynge of Englande, whyche then lay at the sege before Tornay) and wyth thesayde kynge were slayne.

The Archebishop of saynct Androwes, the kynges bastard sonne.
The bishop of the Iles.
The Abbot of Inchaffrey.
The Abbot of Kylwenny.

Erles.

Therle Mountroos.
Therle of Crafford.
Therle of Arguyle.
Therle of Lennour.
Therle of Glencarre.
Therle of Katnes.
Therle of Castelles.

The

The erle of Bothwell.
The erle Arrell Constable of Scotlande.
The erle Addill.
The erle Athell.
The Erle Woxton.

Lordes.

x The Lord Louet.
The Lord Foxbos.
The lord Lord Eluestone.
The lord Roos.
The lord Inderby.
The lord Sentclere.
The lord Maxwell, and hys.iiij.brethren.
The lord Daunley.
The lord Seympill.
The lord Boxthyck.
The lord Bogony.
The lord Arskyll.
The lord Blakkater.
The lord Cowyn.

Knyghtes and gentlemen.

Sir Jhon Dowglasse.
Cutbert Home lord of Fastcastel.
Sir Alexander Seton.
Sir Dauy Home.
Waylter Jhon Graunt.
xx Sir Dunkin Caufelde.
Sir Saunder Lowder.
Sir George Lowder.
Waylter Marshall.
Waylter Keye.
Waylter Ellot.
Waylter Cawel Clerck of the chauncery.
The Deane of Ellester.
Wack, Kene.
Wack, Clene, and manye other gentlemen, whiche be vnknowen, because no officer of armes of Scotlande woulde come to make serche for them, and yf the daye had bene lenger by thre houres (for it was foure of the clocke at after none, or the battayles ioyned) or that the the Englashemen had had bitayles, so that they myght haue bydden styll together, they had not alonelye made the greatest dystresse of Scottes by death, and takynge, that the lyke hath not bene sene in one daye: but also wythin a litle while might
xxx haue put the Realme of Scotlande in suche a misery and trouble, that for euer they shoulde haue bene ware how to enter the Realme of Englande, and specially the kynge, beynge absente: for the Englyshemen wanted no good wyll, for of the Scottes they slewe twelfe thousande at the leaste of the beste Gentlemen and flower of Scotlande, and of the Englysh syde were slayne and taken not.xb.C.men, as it appered by the boke of wages when the souldiours were payed. Thus the erle of Surrey accomplyshed the promyse at hys daye prefyxed wyth the kinge of Scottes to hys great fame and honour.

xl After that the felde was foughte and the Scottes fled many Englyshemen folowed them into Scotlande, and were so farre that they wiste not whiche waye to returne and so were taken prysoners of the Scottes that were in the.ij. battailes that fled first and neuer fought. Also dyuerse were taken by the Lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande,

whiche fought with the wyng of Sir Edmond Haward, and were caried wyth hym to the nomber of syxtye. Of the Scottes that fledde, some passed ouer the water of Twede at Caudestreme Foorde, and other by the dyke Marches, durynge the tyme of the fyghte, and the nyghte after manye menne loste their horsses and suche stoffe as they lefte in their tentes and pauilions by the robbars of Tindale and Tiuidale.

The Lorde Dacre wyth hys company stode styl all daye vnfoughten with all. When the felde was done & the skoute watche broughte woorde, that there was no more apperaunce of the Scottes, but all were returned. The Earle thanked God wyth humble harte, and called to hym certaine Lordes and other gentlemen & them made knightes, as Sir Edmonde Haward his sonne and the Lorde Scrope, Sir William Percy and manye other. Then the Earle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wodde and appointcted Sir Philippe Tylney knighte with the compaignye of the Lorde Admirall and the compaignie of the Lorde Scrope of bolton, the Lorde Latymer, olde Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir William Percy, Sir Nicholas Applyard, and their compaignies, and a fewe other to kepe the place where the felde was for sauynge of the Englyshe ordinaunce, and the ordynaunce that was taken from the Scottes, whiche was fyue great Curtalles, twoo great Culuerynges, foure Sacres, and syxe Serpẽtynes as fayre ordinaunces hathe bene beside other small peces. Wel knowen it was by thẽ that fought, and also reported by the prysoners of Scotlande, that their kynge was taken or slayne, but hys bodye was not founde tyll the nexte daye, because al the meane people aswell Scottes as Englysh were strypped out of their apparell as they laye at the felde, yet at the laste he was founde by the Lorde Dacres, who who knewe hym well by hys pryuye tookens in that same place, where the battayle of the Earle of Surrey and hys, fyrste ioyned together.

Thys kynge had diuerse deadelye woundes, and in especyall one wyth an Arowe, and an another wyth a byll as apered when he was naked. After that the bodye of the kinge of Scottes was fownde and broughte too Barwicke, the Earle shewed it too Sir William Scot hys Chauncellor, and Sir Jhon Forman hys seriante porter, whyche knewe hym at the fyrste syghte, and made greate lamentacyon. Then was the bodye bowelled, enbawmed, and cered, and secretelye amongest other stuffe conueyed to Newcastell, but thesame daye the Lorde Admirall came to the felde and there some Scottes apered on an hyll: but William Blackenall whyche was the chyeffe doar and ruler of all the ordynaunce shott suche a peale, that the Scottes fledde, or elles the Lorde Admirall had bene in greate ieopardye: and then all the ordinaunce was broughte in sauetye to the Castell of Citel and there remayned for a tyme. After thys noble victorye the Earle

wrote

wrote fyrste to the Quene whyche had rayſed a greate power to reſiſte the ſayde kinge of Scottes, of the wynnynge of the battaylle, for then the bodie of the kynge of Scottes was not fownde, and ſhe yet beynge at the towne of Buckingham had wonde the next daye after that the kynge of Scottes was ſlayne and a parte of hys coate armure to her ſente, for whiche byctorye ſhe thanked GOD, and ſo the Earle after that the Northe parte was ſett in a quyetnes, returned to the Quene wyth the deade bodye of the Scottyſche king and brought it to Richemonde.

x Nowe lette vs returne too the kynge of Englande lyenge before Tournay, whyche the .xxv. daye of September receyued the gauntelett and letters of the Earle of Surrey, and knewe all the dealynge of bothe parties. Then he thanked GOD and hyghlye prayſed the Earle and the Lorde Admirall and his ſonne, and al the gentlemenne and commons that were at that valiaunte enterprice: Howe beit, the kynge had a ſecrete letter that the Cheſhire men fledde from Sir Edmond Hawarde, whyche letter cauſed greate harte burning and manye woordes, but the kyng thankefully accepted al thynge, and would no man to be diſprayſed. So, on the Mondaye at nyght the.xxvi. daye
xx of September, the Lorde Harbart and ỹ Earle of Shrewſbury made greate fyers in their armies in tooken of byctory and triumphe: and on Teuſdaye the.xxvij. daye the tente of cloth of gold was ſet vp: and the kynges Chapell ſange maſſe, and after that *Te Deum*, and then the Byſhoppe of Rocheſter made a Sermonde and ſhewed the deathe of the kynge of Scottes, and muche lamented the yll deathe and periury of him.

The kynge of Englande lyenge thus before Tournay, cauſed hys greate ordinaunce to be planted rounde aboute the Cytye and diuerſe trenches were caſte and rampiers made and the Lorde Liſle, and the
xxx Lorde Wyloughby were appoyncted to mayntayne the ordinaunce, wyth their bendes, and the Earle of Kente was lodged before the gate called port Valencien, ſo that the Cytezens coulde not yſſue oute, nor no ayde coulde come in. The ordynaunce dayly bet the gates, towers and walles, whyche made a greate batterye: and a fewe Englyſhemen aſſaulted the port Coquerell, but they were to fewe in nomber, and yf they had bene more in nomber, they had taken the toune as the Tournoſyns confeſſed after. The Citezens of Tournay conſyderynge their eſtate, came together to counſayll, and there the Prouoſte ſayde, frendes and brethren of thys noble Citie, I cannot to muche prayſe youre
xl true th and fidelitie to youre Soureygne Lorde the kyng of Fraunce, conſyderynge how manfully you haue defended this citie ſythe the begynnynge of thys ſiege, but alas allthoughe it be wryten on the gates grauen in ſtone *Iammes ton ne a perdeu ton pucellage*, that is to ſaye, thou haſt neuer loſte thy maydenhed: yet yf this citye hadde not bene well furnyſhed, and euer at the daye appoyncted ſure of reſkewe, it coulde not

haue continued: nowe you se that reskewe fayleth, our gates be raled, our towres betyn downe, our chiefe tower lyke to fall, so that yf thys perilous siege continue, or elles yf our enemies assaute vs, we be not able to defende vs: wherefore nowe, all these thynges consydered, I woulde knowe whyther you wyll treate wyth the kynge of Englande or abide the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsayll cried war, warre, nowe cryed peace peace, yet al were not agreed: then one wyseman saide: Sirs yf the towne bee assawted once agayne with a greate nomber suerlye it will be taken: you sawe the experience at the laste assaute, and then consyder yf it bee taken by force, who is there that can saye, he is sure of his life: But by entretie, the kinge of Englande is so merciful, that we maye fortune to saue bothe lyfe and goodes. Then finally al agreed to treate. Then the Prouost sent to the kinge a trõpet desirynge a saufeconduyte for hym, and certayne other to come and to speake with hym, whyche requeste was to hym graunted. Then the Prouost of the citie accompanied with eleuen wyth hym of the beste of the citie came to the armye and spake with the lordes of the counsayll and after were broughte to the kynges presence, the Prouoste kneled doune and all hys compaginy and sayde: Ryght hyghe and myghtye Prynce, althoughe the Citie of Tournay is stronge, well walled, well xx replenished with people, vitayles, artilerye, yea and the people in feare and dreade of nothinge, yet we knowe that againste youre great puissaunce yt cannot continue long, although it were ten times as stronge as it is, wherefore we knowynge by reporte, youre honoure, your wysedome, youre iustice, and noble harte, are contente to become youre subiectes and vassalles, so that we maye haue and enioye oure olde lawes, customes, lyberties, and Franchesses, vnder you as we haue before thys done vnder other Princes. Then the kynge aunswered, we haue well hearde youre peticion, we will common wyth our counsayll and make you aunswere, and when he had communed wyth his coun- xxix sayll, he aunswered sayenge: Syrs, he that asketh mercye of vs, shall not be denied, seinge you come to treate, we remitte you to oure counsayll. Then they wente into the tente of counsayll, and ther the Tournasyns fell at a poyncte, and in conclusion, they yelded the Cytye and tenne thousande pounde Sterlynge for the redempcyon of theyr lyberties, and so departed to the citie, makynge relacyon of the kynge, and hys noble corage. On Thursdaye the.xxix.daye of September, the kynge was in hys ryche tente of clothe of golde vnder hys clothe of estate, to whome came the Citezens of the Citie and were sworne to him and became his subiectes. Then the kynge appoynted the lord xxx Lysle, the Lorde of Burgayny, & the Lord Willoughby to take possession, whiche wyth syxe thousande men entered the citie and toke the market place and the walles, and searched the howses for feare of treason, and then Mayster Thomas Wolsey the kynges Almoner called before hym all the Citizens younge and olde and sware them to the

king

kynge of Englande, the nomber whereof was foure skore thousande. Thus the kynge of Englande by conquest came to the possession of the citie of Tournay: on Sondaye the. ij. daye of October the kinge entered the citie of Tournay at porte Fountayn, and. iiij. of the chiefe of the citie ouer him bare a cannapye wyth all the armes of Englande, euery person was in hys beste apparell, the Ladies and Gentlewomen laye in the wyndowes beholdinge the kinge and his nobilitie, euerye Citezen had in his hande a staf torche, the kynge hym selfe was richelye appereilled in ryche armure on a barded courser, his henxmen bearynge
p his peces of warre, as axe, spere and other, their coursers were barded with the armes of Englande, Fraunce, Irelande, and other the kinges dominions all of ryche embrawdery, thus the kinge with his nobilitie al rychely apparelled with his swerde borne before him, his herauldes and seriantes of armes with trumpettes and mynstrelsy entered the citie and came to oure Ladye Churche, and there *Te Deum* was songe. Then the kinge called to his presence, Edwarde Guldeforde, William Fitzwilliam, Jhon Dauncye, William Tiler, Jhon Sharpe, William Huse, Jhon Sauage, Christopher Garnische, and diuerse other valiant esquiers, and gaue to them the order of knighthode, and then went to
pp his lodgynge, & at after none he came to the market place, where was prepared for him a place: then he caused a proclamacion to bee made in his name king of England and of Fraunce, that no man shoulde greue the citizens, during which proclamacion the Turnesins scace loked vp nor shewed once to him any amiable contenaūce which was much marked, the Cry finished, the king departed to hys campe leuynge the citie in safe keppynge. This weke the kinge rode to see the castel of Morton, & there his grace toke great pleasur. The king remembring the great chere that the prince of Castel and the lady Margarete had made him at Lisle which was but. xij. myle English from Tornay, desired the said
ppp prince and lady wyth diuerse other to come to him to his citie of Tornay, and made preparacion for the same, and appointed a iustes wherof he him selfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the Market place. While these thinges were preparyng, the king and his counsayll ordered for the sure keping of the citie of Tornay, and there ordeyned Sir Edward Pownynges knight of the order of the gartier to be his Lieu tenaunt with. iiij. C. archers, with capitaynes horsemen and artilerie conuenient, and to haue aide of Henawde and other the kynges frendes adioyning, and of his garde he left there. iiij. C. archers, & ordinaūce was appointed for the defence of the same. Monday y. xj. day
q of October the king wythout the toune receiued the prince of castel, y lady Margaret and diuerse other nobles of their countreyes and thē brought into Tornay with great triumphe. The noyse wente that the lord Lisle made request of mariage to the lady Margarete duches of Sauoy and doughter to Themperour Maximilian, which before that tyme was departed from the kyng wyth many rich gyftes and money

borowed, but whether he profered mariage or not she fauored him highly: there the prince and duches soiorned with great solace by the space
A Justes. of.x. dayes. During whiche time, the.xviij. daye of October, began the iustes, the king and the lord Lisle aunswered all commers: vppon the king attended.xxiiij. knightes on foote in cootes of purple veluet and cloth of golde. A tent of cloth of gold was set in the place for the armorie and releue, the king had a base and a trapper of purple veluet bothe set ful of.S.S. of fyne bullion, and the lord Lisle in the same suyt, ther were many speres broken and many a good buffet geuen, the strãgers as the lord Walon and the lord Emery and other dyd right well. Whẽ the iustes were done, the king and al the other vnhelmed them & rode about the Tilt and did great reuerence to the ladies, and then the heraulides cried to lodginge.

This nyght the kinge made a sumpteous banket of a. C. dyshes to the prince of Castell and the lady Margarete & to all other lordes and ladies, & after the banket, the ladies daunsed, and then came in the king & a.xi. in a maske, al richely appareled with bonettes of golde, & when they had passed the tyme at their pleasure, the garmentes of the maske were cast of amongest the ladies, take who coulde take.

The.xx. daye of October, the Prince of Castel and the ladye Margarete with many great giftes to them geuen returned to Lile wyth al their trayne. After that the king was enformed that all direccyons wer taken & euery thing put in an order for the sure keping of the citie of Tornay, he toke thesame to sir Edward Powninges knight, which valiantly kept it in good order and iustice. xx

The king & his counsail before this had considered that the Frẽchmen would geue them no battail, & that winter approched, which was no time to lie at siege of other townes, concluded to kepe Tournay sauely, & to breake vp their campe for that winter, & to begin again war in the spring of the yere: this was a full conclusion taken by the kynge and his counsayll, and so the kinge and al hys people (excepte suche as were appoincted to be with sir Edward Powninges) departed out of Tournay the.xx. daye of September: and the king and the noble men made such spede, that shortly they came to Caleys, and thyther came the Lorde Admirall whome the king hartely thanked of hys paynes and there euery man was paied of his wages and conduit money, and shippes prepared for the passage, and so the.xxiiij. day of Septẽber the kyng with a priuy cõpany toke shippe & thesame day landed at Douer and shortly after all his people folowed, then he with a small companye rode to Richemond in post to the quene, where was such a louinge metyng, that euery creature reioised. This season began a great mortalite in London and other places wher much people died: Al this winter the kynges nauy kept the seas and robbed and spoyled the Frenchmẽ on their costes. xxi xxii xxiii

When the kynge was thus returned, he forgat not the good seruice

that

that many a gentleman dyd at the battayll at Bramston, wherefore he wrote to them hys louinge letters wyth suche thankes and fauorable wordes that euerye man thought him selfe wel rewarded. And on the day of the purificacion of our Lady at Lambeth the kynge created the Earle of Surrey duke of Norffolke with an augmentacion of the armes of Scotlande, and Sir Charles Brandon Vicont Lisle, he created duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Haward high Admiral he created Earle of Surrey, and Sir Charles Somerset lord Harbert, his chief Chamberlayne he created Earle of Worcester: and after that at another daye he made Sir Edwarde Stanley for his good seruice, lorde Montaygle, and in a march folowynge was maister Thomas Wolsey the kinges almoner consecrate bishop of Lincolne, whiche therto was named on Newers daye before: This man was borne at Ypswyche and was a good Philosopher, verye eloquente and full of wytte, but for pride, couetous, and ambicion, he excelled al other as you shall hear after.

The discripcion of Thomas Wolsy, which afterwarde was made Cardinall.

In the tyme of kinge Henry the seuenth father to kynge Henrye the eighte it was concluded betwene the sayde kinge, and kinge Phylippe of Castel sonne to Maximilian the Emperour and kynge of Castell and hys wife, that Charles his eldest sonne shoulde marye the ladye Mary doughter to the kynge of Englande wyth a dowrye to her appoyncted, at whiche tyme they were bothe younge: Nowe at the kinges retourne from Tournay he made a preparacion too sende the sayde Ladye his sister to the Prince of Castel. But the counsayll of Flaunders aunswered that concerninge her selfe they would gladdly receyue to be espowsed to their Prynce, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladyes of the worlde: but as concerninge the artycles of her dowar, they coulde not fulfill wythout thassente of the kynge of Arragon and the realme of Castell (whyche was sayde, mynded to haue hym maryed in Spayne.) The kynge lyke a louynge brother woulde not sende his syster wyldely wythoute a dowar assured, toke the firste agremente betwene the kynge her father and kynge Philippe hys father to bee of none effecte, sythe the Spaniardes would not conferme the same, and the cause was, by reason that kinge Phylyppe was not naturallye borne to bee theyr kynge, but was kynge in the ryghte of hys wyfe, and so they were not bounde too hys agreementes made wythoute their consente. So thus the kynge of Englande reteyned stil hys syster and all the preparacyon that he hadde done for her conueyaunce, whiche was very costlye.

This season the lady Margaret quene of Scottes late wife to king James the.iiij. slayne at Bramton, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the kynge to haue compassion of her and his two Nephewes her sonnes, for she was in feare lest he woulde haue inuaded her realme. The king moued wt brotherly cõpassion, sent her word, that yf the Scottes kept peace he would kepe peace, yf they woulde haue war he wold likewise

haue war, & so with that answere the messenger departed. In ỹ spring tyme of the yere the kyng wrote hys letters to all noble men and gentlemen that he woulde shortly passe agayne into Fraunce in hys owne person, wherfore euery man prepared him self mete for that iornay: the Flemminges hearing therof, made puruiaunce for wagons, vitayl and other thynges, whiche turned them to great losse for that viage brake of, as you shall heare.

All this season Sir Richard Whethil and sir Jhon Tremayle kept so Thenglishe pale that the Frenchmen durst not medyll, and yet they spoyled to base Bollen.

Before this tyme the tounes about London as Islyngton, Horstō Shordych and other, had so enclosed the comon feldes with hedges & diches, that nother the young men of the citie myght shote, nor the aūcient persons might walke for their pleasur in the feldes, except either the bowes and arrowes were broken or taken away, or the honest and substancial persons arrested or indited, saieng that no Londoner shuld go out of the citie but in the hygh wayes. Thys sayeng sore greued the Londeners, and sodainly this yere a great nōber of the citie assembled teem selfes in a morninge, and a turnar in a fooles coote came cryenge through the cytye, shouels and spades, and so manye people folowed ỹ it was wonder, and within a short space all the hedges about the townes were cast doune, and the diches filled, and euery thyng made plain the workemen were so diligent. The kinges counsayll hearyng of this assembly came to ỹ Gray Friers, & sent for the mayre and the counsail of the cytye to knowe the cause, whiche declared to them the noysance done to the Citezens, and their commodities & liberties taken frō them though they would not yet the commonaltie and younge persones, whyche were dampnefyed by the noisaunce would pluck vp & remedy thesame. And when the kinges counsayll had harde the aunswer, they dissimuled the matter, and commaunded the mayer to se that no other thynge were attempted, and to call home the citezēs, which when they had done their enterprice, came home before the kynges counsayll and the Mayre departed without any harme more doing, and so after, the feldes were neuer hedged.

¶ The.vi.yere.

The .vi. yere

IN the moneth of Maye the kyng and the newe Duke of Suffolke wer defenders at the Tilt against al commers the kynge was in a scopelary mantel and hat of clothe of siluer & like a whit hermite, and the duke appareled like a black hermite al of black veluet, both their berdes wer of Damaske siluer, & whē they had ridden about the Tilt & shewed them seles to the quene, then they threw of their apparel & sent it to the ladies for a larges, then was the king in black, and the Duke in whit with black staues, on the staues was wrytten with whit letters:

who

who can hold that wyl away: thys poyse was iudged to be made for the Duke of Suffolke and the Duches of Sauoy, at these iustes were the duke of Longeuyle and the Lorde Cleremond, and there the kinge and the Duke dyd so valiantly that they obteyned the price, at these iustes wer broken. C. xiiij. speres in a short season.

The kinge at this season sent agayne into Flaunders for the performaunce of the mariage of the younge Prince of Castell and the fayre Ladye Mary his sister, and shewed howe he had prepared al thynges necessarie and conueniēt for suche an high estate. The counsail of Flaū-
x ders aunswered that they woulde not receiue her that yere, with many subtill argumentes, by reason wherof the perfite loue betwene Englande, and the low countreys was much slaked.

The .xix. day of May was receyued into London a Capp of maintenaunce and a swerde sent from Pope July, with a great compaigny of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the kyng on ỹ Sondaye then nexte ensuynge wyth great solempnitie in the Cathedrall Churche of sainct Paule. About this time, the warres yet contynuing betwene Englande and Fraunce, prior Jhon (of whom you haue hard before in the fourth yere) great capitayne of the Frenche naūye, wyth
xi his Galeyes and Foystes charged wyth greate basylyskes and other greate artillerie came on the border of Sussex, and came a lande in the night at a poore village in Sussex called Bright Helmston, and or the watche coulde him escrye he sett fier in the toune and tooke such poore goodes as he founde: then the watche fiered the bekins, and people began together, whiche seinge Prior Jhon Sowned his trompet to call his men aborde, and by that tyme it was day: then syx archers whiche kepte the watche folowed Prior Jhon to the sea and shott so faste, that they bet the galymen from the shore and Prior Jhon hym selfe waded
xxx to his Foyst, and the Englishe men went into the water after, but they were put backe wyth pickes or ells they had entered the foyst, but they shott so fast, that they wounded many in the foist, and Prior Jhon was shott in the face with an Arrow, and was likely to haue died, and therfore he offered his image of wax before our Lady at Bolleyn with the English arrow in the face for a myracle. The Capp of maintenaūce

When the lorde Admirall of Englande had hearde these newes he was not content and sent sir Jhon Wallop to the sea incontinent wyth diuerse English shippes, which sayled to the cost of Normandy & there landed and brent. xxj. villages & tounes with great slaughter of peo-
xl ple, & brent shippes and boates in the hauens of Treaport, stapels and in euery place. This sir Jhon Wallopp quit hym selfe so, that men marueled of his entrepryses, considerynge he had at the most but. viij. C. mē, and toke lande there so often.

In the moneth of June the lord Powntremy that was capitayn of Tyrwyn with banner displayed and greate ordinaunce, with a greate army came into Picardy nere to Arde. Sir Nicholas Uaux captain of

Guysnes

Guyſues conſidering that ỹ Frenchmen had ſuch ordinaunce, thought that they would haue beſieged Guiſnes, and wrote therof to the king, which incontinent prouided a great army for the reſkewe. And when euery thynge was ready and the army forward, the lord Pountremy reiſed his campe, and departed without anye more doing, but for all ỹ the king ſent oner ſir Thomas Louell knight wyth. vj. C. men to Caleys for the more ſtrength of that towne and other townes and caſtelles beyng within the Engliſh pale and the marches there.

The French king this yere appointcted to Richard de la Pole traitor of England and baniſhed the realme. xii. M. lanceknightes to kepe x
Normandy, and alſo to entre into England and to conquere theſame, where they made ſuche a Riot that many of them were ſlayn & he was faine to cary them to ſainct Malos in Britaigne to take ſhippe: for the Frenchmen would fayne haue bene rydde of them, they cared not how, their condicions were ſo byle and ſhameful, but by the reaſon that the French kyng luyd for peace, this iourney toke no effect.

The French king by an herauld wrote to the king of England, that he marueiled greately why he made hym ſo ſore war, and brent & toke his townes, ſlewe and robbed hys people withoute anycauſe geuen on his parte, wherfore he required the king to graunt ſaueconduit to his xx
ambaſſadoures, whiche ſhoulde entreate the cauſe: wherupon in June the French king ſent a commiſſion with the preſident of Roan and the generall boyer and certayne other nobles of Fraunce to entreat peace and alliaunce betwene both the princes: and farther, becauſe that they knew that the mariage was broken betwene the prince of Caſtel & the lady Mary (as you haue heard) thei deſiered thelaid lady to be eſpouſed to the French king, affirming a great dower & fuertes for theſame with great treaſures: ſo much was offered that the king moued by his counſail, and ſpecially by the biſhop of Lincolne Wolſey, conſented upõ condicion that yf the ſaide French king Loys died, then ſhe ſhould yf it xxx
pleaſed her retorne into England again with al her dowar and riches: after this entretie, the indentures were ſealed & the peace proclaimed the. vij. daye of Auguſt and the king in preſence of the French ambaſſadours ſworn to kepe theſame, & likewyſe ther was ſent an Ambaſſade out of Englande to ſe the French kynge ſwere theſame.

The Dutchmen hering theſe newes were ſory, and repented them that they receiued not the lady, & ſpake ſhamfully of this mariage, that a feble, old & pocky man ſhould mary ſo fayr a lady, but the voys of people let not princes purpoſes.

By the concluſion of this peace was the duke of Longuile & other xl
priſoners deliuered, payeng their raunſom, and the ſaied Duke affied ỹ lady Mary in the name of kyng Lewes his maiſter. This Duke was highly interteined in England of many noble mẽ and had great chere, but whẽ they came into Fraunce with the quene he would ſcace know them. Then when al thinges were redy for the conueyaũce of this noble

ble Ladye, the kyng her brother in the moneth of September with the quene his wife and his sayde sister and al the court came to Douer and there taried, for the wynde was troublous and the wether foule, in so muche that a shippe of the kings called the Libeck. of. ix. C. tonne was driuen a shore before Sangate and there brast & of. vi. C. men scantely escaped. iij. C. & yet the most part of them were hurt with the wrecke. When the wether was fayre, then all her wardrope, stable and riches was shipped, and suche as were appointcted to geue their attendaunce on her, as the duke of Norffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Bysshop of
x Durham, the earle of Surrey, the lorde Delawar, the lorde Barnes, the lord Montaigle, the Marques. iiij. brother, sir Morice Barkeley, sir Jhon Peche, sir William Sãdes, sir Thomas Bulleyn, sir Jhõ Car and many other knightes, squiers, gẽtlemen & ladies, al these went to ship, and the sayde lady toke her leaue of the quene in the castell of Douer, and the king brought her to the sea syde, and kissed her and betoke her to God and the fortune of the sea, and to the gouernaunce of the French king her husbande. Thus the. ij. daye of October at the hower of foure of the clocke in the mornynge this fayre ladye toke her shippe with al her noble compaignie: and when they had sayled a quarter of
xx the sea, the wynde rose and seuered some of the shippes to Caleys, and some into Flaunders & her shippe with greate difficultie was brought to Bulleyn, and with great ieopardie at the entring of the hauẽ, for the mayster ran the ship hard on shore, but the botes were redy & receiued this noble lady, and at the landynge sir Christopher Garnysshe stode in the water and toke her in his armes, and so caried her to land, where ỹ Duke of Uandosme and a Cardinall wyth many estates receiued her, and al her ladies, and welcommed all the noble men into that countrey and so the Quene and al her trayne came to Bulleyn, and there rested
xxx and from thence she remoued by diuerse lodgynges tyll she came all most within thre mile of Abuile beside the forrest of Arders, and there kynge Loyes vppon a great courser met with her, and she would haue alyghted but he woulde not suffre her, and welcommed her to his coũtrey, and when he had sene her beauty (which he so long desired) & tal- was wt her a litle space, thẽ he returned to Abuile by a secret way & she ked with great triumph, procession and pagiãtes receiued into ỹ toune of Abuile, the. viij. day of October by the Dolphin, which receyued her wt gret honor, she was apparelled in cloth of siluer, her horse was trapped in goldsmyths work very rychly. After her folowed. xxvj. ladies,
xl al their palfreys trapped with crymsyn veluet, embraudered: after thẽ folowed one chariot of clothe of tyssue, the seconde clothe of golde and the third Crimsyn veluet embrawdered with the kings armes & hers full of roses. After them folowed a great nomber of archers, and then wagons ladẽ wt their stuffe. Great was ỹ ryches in plate, iuels, money apparel, & hanginges that this lady brought into Fraũce. The Monday beyng the daye of Sainct Denyse, the same kynge Lewes maried

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the lady Mary in the great church of Abuile, bothe appareled in goldsmithes wooꝛke. After the maſſe was done, there was a great banket and feſt, and the ladyes of England highly entretayned.

The Tewesday beyng the tenth day of October al Thenglyſhmen except a fewe that were officers with theſayd quene, were diſcharged which was a greate ſoꝛowe foꝛ theim, foꝛ ſome had ſerued her longe in hope of pꝛefermente, and ſome that had honeſt romes lefte thē to ſerue her, & now thei were without ſeruice, which cauſed thē to take thought in ſo muth ſome died by the way returning, and ſone fel mad, but there was no remedy. After thengliſhe Loꝛdes hadde done their cōmiſſion & the Frēch king wylled them to take no lenger payne, & ſo gaue to them good rewardes, and thei tooke their leaue of the quene, and returned. Then the Dolphin of Fraunce called loꝛd Frauncis duke of Ualoys, & by his wife duke of Bꝛitaigne foꝛ the moꝛe honour of this mariage, beꝛe Thenglyſhmen departed from Abuile, cauſed a ſolempne iuſtes to be pꝛoclaymed, which ſhoulde be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouēber next enſuyng, and that he with his .ix. aydes ſhoulde aunſwere, all commers beyng gentlemen of name and of armes. Firſte, to ronne .v. courſes at the Tylt with peces of auauntage, and alſo fyue courſes at Randon with ſharpe ſperes, and twelfe ſtrokes with ſharpe ſwoꝛdes, & and that done, he and his aides to fight at the barriers with al gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyꝛſt, fyꝛ foynes with handſpeares, and after that eyght ſtrokes to the moſt auantage yf the ſpere ſo long held, & after that twelfe ſtrokes wyth the ſwerde, and yf any man be vnhoꝛſed oꝛ be felled with fightinge on foote, then hys hoꝛſe and armoure to bee rēdered to the officers of armes, and euery man of thys chalenge muſt ſet vp his armes and name vpon an arche triumphante, whiche ſhalbe made at the place where the iuſtes ſhalbee, and farther ſhall wꝛyte to what poinct he ſhal aunſwere to one oꝛ to all. When this pꝛoclamacion was repoꝛted in Englande by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Doꝛſet, and hys foure bꝛethꝛen, the Loꝛde Clynton, Sir Edward Neuell, Sir Giles Capel, Thomas Cheney & other ſued to the kyng to be at the chalenge, which requeſt he graciouſly graunted. Then the Loꝛdes and knyghtes pꝛepared all thinge neceſſarye foꝛ their enterpꝛice, and ſhypped their hoꝛſes and harneſſe, and dyd ſo muche by iourneye, that they came to Paꝛys, at the ende of the moneth of October, whiche were hartelye welcomed of the kyng and the Dolphin, but moſte of all, of the Frēch quene which then lay at ſaynct Denyſe, and was not yet crouned noꝛ entred into Paris.

The Dolphin deſired the duke of Suffolke and the loꝛd Marques Doꝛſet, whoſe actiuitie he knew well by repoꝛte, to be two of his immediat aides, which therto aſſented: therfoꝛe was erected an Arch of widnes at the tournelles beſide ỹ ſtrete on ſainct Anthony, directly befoꝛe ỹ Baſtel, on ỹ which were ſet .iiij. targettes oꝛ ſcutchions, the one ſiluer

and

and he that sett his name vndet that shylde, runne at the Tylt accoꝛding to the articles: he that put his name vnder the golde target should come with the sharpe speres and fight with sharpe swerdes: they that put ther names to the black shilde, should fight a foote with speres and swerdes foꝛ the one hand. And he that touched the tawney sheld shoulde cast a spere on foot with a targett on his arme, & after to fight with a.ii. hand swerde: on this arche aboue stode the armes of the kyng and the quene, and benethe theim stode the armes of the Dolphin and his aydes, and vnder nethe stode the.iiii.scochions that you haue harde of, and vnder theim all the armes and names of suche as set their names to any of thesayde.iiii.scochions. While all these thinges were pꝛepatynge, the lady Mary of England the.v.daie of Nouember then being Sondaie, was with great solempnytee crowned Quene of Fraunce in the monasterie of Sayncte Denyce, and the Dolphyn all the season held the croune ouer her hed, because it was of greate waight to her greuance, at whiche coꝛonation were the loꝛdes of England, and accoꝛdynge to their degrees well enterteyned.

Mondaye the.vi.daye of Nouember thesayde Quene was receyued into the cytee of Parys after the oꝛder that foloweth. First the garde of
xx the Cytee met with her with oute Sayncte Denyce all in coates of goldesmythes wooꝛke with shippes gylt, and after them mett her all the pꝛiestes and religious which were esteemed to be.iii.M. The quene was in a chayꝛe couered about (but not ouer her person) in white cloth of golde the hoꝛses that dꝛewe it couered in cloth of golde, on her hed a coronall all of greate perles, her necke and bꝛest full of Jueles, befoꝛe her wente a garde of Almaynes after their fassion, and after them al noblemen, as the Dolphyn, the Duke of Alanson, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Vandosme, the Duke of Longeuyle, and the Duke of Suffolke, the Maꝛques Doꝛsett.v. Cardynalles and a greate nomber of
xxi estates, aboute her person rode the kynges garde whiche were Scottes. Thus was this quene receyued into Paris and so cõueyed to the cathedꝛal churche and ther offered, and from thence to the pallayce where she offered at the holy Chapel, and from thence she went to the lodgyng foꝛ that nyght, foꝛ whome was pꝛouided a great supper and the heraulde cryed a larges and had to theim geuen a ship of siluer and gylt, and other plate to the valewe of.ii.C.marke, and after supper began daũsyng and pastyme. On the moꝛowe begã the iustes, & the Dolphin with his aydes entered the feld, the apparell & bardes were cloth of golde, cloth of syluer and cryinsyn veluet kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed themxxii selfs befoꝛe the kyng & quene who were in a goodly stage, and the quene stode so that all men might see her and wondered at her beautie, and the kyng was feble & lay on a couche foꝛ weakenes. Then entered the counter parte by a rayle foꝛ combꝛyng the place. These iustes contynued.iii. dayes, in the whiche were aunswered.iii.hundꝛed and.v.men of armes and euery man ran.v. courses, and with sharpe-speres, dyuerse were

slayne and not spoken of: the English lordes and knightes dyd as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hurt a gentelman that he was like to die, the Marques strok Mounsire Grew an Albanoys with his spere and persed his hed pece & put hym in ieopardy: the duke of Suffolke in the tornay ouerthrewe a man of armes horse and man, so dyd the lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen woulde in no wyse prayse them. At this tornay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he coulde not performe hys chalenge at the barriers and put one of his ayde in his rome, the nexte daye after began the fight at the barriers and because the Dolphin was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lorde Marques Dorset that daye began the feld, and toke the barriers with speres in hand abyding all commers. The Dolphin brought a mā secretly, which in al the court of Fraunce was the talleste and the strongest man, & he was an Almayne and put him in the place of an other person to haue had ꝑ duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fiersly with face hyd, because he would not be knowen, and bare his spere to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued, and for all his strength put hym by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the spere strake the Almaine that he staggared, but for al that the Almayne strake strongly & hardly at the duke, and the iudges suffred many mo strokes to be foughten then were appointed, but whē they saw the Almayne rele & staggar, then they let fall the rayle betwene them. The lorde Marques Dorsett at the same time, euen at the same barre fought with a gentelman of Fraunce that he lost his spere, and in maner with drewe: When the rayle was let fal, these two noble men put vp their vysers & toke ayer, & then they tooke swerdes with poynct & edges abated, and came to the barriers, and ꝑ Almayne foughte sore with the duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce but the duke by pure strength tooke him about the necke, and pomeled so a- xix
boute the hed that the bloud yssued out of his nose, & then they were departed, and the Almayne was conueyed by the Dolphyn lest he should be knowen. These twoo noble men of Englande that daye fought valiantly diuerse feates, and the Frenchmen likewise nobly them defended but it happened the lord Marques one time to put for his aide his yoūgest brother called the Lorde Edward Grey of the age of .xix. yere, and to hym was put a gentelman of Fraunce of greate stature and strength to thentente to plucke hym ouer the barres, but yet the younge Lorde was of suche strength, powre and pollecy, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed hym, al the face bare. Thus was these enterprices fynished to the laude of al parties, and Thenglyshmen receyued muche honoure and no spott of rebuke, yet they were priuely sett at and in many ieopardies: for the declaracion of this triumphe, he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the courses trotted boūded and quickly turned: How valiantely the men of armes behaued them selfes and howe the Duke

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of Burbones bede was apparelled & bassed in tawny veluet, & clothe of syluer clowdy, the bende of therle of Saynete Polle apparelled and barded in purple veluet all to cut on putple satten, the enfante of Artagon sonne to Frederycke last kynge of Napels, hys bende al in clothe of golde and syluer paled. This lord was but young but was very towarde. The Duke of Vandosme and his bende in clothe of golde, and pluncket veluet. The Dolphyn and hys aydes were euery daye newe appareled at his coste, one daye in syluer and golde, a nother in Crymesyn veluet and yelowe veluet, and another daye in white veluet
x and grene, some daye mypted with satyn, some daye embzaudered, some daye poũced with golde, and so euery date in chaunge as the woozkers fantasye coulde deuyse, but the Englishemen had euer on their apparel red crosses to be knowen foz loue of their countre: at this triumphe the countie Galeas came into the place on a Jenett trapped in blewe satten and he hym selfe likewyse apparelled and rã a cozse with a speere, which was at the hed. b. ynches on euery syde square, that is. xx. ynches about, and at the but. ix. ynches square, that is. xxxbi. ynches, this spere was tymber and yet foz al that he ran cleane with it a long course & slightely auoyded it to his great honour.

xx Also ther was a nother gentelmã called Anthony Bownarme whiche came into the feld all armed, and on his body bzought in sight. x. speres that is to wyt. iii. speres set in euery stizoppe fozward, and vnder euery thygh. ti. speres vpwarde, and vnder his lefte arme was on spere backeward, and the. x. in his hand, and when he came befoze the Quene he let hys hozse ronne and neuer stopped tyll he had taken euery spere after other and bzoken it on the grounde, and he neuer stopped his hozse tyll all were bzoken, thys Gentleman was hyghely pzayed and so he was wozthy: when all this great triumphe was done, the lozdes of England toke their leue and were highely thanked of the kynge, quene, Dolphin,
xxx and all the lozdes, and so departed and came into England befoze Chzistmas. In Nouember the quene was deliuered of a pzince which liued not longe after

This yere in December ther was one Richard Hun a marchaunt taiRichard Hun cõmitted to ỹ lowers towe & murthered.
loz of London in Lollers tower by the commaundement of the Bishop of London, called Rychard Fytziames & doctoure Hozsey his chaunceller, whiche was a man moze of witt to pzeferte the Bysshoppes iurisdicion and the clergie, then the trueth of the Gospell: but so it was that the said Hun was found dead hãging by the neck in a girdle of silke, within the said towze. The beginning of this matter must be shewed foz the fo-
xl lowing of the cõsequent: foz this Hun had a child that died in his house being an infant, the curate clamed the beting shete foz a moztuary. Hun answered that the infant had no pzopertie in the shet, whetupõ the pziest ascited him in the spiritual courte, he taking to him good counsail, sued the curat in a pzemunire, & whẽ the pziestes hard of this, thei did so much of malice that they accused hun of heresy, and bzought him to the lollers

towet and ther was founde deed as you haue hard.

This man was counted of honeſt reputacion,no man to the ſight of people moze vertuous, wherfoze vpon this mater a greate matter folo- wed,foz the Byſhoppe and his Chauncellet doctour Hozſey ſayde that he hanged him ſelfe,and all the tempozaltie ſayde that he was murthe- red,and there vpon.xii.men were charged befoze the Cozonour whiche xii.were elected by greate dyſcrecion,and many tymes they were wyth the kynges counſayll and hard their opinions, but in the meane ſeaſon the Byſhop of London bzent the dead Carcaſſe of theſayde Rychard Hun in ſmythfeld,to the abhommacion of the people: but after that the matter had ben hard by the iudges, and after by the kynges counſayll his grace beyng pzeſent and heting the cauſe openly debated and much bozne by the ſpiritualtie,yet at the laſt he remitted it to the tryall of the lawe,and ſo vpon good euidence doctour Hozſey the Chauncellet and Belrynger with Charles Joſeph the ſomnet, were endyted of the mur- ther:but afterward by the meanes of the ſpiritualty & money, Doctour Hozſey cauſed the kynges attozney to confeſſe on his arraynement hym not to be gylty,and ſo he eſcaped and went to Exetre,and foz very ſhame durſt neuer come after to London.But yet foz a further truthe to be de- clared in this abhominable and deteſtable murther,here ſhall folow the whole inquyzy and verdicte of thenqueſt woozde.foz wozde

The inquiry of the death of Richard Hun

The.v.and the.vi.daie of December in the.vi.yere of the reigne of our ſouereigne lozde kyng Henry the.viii.Wyllyam Barnewell crow- ner of London,the daye and yere aboue ſayde within the warde of Caſ- tylbaynerd of London aſſembled a queſt,whoſe names afterwarde doo appere,and hath ſwozne theim truely to enquire of the death of one Ry- chard Hun whiche lately was founde dead in the Lollers towet with in Pauls churh of London, wherupon al we of the inqueſt together went vp into theſayd towet,where we found the body of theſaid Hun hãging vpon a ſtaple of iron in a gyzdell of ſylke,with faire countenaunce hys heed fayze kemmed,and his bonet right ſittyng vpon his heed,with his eyen & mouth fayze cloſed,withoute any ſtaring,gapyng,oz frownyng. Alſo without any dzeuelyng oz ſpurgyng in any place of his body, wherupõ by one aſſent all we agreed to take downe the body of theſaide Hun,& as ſone as we began to heue at the body it was looſe, wherby by good aduyſemẽt we percepued that the gyzdell had no knot aboue the ſtaple, but it was double caſt & the linkes of an iron chayne which dyd hãg on theſame ſtaple were laid vpõ theſame gyzdle wherbi he did hãg: Alſo the knot of the gyzdel that wẽt about his neck ſtode vnder his left eare, whiche cauſed his head to leane toward his right ſhoulder. Not wi- withſtãding there came out of the noſtrels.ii.ſmal ſtremes of bloud to the quãtite of.iiii.dzopes,ſaue only theſe.iiii.dzopes of blode, ỹ face lip- pes,chinne,doublet, coler,& ſhurt of theſaide Hun was cleane from any bloud.Alſo we fynd that ỹ ſkyn both of his neck & thzote beneth the gyz- del of ſylk,was fret & faſed away,with that thing which the murtherers had

had broken his neck with all. Also the hãdes of thesayd Hun wer wrõg in the wristes, wherby we perceyued that his handes had been bounde.

Moreouer we fynd that within thesayde prison was no meane wher by any man might hang him selfe, but onely a stole, which stole stode vpon a bolster of a bed, so tyckle that any man or beast myght not touche it so lytle but it was redy to fall, wherby we perceyued that it was not possible that Hun might hange him selfe the stole so standinge. Also all the gyrdell from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his neck was to litle for his hed to come out therat. Also it was not possible that the soft sylken gyrdell shoulde breake his neck or skyn beneth the gyrdle. Also we finde in a corner somewhat beyonde the place wher he dyd hang, a great persell of bloud. Also we fynde that vpon the lyfte syde of Huns Jacket from the breast downeward. ii. great stremes of bloud. Also within the flappe of the lyft syde of his Jacket, we fynde a greate cluster of bloude and the Jacket folden downe therupon, whiche thing thesaide Hun coulde neuer folde nor do after he was hanged: Wherby it appeareth plainly to vs all, that the necke of Hun was broken, and the greate plenty of bludde was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all wee fynde by God and all out consciences that Rychard Hun was murthered: also we acquyte thesaid Richard Hun of his aune deathe.

Also an ende of a wax candell whiche as Jhon Belrynget sayeth, he lefte in the prison burnyng with Hun that same Sondaye at nyght that Hun was murthered, whiche ware candell we founde stycknge vpon the stockes fayre put oute, aboute seuen or eyght fote from the place where Hun was hanged, whiche candell after oure oppnion was neuer put oute by hym, for many lykelyhodes whiche we haue perceyued. Also at the goynge vp of Master Chauncellor into the Lollars tower we haue good proofe that there laye on the stockes a gowne eyther of murrey or crimosyn in grayn furred with shankes, whose goune yt was wee coulde neuer proue, neyther who bare it awaye. All wee fynde that Master Wyllyam Horsey Chauncellor to my lorde of London hath had at his commaundement bothe the rule and guydynge of thesayde prysoner. Moreouer, all we fynde that thesayde Master Horsey Chauncellor hath put Charles Joseph out of his office, as thesayde Charles hath confessed, because he would not dele and vse thesayde prisoner so cruelly and do to him as the Chauncellor would haue had him to do. Notwithstãding the deliueraunce of the keyes to ỹ Chaũceller by Charles on the Saturdaye at nyght before Huns deathe and Charles ryding out of the towne on the Sondaye in the mornyng ensuyng was but a conuenciõ made betwixte Charles and the Chauncellor, for to colour the murther, for thesame Sõdaye that Charles rode furth, he came agayne to towne the Sonday at nyght, and kylled Rychard Hun, as in the deposycions of Julian Littell, Thomas Chitcheley, Thomas Symondes, and Peter Turney doeth appere.

After colouryng of the murther betwixte Charles and the Chauncel-
ler conspired, the Chaunceller called to hym one Jhon Spaldyng Bel-
tynger of Poules and delyuered to thesame Beltynger the keyes of the
Lollars towre, geuyng to thesayde Beltynger a great charge, sayeng:
I charge the to kepe Hun moze straytely than he hath been kepte, and
let hym haue but one meale a daye. Mozeouer I charge the, let no bo-
dy come to hym wythoute my lycence, neyther to bzynge hym shurt, cap,
kercheffe, oz any other thynge, but that I see it befoze yt come to hym.
Also befoze Hun was caried to Fulham, the Chaunceller commaunded
too bee put vppon Huns necke a greate coller of Jron with a greate
chayne whiche is to heuy foz any man oz beast to were and longe to en-
dure.

Mozeouer it is well pzoued that befoze Huns death thesayd Chaun-
celler came vp into thesayde Lollers tower, and kneled downe befoze
Hun, holdyng vp hys handes to hym, pzayenge hym of fozgeuenesse of
all that he had done to hym and muste do to hym. And on the Sondaye
folowynge the Chaunceller commaunded the Penytensary of Pou-
les, too goo vp to hym and saye a Gospell, and make foz hym holy wa-
ter and holye bzeade, and geue yt to hym, whiche so dyd and also the
Chaunceller cõmaunded that Hun should haue his diner. And thesame
dyner tyme Charles boye was shute in pzyson with Hun, whiche was
neuer so befoze, and after dyner whan the Beltynger fet oute the boye,
the Beltynger sayde to thesame boye, come no moze hyther with mete
foz hym vntyll to mozowe at noone, foz my mayster Chaunceller hathe
commaunded that he shall haue but one meale a daye: and thesame
night folowynge Rychard Hun was murthered, whiche murder coulde
not haue been done wythoute consente and lycence of the Chaunceller,
and also by the wittynge and knowelege of Jhon Spaldynge Beltyn-
ger, foz there coulde no man come into the pzyson but by the keyes be-
yng in Jhon Beltyngers keppynge. Also as by my Lozde of Londons
booke doeth appere, Jhon Beltynger is a pooze innocente man, where-
foze all wee doo percepue that thys murther coulde not be done, but by
the commaundement of the Chaunceller, and by the wittynge and kno-
wyng of Jhon Beltynger.

Charles Joseph wythin the tower of London of hys awne free
wyll and vnconstreyncd sayde, that Master Chaunceller deuysed and
wzote with his awne hand, all suche heresyes as were layd to Hũs char-
ge, recozde Jhon God, Jhon Truy, Jhon Palmar, Richard Gybson
with many other.

Also Charles Joseph sayeth, that whan Rychard Hun was slayne
Jhon Beltynger bare vpp the steyze into Lollars tower a waxe can-
dell, hauynge the keyes of the dozes hangynge on hys arme, and I
Charles went nexte to hym, and master Chaunceller came vp last, and
whan all wee came vp, we founde Hun lyenge on hys bedde, and than
Master Chaunceller sayde, lay handes on the thefe and so all we mur-

thered

thered Hun, and than J Charles put the gyrdell about Huns necke, and than Jhon Belrynger and J Charles dyd heue vp Hun and Master Chaunceller pulled the gyrdell ouer the staple, and so Hun was hanged.

The deposicion of Iulian littell Late seruaunt to Charles Ioseph by her fre vvill vnconstrayned the.vi.yere of oure souereigne lord kyng Henry the.viii.vvithin the Chapell of our lady of Bethelem shevved to thynquest.

Fyrst Julian sayeth, that the Wednesdaye at nyght after the death
£ of Rychard Hun, that Charles Joseph her master came home to hys supper: than Julian sayde to hym, master it was tolde me that ye were in pryson, Charles aunswered, it is merye to turne the penye, and after supper Charles trussed persell of his goodes, and with helpe of Julyan bare them into Master Porters howse to kepe, and that done Charles sayde to Julian. Julian, yf thou wilt be sworne to kepe my counsayll J wyl shewe the my mynde. Julian aunswered ye, yf it be neyther felonie or treason: than Charles toke a boke oute of his purse, and Julian sware to hym therupon, than sayde Charles to Julian, J haue dis-
xx stroyed Rychard Hun. Alas Master sayde Julian, howe, he was called an honest man: Charles aunswered, J put a wyre in his nose, Alas sayde Julyan nowe be ye cast awaye and vndone, than sayde Charles Julyan J truste in the that thou wylt kepe my counsayll, and Julyan aunswerd, ye but for Godes sake master shifte for your selfe, and than Charles sayde J had leuer than a hūdred pound yt were not done, but that is done can not be vndone. Moreouer Charles sayde than to Julyan, vpon Sondaye whan J rode to my cousyn Baryngtons house, J taryed there and made good chere all daye tyll yt was nyght, and yet before it was mydnyghte J was in London, and had kylled Hun, and
xx vpon the next day J rode thether agayn & was there at dyner, and sent for neyghbours and made good chere. Than Julian asked Charles, where set you your horse that nyght you came to towne, and wherfore came ye not home, Charles aunswered, J came not home for feare of bewrayinge, and than Julian asked Charles, who was wyth you at the kyllynge of Hun, Charles aunswered, J wyll not tell the: and Julyan sayth that vpon the Thursdaye folowynge Charles taryed all daye in his house with great fere, and vpon Frydaye folowyng erly in the morynge before daye, Charles went forth (as he sayde) he wente to Poules, and at his commyng in agayne he was in great fere sayenge Hastexl ly, get me my horse and with great feare and hast made hym redye to ryde, and bad Maister Porters lad lede his horse into the felde by the backsyde, and than Charles put into hys slewe hys mase or masor wyth other plate, and borowed of Masteres Porter bothe golde and syluer, but howe muche J am not sure, and Charles wente into the felde after hys horse, and Julyan brought hys booget after hym. Also vpon Fry-

day in Chrystmas weke folowyng, Charles came home late in the night and brought with him .iii. bakers and a Smyth of Stratforde, and the same nyght they caried out of Charles house all his goodes by the feld syde to the Bell at Shordyche, and erly in the mornynge conueyed yt with cartes to Stratford.

Moreouer Julyan sayth that the Saturdaye at nyght before the death of Hun, Charles came home and broughte with him a Gurnard, sayenge, yt was for Hun, and Charles boye telled to Julian, that there was also ordeyned a pece of freshe Salmon, whiche Jhon Belrynger had.

Also Charles sayde to the sayde Julyan, were not this vngratious trouble, I coulde brynge my Lorde of London to the dores of heretyques in London bothe of men and women that ben worthe a thowsand pound: But I am aferd that the vngracions myd wyfe shall bewraye vs all.

Also Charles sayde vnto maistres Porter in lykewyse a more larger sateng of the best in London, where to maistres porter answered, the best in London is my lord Mayer, than Charles sayde, I wil not skuse him quyte for he taketh this matter whote.

Where as Charles Joseph saieth he laye at necke hill with a harlott a mans wyfe in Baringtons house the same nyght, and there abode vntyll the morowe at .xi. of the clocke that Richarde Hun was murthered whereupon he brought before the kynges counsayll for his purgacion the forsayde baude Baryngtons wyfe, and also the foresayde harlott, whiche purgacion we haue proued al vntrewe as right largely may appere as well by the deposicion of Julian Littell, as of Thomas Chytcheley Taylor and of Jhon Symons Stacioner, with other, as of Robert Jhonson and Peter Turner.

The deposycion of Thomas Chitcheley Taylor.

The sayd Thomas saieth, the same Monday that Richard Hun was foũd dead, within a quartar of an howr after .vii. a clock in ỹ morning. he met with Charles Joseph cõming out of Pouls at the nether north doze, goyng toward Pater noster row, sayẽg good morow master Charles, & the sayd Charles answered good morow & turned hys back whan he was without the churche doze, and loked vpon the saide Chytchelay.

The deposicion of Thomas Symondes Stacioner.

He sayeth, the same mornyng that Hun was founde deed, ỹ with in a quater of an howr after .vii. a clock in the mornynge, Charles Joseph came before him at his stal & sayd good morow goshyp Symons, & the same Symons sayd good morow to him agayne, & the wyfe of the same Symons was by him, & because of the dedly cõtenaunce & hasty goyng of Charles, the sayd Thomas bad his wife loke whither Charles gothe, and as she coulde perceyue, Charles went into an ale howse standing in

Pater

Pater noster rowe by the Aley ledyng into the rode of Noztherne, oz into the Aley whither she could not well tell.

The depoſicion of Roberte Ihonſon and his vvife dvvellyng at the bell in Shorditche, vvhere Charles Ioſeph ſett his horſe that nyghte that he came to toune to murther Richard Hun.

Theſayde Robert ſayeth that Charles Joſeph ſent hys hozſe to hys houſe vpon a holydaye at nyght about.iii.wekes befoze Chriſtmas by a boy, which hozſe was albe ſwet, and albe myzed: and theſaid boye ſayd
x let my fathers hozſe ſtād ſadelled, foz I can not tel whether emy father wyll ryde agayne to nyghte oz not, and theſayde hozſe ſtode ſadelled all nyght and in the mozynynge folowynge Charles came boted and ſpurted aboute.viii.of the clocke, and aſked yf hys hozſe was ſadelled and the ſeruaunt aunſwered: ye, and theſayde Charles lepte vpon his hozſe and prayed the hoſte to let hym out of his backe gate that he myght ryde out by the feld ſyde, whyche hoſt ſo dyd. And becauſe he was vncertayne of the daye, we aſked hym yf he hard ſpeke of the death of Hun at that tyme oz not, and he aunſwered nay: but ſhoztly after he did. Neuertheleſſe Peter Turner Charles ſonne in law which brought the hozſe by
xx nyght into the Bell Robert Jhonſons houſe, confeſſed it was the ſame night befoze that Hun was founde dead in the mozning. Mozeouer the Frydaye befoze Huns deth Peter Turner ſayde to an honeſt woman a waxe chaundelers wyfe dwelling befoze ſainct Maries ſpitel gate, that befoze this day ſeuen night Hun ſhould haue a miſcheuouſe death. And theſame daye at after none this Hun was founde dead, theſayde Peter came to theſame wyfe and tolde her that Hun was hanged, ſayenge what told I you.

Alſo Jaimes the Chaūcellers cooke, the Fryday befoze Huns death, ſayde to.v.honeſt men, that Hun ſhoulde dye oz Chriſtmas, oz els he
xxx woulde dye foz hym, and on the Mondaye that Hun was founde dead theſayde Jaimes came to theſame men: and ſayde, what tolde I you, is he not now hanged.

And we of thynqueſt aſked both of Peter Turner & of Jaimes cooke wher they had knowlege that Hun ſhould ſo ſhoztely dye, and thei ſayd in maſter Chauncellers place by euery man.

The depoſicion of Ihon Spaldyng Belrynger.

Fyrſte theſayde deponent ſayeth, that on Saturdaye the ſeconde daye of December. Anno. M. D. xiiii. he toke the charge of the pry-
xl ſon at foure of the clocke at after none, by the commaundemente of maſter Chaunceller, and ſo toke the keyes, wherupō he gaue commaundemēt to the deponēt, that he ſhould let no maner of perſon ſpeke with the pryſoner excepte he had knowlege of them, and ſo at.v.of the clocke the ſame daye theſayde deponent wēte to the pryſoner hym ſelfe alone, and ſawe hym and cheryſhed hym where he gaue theſayde deponente a pece of freſh

of fresh Salmon for his wyfe. And after that thesayde deponent sayeth that he went to master commissaries to supper with his felowe, where he remembred that he had left his knyfe with thesayde prysoner, wherupō by the counsayll of master Commissary he went to the prysoner and fe= ched his knyfe, where he founde the prisoner sayeng of his beades, and so thesayde deponent requyred his knyfe of thesayde prisoner, and the= saide prisoner delyuered the knyfe to thesayd deponent gladly, and so de parted for that nyght.

And after that on the Sonday next folowyng thesaid deponent came to the prisoner at. ix. of the clock, and asked him what mete he would ha= x ue to his diner and he aunswered but a morsell, and so thesaide deponēt departed and went to the Chauncellor into the quere, & he commaūded, that he should take the penitensary vp to the prisoner with him to make hym holy water and holy bred, and made thesaide deponent to departe the prison house for a whyle, and after that he brought hym his dyner, & locked Charles boye with hym all dyner whyle, vnto the hower of. i. of the clocke, and so let the lad out agayne and asked hym what he would haue to his supper, and he answered that he had meate ynough, and so departed vntyll. vi. of the clocke, and than thesaide deponente brought hym a quarte of ale, and at that tyme one Wylliam Sampson went xx with thesayde deponent to see the prysoner where he was, and sawe him and spake together, and so from the hower of. vi. a foresayde vnto twelfe a clocke on the morow thesayde deponent came not there, and whan he came there he met the Chauncellor with other doctoures goynge to se the prisoner where he hanged.

The deposicion of Peter Turner, sonne in lavv of Charles Ioseph.

Firste he sayeth that his father in lawe rode out of the toune vpon Sonday the. iiii. day of December. Anno. xv. C. and. xiiii. at. vi. of the clock in the morynge, wetyng a cote of orenge tawny, on a horse cooler xxi grysell, trottyng.

He sayeth the Sondaye next before that one Buttons wyfe gaue knowledge to thesaide deponente that his father shoulde bee arested by dyuerse sergeantes assone as he coulde be taken, and thereupon thesayd deponente gaue knowlege to thesayde father in lawe at the blacke Fri= ers at the water syde. Wherupon he auoyded, and thesame nyghte may= ster chauncellor gaue the keyes to Jhon Belringer, and gaue him char= ge of the prisoner and on thesayde Sondaye thesayde deponente wyth Jhon Belrynger serued thesayde prisoner of his diner at. xii. of ỳ clocke xl and than Jhon Belrynger sayde to the deponēt, that he would not come to him vnto the morowe for my lord had cōmaunded him that the pryso= ner should haue but one meales mete of the daye. Notwithstādyng that thesayde Jhon Belrynger after that he had shut Poules church dores, went to the foresaide prisoner, with another with him at. vii. of the clock at nyght thesayde Sondaye.

And

And the sayde deponent sayeth, that he came on the Monday at the
hower of eyghte of the clocke in the mozenynge to seke Jhon Bel-
rynger, and coulde not fynde hym, and taryed vntyll the hye Masse of
Poules was done, and yet he coulde not fynde Jhon Belrynger, and
than Jhon Belryngers felowe, one Wyllyam, delyuered the keyes to
thesayde deponent, and so thesaid deponent with two officers of my loz-
des beyng somners went to serue thesayd pzisoner, and whan they came
the pzisoner (thei saide) was hanged, his face to the wal warde, and vpõ
that thesayde deponent immediatly gaue knowelege to the chauncelle,
x wherupon the thaunceller went vp with the master of the rolles, and
master Subdeane with other doctoures vnknowen, to the nomber of a
dosen and their seruauntes.

The deposicion of Ihon Enderby Barber.

The sayde Jhon Enderby sayth, the Frydaye befoze the death of Ri-
chard Hun, betwixte.viii.and.ix.of the clock in the mozning, he met with
Jhon Belrynger in estchepe, and asked of hym how master Hun fared,
thesayd Belrynger aunswered, sayenge: There is ozdeyned foz hym so
greuouse penaunce that when mẽ here of it, they shal haue great maruel
therof: wytnesses that hard Jhon Belrynger saye these woozdes Jhon
xx Rutter Skreuener, and William Segar armourer.

Also thesayd Jhon Enderby sayth, thesame Wondaye that Rychard
Hun was foũde ded, he met with thesaid Jhon Belrynger at the cõdith
in gracious strete about.ix.of the clock in the mozning, askyng thesayd
Belrynger, how master Hun fared, thesayde Belrynger aunswered, sa-
yeng, he fared well this day in the mozning betwixte.v.and.vi. of the
clock. Howbeit, I am sozy foz hym foz there can no body, come to hym
vntill I come, foz I haue the keyes of the dozes here by my Gyrdell,
and shewed keyes to thesayd Enderby.

The deposicion of Alen Cresvvell vVax Chaundeler.

xxx Thesayde Alen sayth, that Jhon Grandger seruaunte with my lozde
of London, in my lozd of Londõs kechyn, at such tyme as thesayd Alen
was seryng of Huns cokken, that Grãdget tolde to him that he was pze-
sent with Jhon Belrynger thesame Sonday at night that Richard was
founde ded of the mozowe whan his kepers set hym in the stockes, in so
muche thesayde Hun desyzed to bozow the kepers knyfe, and the keper
asked him what he would do with his knyfe, and answered, I had leuer
kyll my self than to be thus entreted. This depositiõ thesayde Alen will
pzoue as farfozth as any chzistẽ mã may, saieng that Grandget shewed
to hym these wozdes of his awne frewyl & mynde, without any question
xl oz enquiry to hym made by thesaid Alen Mozeouer thesayd Alen sayth,
that all that euenyng Grandger was in great feare.

The deposicion of Richard Horsnayle Bailyfe of the sanctuary
tovvne called Good Esture in Essex.

Thesayd Richard saith, ỹ Fryday befoze Chzistmas date last past, ỹ
one Charles Joseph, somner to my lozd of Londõ, became a sanctuary
man,

man,and theafore sayde Frydaye he regestred his name,the saide Charles sayenge yt was for the sauegarde of his body. for there be certayne men in London so extreme agaynst hym for the deathe of Richard Hun, that he dare not abyde in London: Howbeit the sayde Charles saithe, he knowlegeth hym selfe gyltles of Huns death,for he deliuered the keyes to the Chauncellor by Huns life,also the saide Bialife sayth,that Charles payd the deuty of thesayde regestryng, both to him and syr Jhon Studely Vicar.

The copye of my lorde of Londons Letter sent to my lorde Cardinall.

I beseche your good lordshipp to stande so good lord vnto my poore chauncellor nowe in warde,a endited by an vntrewe quest for the death of Richard Hun, vpon the onely accusacio of Charles Joseph made by payne and duraunce,that by your intercession it may please the kynges grace to haue the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferente persones of his discrete counsayll in the presence of the parties,or there be any more done in that cause,and that vpon the innocency of my saide Chauncellor declared,it may further please the kynges grace to a ward a plackard vnto his Atturnay to confesse the sayde enditement to be vntrewe whan the tyme shall require it,for assured am I if my Chaũceller be tryed by any .xii. men in London,they be so malicioully set. In fauorem heretice prauitatis,that they wyl cast and condempne any clerke though he were as innocent as Abell. Quare si potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates nostras & tibi imperpetuum deuincti erimus. Quer thisin most humble wyse I beseche you that I maye haue the kynges gracious fauour, whome I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speke with his grace and you,and I with al myne,shall pray for your prosperouse estate long to continue.

Your most humble Orator. R. L.

The VVoordes that my lord of London spake before the lordes in the parliament chambre.

Memorandum,that the Bysshop of London sayde in the parliament chamber,that there was a byll brought to the parliamente to make the iury that was charged vppon the deathe of Hun true men,and sayde and tooke vpon hys conscience that they were false periuried caytyfes, and sayde further more too all the Lordes their than beynge: for the loue of GOD, loke vpon this matter, for yf ye do not I dare not kepe myne awne house for heretiques:and sayde that thesaide Rychard Hun hanged hym selfe, and that yt was hys awne dede and no mans els. And further more sayde, that there came a man to hys howse (whose wyfe was appeched of heresye) to speke with hym, and he sayde that he had no mynde to speke with thesame man,which man spake and reported to the seruauntes of the same Bysshoppe, that yf hys wyfe

woulde not holde styll her opinion, he woulde cutte her throte with his awne handes, with other woordes.

¶ The sentence of the quest subscribed by the crouner.

The inquisicion intendid and taken at the citie of London, in the Parisshe of sainct Gregorie, in the warde of Baynard Castel in London the syx daye of December, in the yere and reigne of kyng Henry the eight the syx yere, afore Thomas Barnewell crouner of our souereigne lorde the kynge, within the Citie of London aforesayed. Also afore James Yarford, and Jhon Wondey Sheriffes of the sayed Cytie, vppon the sight of the bodie of Rychard Hun late of London Taylour, whiche was founde hanged in the Lollars Towre, and by the othe and proffe of lawfull men of thesame warde, and of other thre wardes next adioyning as it ought to bee after the custome in the Cytie aforesayed, to enquyre, how, and in what maner wise, thesayde Rychard Hun came vnto hys death, and vpon the othe of Jhon Bernard, Thomas Sterte, Willyam Warren, Henry Abraham, Jhon Awrow, Jhon Turner, Robert Alen, Wylliam Watler, Jhon Burton, James Page. Thomas Pickehyll, Willyam Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Ho-
xx well. Rychard Gibson, Christopher Croston, Jhon God, Rychard Holte, Jhon Palmere, Edmonde Hudson, Jhon Aunsell, Rychard Couper, Jhon Tynte, the whiche saied vpon their othes, that where thesaied Rychard Hun, by the commaundement of Rychard, byshop of London, was enprisoned and brought to holde in a pryson of thesayed byshops, called Lollars Towre lyeng in the cathedrall churche of saincte Paule in London, in the parisshe of saincte Gregorie, in the warde of Baynerde castell aforesaied, Willyam Horseley of London clerke, otherwyse called Willyam Heresie, Chauncellour to Rychard byshop of Londō. and one Charles Joseph late of London sonner, and Jhon Spaldyng of
xxx London, otherwyse called Jhon belrynger, felonyously as felons to our lord the kyng, with force and armes against the peace of our souereigne lorde the kyng, and dignitie of his croune, the fourthe day of December, the yere of the reigne of our souereigne lorde the sixt a foresayed, of their great malice, at the parisshe of saincte Gregorie aforesayed, vppon the sayed Recharde Hun made a fraye, and thesame Rychard Hun felonyously strangeled and smodered, and also the necke they did breake of thesayed Rychardē Hun, and there felonyously slew hym and murthered hym: and also the body of thesayed Rychard Hun afterwarde the same. iiii. daye, yere, place, parysshe and warde aforesayed, with the pro-
xl per gyrdell of thesame Rychard Hun of sylke, blacke of coloure, of the value of. xii. pence after his death vpō a hoke dryuen into a pece of tymber in the wall of the pryson aforesayed made faste, and so hanged hym against the peace of oure souereigne lorde the kynge, and the dignitie of hys croune, and so thesayed Jury hathe sworne vpon the holy Euangelist, that thesaid William Horsley clerke, Charles Joseph, and Jhon

Spalding of their set malice then, and ther, feloniously killed and murthered the sayed Rychard Hun, in maner and forme abouesaied, agaynst the peace of our souereigne lorde the kyng, his croune and dignitie.

¶ Subscribed in this maner.

Thomas Barnewell, crouner of the citie of London.

This Chrystmas on Newyeres night, the kyng, the duke of Suffolke and twoo other in mantels of clothe of syluer, and lyned with blew Uelues, the syluer was pounsed in letters, so that ỹ Uelues might be sene thrzough, the mantels had great capes like to the Portingall hoppys, and all their hosen, doublettes and cotes were of thesame fasshion cut and of thesame stuffe, with them were foure ladies in gounes, after the fasshion of Sauoy, of blew Uelues, lyned with clothe, the Uelues all to cutt, and mantels lyke tippettes knytte together all of syluer and on their heddes bonettes of burned golde, the foure torche bearers were in Satyn white and blew. This straunge apparell pleased muche euery persone, and in especiall the Quene, and thus these foure lordes and foure ladies came into the Quenes chambet with greate lyght of torches, and daunsed a great season, and then put of their visers, and then they were wel knowē, and the Quene hartely thanked the kynges grace for her goodly pastyme, and kyssed hym.

Lykewyse on the twelue night, the kyng and the Quene came into the hall of Grenewyche, and sodaynly entered a tent of clothe of golde and before the tent stode foure men of armes, armed at all poynctes and swerdes in their handes, and sodaynly with noys of trompettes entered foure other persons all armed, and ran to the other foure, and there was a great and a fearce fight, and sodainly came out of a place lyke a wood eight wyldemen, all appareiled in grene mosse, made with slyued sylke, with Uggly weapons and terrible vysages, and there foughte with the knyghtes eight to eight, and after long fyghtyng. the armed knyghtes xxr drawe the wylde men out of their places, and folowed the chace out of the hall, and when they were departed, the tent opened, and there came out syx lordes and syx ladyes rychely appareyled, and daunsed a greate tyme: when they had daunsed their pleasure, they entered the tent agayn and so was conueyed out of the hall, and then the kynge and the Quene were serued with a right sumpteous banquet.

The third day of Februarie, the kyng made a solempne Justes, and he and the Marques Dorset would aunswere all commers, their apparell and bardes were of blew Uelues, and clothe of syluer, all to cutte in suttell knotes, rychely enbroudered, all the seruitours in white & blewe xl sylke. The counterparte, whiche were. xuii. in number, rychely appareyled in Uelues clothe of golde, & brouderte, euery man after his awne deuice. The kyng was that daye hyghly to be praysed, for he brake. xriii. speres besyde attayntes, and bare doune to ground a man of armes and hys horse: the lorde Marques and all other dyd valiauntly, and hadde

muche

muche prayse, for euery man did passyng well, whiche is seldome sene in suche a case, but the kyng for a suertie exceded all other.

The.iiij.day of October, the kyng remoued to Lambeth, and on the morowe began the hygh courte of Parliament, syr Thomas Nuel was then speaker, in this parliament was diuerse actes made, but in especial two, whiche were muche spoken of, the one was the acte of apparail, and the other the acte of labourers, of these twoo actes was muche commoning and much busynes arose, for the labourers would in nowise labour by the daye, but all in talke and in greate, and therefore muche trouble fell in the cõtrey, and in especiall in Haruest tyme, for then husbandmen coulde scace get workemen to helpe in their Haruest. This Parliament contynued tyll Easter, in the whiche diuerse subsidies were graunted to the kyng toward his great costes and charges, that he had bene at in his vyage Royall in Fraunce, and after Easter the nyne and twenty daye of the moneth of Apryl, the kyng deliting to set forth young gentelmen, called Nicholas Carew, and Fraunces Bryan, and cauled diuerse other young Gentelmen, to be on the counter parte, and lent to them horse and harneys to encourage all youthe to seke dedes of armes. This yere died at Rome by poyson as was reported the Archebyshop of Yorke a Cardinall, called doctor Benbricke, whiche was the kynges Ambassadour there: this was a wise man and of a holy courage. The kyng then gaue thesaied Archebishoprike to Thomas Wolsey, then bishop of Lyncoln, whiche at that tyme bare all the rule aboute the kyng, and what he saied was obeied in all places. And when he was once Archebishop he studied day and nyght how to be a Cardinall, and cauled the kyng and the Frẽche kyng to write to Rome for hym, and at their requestes he obteyned his purpose as you shall here afterwarde.

Cardinal Bẽbrick poysoned at Rome

At this tyme was muche cõmoning, & verely as it appered it was entended, that the kyng in person would passe the sea to Caleys, and there on the marches of thesame, the Frenche king and Quene to come & se the kyng their brother, & for thesame iorney many costly workes were wrought, and much riche apparell prouided for, and much preparation made against the next spryng: but death, whiche is the last ende of all thynges let this iorney, for before the next spring the Frenche kyng dyed at the citie of Paris, the first daye of January, when he had bene maried. lxxxij. dayes. And when the kyng was aduertised of the death of the Frenche kyng, he cauled a solempne obsequie to be song for hym in the cathedral church of. s. Paule with a costly herse, & many noble men being present.

And after he sent a letter to comforte the Quene his sister, requyryng to knowe her pleasure whither she would continue styl in Fraunce or returne into Englande againe. And when he was aduertysed of her purpose, which was to returne into England. He sent the duke of Suffolke, syr Richard Wyngfeld, and doctor West with a goodly bande of yomẽ all in blacke to Parys, whiche were well receiued of the newe Frenche kyng Fraũces the first of the name, and declared to hym, that according

to the couenauntes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene kyng Lo-
yes & the ladie Marie, sister to the kyng of England, thei demaunded to
haue thesayde quene deliuered to thé with her dower, & shewed their cō-
mission for the receite of her. Then the coūsaill of Fraunce, accordinge to
the apointmentes assigned her a dower, & the Duke of Suffolke put in
officers, then she was by endenture deliuered to the duke, whiche beha-
ued hym selfe so to her, that he obteined her good will to be her husband,
and therupon he wrote to the kyng her brother, mekely beseechyng hym
of pardon of his request & humbly requiring him of his wil and consent,
at whiche thinge the kyng a while staied, & at the last by the meane of the
Frenche quene her selfe, and other great frendes on the dukes parte: Af-
ter long suite it was agreed that the duke of Suffolke should bring her
into England vnmaried, & at his retorne to mary her in England: but
for doubte of chaunge he maried her secretely in Parys as was sayde.

¶ The seuenth yere.

After that the duke of Suffolke had receaued the Frenche
quene with her dower apointed, and all her apparell, iuels
and husholde stuffe deliuered, he with the quene toke their
leaue of the Frenche kyng, leauing doctor West, nominate
byshop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to bee
made betwene the kyng of England, and the newe Frenche kyng called
Fraunces the first, and so passed thorough Fraunce to Caleis, where she
was honourably enterteined. And after with greate honoure maried to
lorde Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke openly: howbeit, some saied
he was maried priuely before at Parys, in ỹ house of Cluigny. Against
this mariage many men grudged & saied that it was a great losse to the
realme that she was not maried to the prince of Castell: But the wysest
sorte was content, considering that if she had bene maried again out of
the realme, she should haue caried much riches with her, & now she brou-
ght euery yere into the realme. ix. or. x. M. markes: but whatsoeuer the
rude people said, the duke behaued hym selfe, so that he had bothe the fa-
uour of the kyng and of the people, his witte and demeanour was such.

The kyng & the quene accompanied with many lordes & ladies roade
to the high grounde of shoters hil to take the open ayre, and as they pas-
sed by the way, they espied a company of tall yomen, clothed all in grene
with grene whodes & bowes & arrowes, to the nūber of. ii. C. Then one
of them, whiche called hym selfe Robyn hood, came to the kyng, desyrynge
hym to se his men shote, & the kyng was content. Then he whisteled, & all
the. ii. C. archers shot & losed at once, & then he whisteled again, and they
likewyse shot agayne, their arrowes whisteled by crafte of the head, so
that the noyes was straunge and great, and muche pleased the kyng the
quene and all the company. All these archers were of the kynges garde
and had thus appareled them selues to make solace to the kynge.
Then Robyn hood desyred the kyng and Quene to come into the grene

& malynge.

wood

wood, and to se how the outlawes lyue . The kyng demaunded of the quene and her ladyes , if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so many outlawes. Then the quene said, that if it pleased hym, she was content, then the hoznes blewe tyll they came to the wood vnder shoters hill, and there was an Arber made of bowes with a hal, and a great chā-ber and an inner chamber very well made and couered with floures and swete herbes, whiche the kyng muche prayised . Then said Robyn hood, Sir, outlawes brekefastes is venyson, and therefore you must be contēt with such fare as we vse. Then the kyng and quene sate doune, and were
x serued with venyson and vyne by Robyn hood & his men, to their great contentacion . Then the kyng departed and his company, and Robyn hood and his men them conducted, and as they were returnyng, there met with them two ladyes in a ryche chariot drawen with. v. horses and euery horse had his name on his head, and on euery horse sat a lady with her name writen. On the first courser called Cawde, sate humidite, or humide. On the ii courser called Memeon, roade lady vert . On the. iii. called pheton, sate lady vegetaue. On the. iiii. called Rimphon, sate lady pleasaūce. On the. v. called lampace, sate swete odour, and in the Chayze sate the lady May, accompanied with lady Flora, richely appareled, and
xx they saluted the kyng with diuerse goodl songes, and so brought hym to Grenewyche. At this Mayng was a greate number of people to beholde to their great solace and confort.

Thesame after none, the kyng, the duke of Suffolke, the Marques dorset, and the erle of Essex, their bardes and bases of grene veluet & clothe of golde, came into the fielde on great coursers, on whom wayted diuerse gentelmen in silke of thesame colour. On the other side entred. xvi. lordes and gentelmen, all appareiled richely after their deuises , and so valiauntly they ranne their courses appointed : and after that they ran volant one as fast as he might ouertake another, whiche was a goodly
xxx sight to se: & when al was done they departed, & wēt to a goodly bāquet.

This Sommer the kyng toke his progresse Westward, & visited his tounes & castels there, & hard the complaintes of his poze comminaltie, and euer as he roade, he hūted & liberally departed with venyson: and in the middes of Septēber he came to his maner of Oking, & thether came to hym the Archebyshop of Yorke, whom he hartely welcōmed & shewed hym great pleasures: And while he sotourned there, a letter was brought to the Archbyshop frō Rome, certefiyng him howe he was elected to be a Cardinall, whiche incōtinent shewed thesame to the kyng, disabling him self in wordes, though his entent was otherwise, & so the kyng did encou-
xl rage him, & willed him to take the order on him, & so called him my lorde Cardinall, but his hat, bul nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

In the moneth of Nouembet, the kyng assembled his hygh courte of Parliamēt at Westmynster, and diuerse actes made in the Parliament the. vi. yere, amended and altered, & especially the acte of apparell, and the acte of labouters, as by the booke of statutes more playnly apereth.

And at the ende of this Parliament, the Archebyshop of Cauntourbury perceauing that the Archebyshop of Yozke medled moze in his office of Chauncelourship then it became hym to suffer, except he would auẽture the kynges displeasure, and seing also that thesaid byshop of Yozke coucted to beare all the rule, and to haue all the whole auctho̓itie, consideryng also his awne great age, gaue vp into the kynges handes his rowme of Chauncelour, and deliuered to the kyng the great Seale, whiche deliuered thesame to the Archebyshop of Yozke, and made hym Chauncelour. And assone as he was Chauncelour, he directed commissions into all Shires, foz to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labourers in execucion. And he hym selfe one daye called a gentelman named Symon fyz Richard, and toke from hym an olde Jacket of Crymosyn veluet and diuerse bzoches, whiche extreme doinge caused hym greatly to be hated, and by his exsample many cruell officers foz malice, cuell intreated dyuerse of the kynges subiectes, in so muche that one Shynnyng Mayze of Rochester, set a young man on the Pillozy foz weryng of a tyuen shert. x

The Cardinals hat receaued.

In the ende of this moneth was sent into Englande the Cardinalles hat, and receaued by gentelmen of Kent, and bzought to London with suche triumphe as though the greatest pzince of Chzistendome had bene come into ỹ realme. And on a Sonday at. s. Peters church at Westminster he receaued the habite, hat, and piller, & other vayngloztious tryfles, appertaignyng to the ozder of a Cardinal. And when he was once a perfite Cardinall, he loked then aboue all estates, so that all men almost hated hym, and disdayned hym. xx

Then after the Parliamẽt sir Edward pouninges laboured to be discharged of the keping of the citie of Tozney, foz there he was euer sickly, and so he was discharged, & sir Williã blunt lozd Mountioye was sent thether. And foz Marshal there was apointed sir Sampson Nozto̓. And when the lozd Mountioye was come thether, and sir Sampson Nozto̓, xxi there happened such a tyot that the citie was in great ieopardy, the very cause was vnknowen, but all the souldioure, except such as were of the kynges garde rebelled, & put the lozd Moũtioye in ieopardy of his lyfe. And in conclusion to appease the people, sir Sãpson Nozto̓ was banisshed the toune foz euer. And after the citie was appeased, & euery thyng thought to be fozgotte̓, diuerse were executed, & diuerse banished ỹ toune and some fled and were banyshed both England and the toune.

After the Parliamẽt was ended, the king kept a solempne Chzistmas at his maner of Elthã, & on the. xii. night in the hall was made a goodly castel, wõderously set out, & in it certeyn ladies & knightes, and when the xl kyng & quene were set, in came other knightes, & assailed the castel where many a good strype was geuen, & at the last, the assaylantes were beaten awaye. And then issued out knightes and ladies out of the castel, whiche ladyes were ryche & straungely disguysed, foz all their apparell was in bzaydes of Gold, fret with mouing spangels, syluer and gilt, set on Crymosyn

mosyn satyn lose and not fastened: the mens apparell of thesame suyte made like Julis of Hungary, and the ladyes heddes & bodies were after the fassion of Amsterdam, and when the daunsyng was done, the banquet was serued in of. ii. C. dyshes, with great plenty to euery body.

This yere was the new league betwene the kyng & the Frenche kyng openly proclaymed thorough the citie of London with a trompet. This yere also, Margaret quene of the Scottes, wife to James the. iiii. slayn at Bramston the. v. yere of the kyng, & elder syster to the kyng, after the death of her late husbande maried Archiball Douglas erle of Angus, without the kyng her brothers assent, or the counsail of Scotlãd, for the whiche he was not well content. But after that, there fell such a strife betwene the lordes of Scotland, that she & her husband like banished persones came into England, & wrote to the kyng for mercy & comfort. The kyng euer enclyned to mercy, sent them apparell, vessell and all thynges necessary, willyng them to lye still in Northumberland, till they knewe farther of his pleasure: And so they laye still at Harbotell, and the quene was there deliuered of a faire lady called Margaret, and all the countrey were commaunded by the kyng to do them pleasure.

This yere the. xviii. of Februarye, at Grenewiche was borne a faire prynces and christened with great solempnitie, and named Mary.

This yere died the kyng of Arragon father to the quene, for whome was kept a solempne obsequy in the Cathedrall churche of Paules.

¶ The eight yere.

YE haue harde the last yere how the quene of Scottes with her husband was come for succour into England, and laye at Harbottell in Northumberland, tyl the kynges pleasure was to send for them. So he, lyke a natural brother sent for her and her husband to come to hys courte for their solace. For the whiche kyndnes the erle Humbly thanked the kyng, & promised to geue his attendaũce on the quene his wife to the court: wherupon the kyng sent William blacknal esquier, clerke of his Spycery with syluer vessell, plate and other thynges necessary for the conueyaunce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate conuenient. And when she was ready to departe, she asked for her husbande, but he was departed into Scotland, & left her alone, nothing remembring his promes, which sodeyn departyng muche made her to muse: Howbeit, the lordes of Englande greatly encouraged her to kepe her promyse with the kynge her brother: and so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, and in euery toune she was well receaued, & so on the. iii. day of May she made her entry into Londõ, riding on a white palfrey (which the quene of Englãd had sent to her) behind sir Thomas par richely besene, & with great company of lordes & ladies, she roade thorough the citie to Baynardes castel, & from thence she was conueighed to Grenewiche, & there receiued ioyously of the kyng, the quene, the Frenche quene her syster, and highly

was she feasted. And when the kyng heard that the Erle of Angus her husbande was departed, he saied, it was done like a Scot. This Quene sometyme was at the courte, and sometyme at Baynardes castell, and so she continued in Englande all this yere.

The kyng for the honoure of hys syster, the. xix. and. xx. day of Maye prepared. ii. solempne dates of Justes, and the kyng him selfe, & the duke of Suffolke, the erle of Essex, & Nicholas Carew esquyer, toke on them to aunswere al commers. The apparel of them & their horses was blacke veluet, covered al over with braunches of hony suckels of fine flat gold of damaske, of lose worke, every lefe of the braunche moving, the em= x broudery was very connyng and sumptcous. On the kyng was attending in one suyte on horsebacke, the lorde Marques dorset, the erle of Surrey, the lord Burgainy, the lord Hastinges, sir Jhon pechy, the lord Ferreys, sir William Fitzwilliam, & .xii. other knightes, all these were in frockes of blewe veluet, garded with ryche clothe of golde, & their horse trappers of blew veluet, frynged with golde: And on foote were. xl. persons all in blew satyn, garded with clothe of golde. And so they entered the fielde with trompettes, dronslades and other mynstrelsey.

Then in came the counterpart, richely appareled, to the number of. xii and on that daye every man did well, but the kyng did best, and so was x adiudged, and so at night they ceassed, and came to supper.

The kyng, the next day & his company were appareiled horse and al in purple veluet, set ful of leaues of clothe of gold, engrailed with fyne flat golde of dāmaske, embroudered like to Role leues, & every lefe fastened to other with pointes of dammaske golde, & on al their borders were letters of gold, bullion. And on the kyng wayted. v. lordes. xiiii. knightes in frockes of yelow veluet, garded and bound with riche clothe of gold, & xxx. gentelmen were in like apparell on fote, & .xl. officers in yelow satyn edged with clothe of gold: thus with great triumphe thei entred ỹ fielde. Then the cuntrepartie entred, al clothed & barded in white satyn, trauer= xx sed with clothe of golde richely. This day was many a great stripe geuē. The kyng and sir William kyngston ranne together, whiche sir Williā was a strong & a tall knight, & yet the kyng by strength ouerthrew hym to the groūd. And after that the kyng & his aides had perfourmed their courses, they ranne volant at al cōmers, whiche was a plesaunt sight to se. And when night approched, they al disarmed thē, & wēt to the quenes chāber, where was a great bāket for ỹ welcome of the quene of Scottes.

This moneth of May were sent out of England. xii. C. masons and Carpenters, & .iii. hundred labourers to the citie of Torney: for the kyng and his counsaill, cōsideryng that the garrison that was kept there, was xl chargeable, and therfore it was determined that there should be builded a Castell to chastice the citie if they rebelled, and to minishe the garrison. And therfore these worckemen were sent thether, whiche this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

This yere, by the Cardinall, were all men called to accompt that had the

had the occupying of the kynges money in the warres or els where, not to euery mans contentacion, for some were found in arrerages, and some saued them selfes by policy & byby ozy, and waxed ryche, and some Innocentes were punished. And for a truthe he so punished periury with opē punyshment and open papers weryng, that in his tyme it was lesse used. He punyshed also lordes, knyghtes, and men of all sortes for ryottes, beryng and maintenaunce in their countreis, that the poze men lyued quietly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonemēt: but he him selfe and his seruauntes, whiche were well punished therfore. The poze peo-
x ple perceaued that he punished the ryche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and vexacion. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceaued their vntrue surmises and fayned complaintes for the moste parte, he then waxed wery of hearyng their causes, and ordeined by the kynges cōmission, diuerse vnder courtes to here complaintes by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the white hall, the other before the kynges Almoner doctor Stokesley, a mā that had more learnyng then discretiō to be a iudge. The third was kept in the lord treasourers chamber beside the starre chamber, and the.iiii. at the tolles at after none. These courtes were greatly haunted for a ty-
xx me, but at the last ỹ people perceaued that much delay was vsed in these courtes, & few matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no mā by ỹ law, then euery man was wery of thē & resorted to ỹ cōmō law.

In the moneth of october came into Englande Mathew Byshop of Sedonon & Cardinall, called cōmonly the Cardinal of Swyshes, from the Emperour Maximiliā. This Cardinal was a wise mā & of great boldenes, & was wel entreteined in the court & of the kyng. And at his contemplaciō & for old loue, ỹ kyng lent to ỹ Emperour Maximiliā a great summe of money: wherof ỹ cōpany of Friscobalde, & Antony caueler Geneuoy vndertoke therchāge, but they paied not ỹ Emperour at his day,
xxx not wtstanding thei had receaued ỹ money of ỹ kyng. This Friscobald & Antony Cauelet by meanes of rewardes, geuē to great lordes of ỹ coū-sail borowed of ỹ king.xxx.M.l. & had lōg daies for the paimēt: but Friscobald was shortely cōsumed, & Anthony Caueler could not be sene, & so the kyng was not payd at his daies, & many English merchauntes were by these men vndone, for they spent liberally of euery mans goodes.

This yere the kyng kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche, & on the.xii, night, according to the old custome, he & the quene came into the hal. & when they were set, & the quene of Scottes also, there entred in to the hall a Gardeyn artificiall, called the Gardeyn of Esperance. This
xl Gardeyn was towred at euery corner, and railed with railes gilt, all the bankes were set wt floures artificial of silke & gold, ỹ leues cut of grene sattyn, so ỹ they semed very floures. In the middest of this Gardeyn was a piller of antique worke, al gold set with perle & stone, & on the toppe of the piller, which was.vi. square, was a louer or an arche embowed, crouned with gold: within whiche stode a bushe of Roses red and white, al of

sylke and golde, and a bushe of Pomegranates of like stuf. In this gardeyn walked. vi. knightes and. vi. ladyes rychely appareyled, and then they discended and daunsed many goodly daunses, and so ascended the gardeyn agayne, and were conueighed out of the hal, and then the kyng was serued of a great banket. After this Christmas, the kyng exercysed hym selfe muche in hawkyng.

In this season, the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straungers sayde and boasted them selfes to be in suche fauoure with the kyng and hys counsaill, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie: And the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the poze Englishe artificers coulde skace get any liuing: And most of all the straungers were so proude, that they disdained, mocked and oppressed the Englishemen, whiche was the beginning of the grudge. Foz amonge all other thynges, there was a Carpenter in London called Willyamson, whiche bought two stockdoues in Chepe, and as he was about to paye foz them, a Frencheman toke them oute of his hande, and said they were no meate foz a Carpenter: well said the Englysheman I haue bought them and now payed foz them, and therfoze I will haue them, naye saied the Frencheman I wil haue them foz my lozde the Ambassadour, and so foz better oz wozse, the Frencheman called the Englisheman knaue, and went a waye with the stockdoues. The straungers came to the Frenche Ambassadour, and surmysed a complainte againste the pooze carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my lozde Maire, and said so muche, that the carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kynges counsail, that the kynges commaundement was layde on hym. And when syz Jhon Baker knyght and other wozshipful persones sued to the Ambassadour foz hym, he aunswered, by the body of God that the Englyshe knaue shoulde lose his lyfe, foz he saied no Englysheman shoulde deny that the Frenchemen required, and other aunswere had they none. The pryde of Frenchemen.

Also a Frencheman that had slayne a man, should abiure the realme and had a crosse in his hande, and then sodeynly came a greate sozte of Frenchemē about hym, & one of them said to the Constable that led him, syz is this crosse the price to kyll an Englisheman. The Constable was somwhat astonied and aunswered not. Then said another Frencheman, on that pryce we would be banyshed all by the masse, thys saiyng was noted to be spoken sputefully. Howebeit, the Frenchemen were not all onely oppressozs of the Englysshemen, foz a Lombarde called Fraunces de bard, entised a mannes wyfe in Lombarde strete to come to his chambze with her huldandes plate, whyche thynge she dyd. After when her husbande knewe it, he demaunded his wyfe, but aunswere was made he shoulde not haue her, then he demaunded his plate, and in lyke maner aunswere was made that he shoulde neither haue plate noz wyfe. And when he had sewed an accion against the straunger in the Guylde hall, the straunger so faced the Englisheman, that he faynted in his sute.

And

And then the Lombarde arrested the poore man for his wyfes boorde, while he kept her from her husbande in his chamber. This mocke was muche noted, and for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased suche a malice in the Englisshe mennes hartes, that at the last it brast oute. For amongest other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called Jhon Lyncoln, whiche wrote a bill before Easter, desyring doctor Standiche at hys Sermon at saint Marye Spyttell the Mondaye in Ester weke, too moue the Mayre and Aldermen, to take parte with the comminaltie agaynste the straungers: The Doctor aunswered that it became not hym too moue anye suche thinge in a Sermon. From hym he departed, and came to a Chanon in sainct Mary Spittell, a doctor in Deuinitie, called doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to hym, howe miserably the common artificers lyued, and skase coulde get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes and chyldren, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that tooke awaye all the lyuynge in maner. And also howe the Englysshe marchauntes could haue no vtteraunce, for the marchaunt straungers bryng in all Silkes, clothes of Golde, Wyne, Oyle, Iron, and suche other marchaundyse, that no man almoste byeth of an Englysshman.
And also outwarde, they carye so muche Englysshe Wolle, Tynne, and Leade, that Englysshmen that auenture outwarde can haue no lyuyng: Whiche thynges saied Lyncoln hathe bene shewed to the counsaill, and cannot be heard. And farther sayed he, the straungers compasse the cytie rounde aboute, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, Sayncte Martynes, Sayncte Jhons strete, Algate, Towre hyll, and Sainct Katherines, and forstall the market, so that no good thynge for them commeth to the market: Whiche is the cause that Englysshe men want and sterue, and they lyue habundauntly in great pleasure. Wherefore sayed Lyncolne master Doctor, syth you were borne in London, and se the oppression of the straungers, and the great misery of your awne natyue countrey, exhorte all the cytezens to ioyne in one against these straungers, raueners and destroyers of your countrey. Master doctor hearynge this, saied he muche lamented the case if it were as Lyncolne hadde declared, yes sayde Lyncolne, that it is and muche more, for the Duchemen bryng ouer Iron, Tymber, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cubbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, girdels, with pointes, sadelles and painted clothes so that if it were wrought here, Englishemen might haue some worke & lyuynge by it. And beside this, they growe into suche a multitude that it is to be looked vpon, for I sawe on a Sondaye this Lent. vi. C. straungers shotyng at the Poppyngaye with Crosbowes, and they kepe suche assemblies and fraternities together, & make suche a gathering to their cõmon boxe, that euery botcher wil holde plee with the citie of Lõdõ: wel sayd the doctor, I will do for a reformacion of this matter asmuche as a priest may do, and so receaued Lincolnes bill & studied for his purpose.

Then

Then Lyncoln very ioyous of hys enterpryce went from man to man,
saiyng that shortly they shoulde heare newes, and dayly excited younge
people and artificers to beare malice to the straungers. When Easter
came and doctor Bele shoulde preache the Tuesdaye in Easter weke, he
came into the pulpit, and there declared that to hym was brought a pi-
tifull byll, and red in this wyse. To all you the worshypfull lordes and
masters of the cytie that will take compassion ouer the poore people your
neighbours, and also of the greate importable hurtes, losses, and hyn-
deraunces, whereof proceadeth the extreme pouertie too all the kynges
subiectes that inhabite within this cytie and suburbes of the same, for x
so it is that the alyens and straungers eate the bread from the poore fa-
therles chyldren, and take the liuynge from all the artificers, and the
entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby pouertie is so muche encrea-
sed that euery man bewaileth the misery of other, for craftes men be bro-
ught to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes: Wherefore the premisses
considered, the redresse muste be of the commons, knyt and vnite to one
parte, and as the hurt and dammage greueth all men, so muste all men
set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre thesayed alyens
so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too
come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no far- xx
ther, and then he began Cœlum cœli domino, terram autem dedit filijs ho-
minum, and vpon this text he intreated, that this lande was geuen too
Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte En-
glishemen to cherysshe and defende them selfes, and to hurte and greue a-
liens for the common weale. And vpon this text pugna pro patria, he
brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fyght for their cou-
trey, and euer he subtellie moued the people to rebelle against the strau-
gers, and breake the kynges peace, nothynge regardynge the league
betwene prynces and the kynges honoure. Of thys Sermon many a
light person tooke courage, and openly spake agaynste straungers. xx
And as the deuell woulde, the Sunday after at Grenewyche in the kyn-
ges gallery was Fraunces de Bard, whiche as you heard kept an En-
glishe mans wife and his goodes, and yet he could haue no remedy, and
with hym were Domyngo, Anthony Caueler, and many mo straungers,
and there they talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Jested and
laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englishemans wyfe, saiyng that
if they had the Mayres wyfe of London, they would kepe her: syr Tho-
mas sayed, Sirs you haue to muche fauour in England. There were
diuerse Englishe merchauntes by, and heard them laugh and were not
content, in so muche as one William bolt a Mercer sayed, wel you who- xl
reson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh, by the masse we will one daye
haue a daye at you, come when it wyll, and that saiynge the other mer-
chauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the
younge and euell disposed people sayed, they woulde be reuenged on
the merchaunte straungers, alwell as on the artificers straungers.

On

On Monday the morow after, the kyng remoued to hys manor of Rychemonde.

The.ix.yere.

Upon this rumour the.xxviii.daye of Apryll, diuerse yõge men of the citie assauted the Alyens as they passed by the stretes, and some were strikẽ, & some buffeted, & some throwen in the canel. Wherfore the Mayre sent diuerse persõs to ward, as Stephyn Studley skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson & diuerse other, some to one coũter, & some to another, and
x some to Newgate. Then sodeynly was a cõmen secret rumour, & no mã could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the citie would rebell & slaye all Aliens, in so muche as diuerse straungers fled oute of the citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kinges counsail, insomuch as the Cardinall beyng lord Chaũcelour, sent for Jhon Rest Mayre of the citie, and other of the counsayl of the citie, & demaũded of the Mayre in what case the citie stode, to whome he aunswered that it was wel & in good quyet: Nay sayd the Cardinall, it is informed vs that your yõg and ryotous people wyll ryse & distresse the straungiers, heare ye of no such thyng? No surely sayd the Mayre, & I trust so to gouerne thẽ that
xx the kynges peace shalbe obserued, & that I dare vndertake yf I & my brethren the Aldermẽ may be suffered. Wel said the Cardinal, go home & wisely forsee this matter, for & yf any suche thyng be, you may shortly preuent it. The Mayre came from the Cardinals at.iii. of the clocke at after none on May euen, & demaunded of the officers what they harde, diuerse of thẽ aunswered that the voyce of the people was so, & had ben so.ii. or.iii. dayes before. This heryng the Mayre sent for al his brethrẽ to the Guylde hall in great hast, & almost.vii. of the clocke or the assemble was set. Thẽ was declared to thẽ by Master broke the recorder how that the kynges coũsail had reported to thẽ that ỹ cõminaltie that night
xxx would rise, & distresse al the Aliẽs & straũgers that inhabited in the citie of Lõdon: the Aldermẽ aũswered they harde say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayd that it was wel done to forsee it. Then sayd the recorder, it were best that a substãcial watche were set of honest persons, housholders, whiche might withstand the euell doers. An Alderman sayde, that it was euell to rayse men in harneys, for if suche a thinge were entended, they coulde not tel who woulde take their parte. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the younge men asonder, and euery man to shut in hys doores, and to kepe hys seruauntes
xl within. Then with these opinõs was the Recorder sent to the Cardinal before.viii. of the clocke, and then he with suche as were of the kynges counsayll at his place, commaunded that in no wyse watche shoulde be kept, but that euery man shoulde repayre to his awne house, and there to kepe hym and hys seruauntes tyl.vii. of the clocke of the morynyng: with whiche commaundement, thesayde Rychard broke sergeaunt at

the lawe and recorder, and syr Thomas Moore, late vndersheryfe of Lõ-
don, & then of the kynges coũsaill, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre
and before.ix.of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundemẽt, of the
kynges counsayl. Then in all hast, euery Aldermen sent to his warde
Ao. 1517 mayday that no man should stirre after.ix.of the clocke out of his house, but to
kepe his doores shut, and hys seruauntes within tyll.viii.of the clocke
in the morrynge. After this commaundement, syr Jhon Mondy Alder-
man came from his warde, and founde two young men in Chepe play-
nge at Buckerels, and a great company of young men lokynge on thẽ
for the commaundement was then skace knowen, for then it was but.ix. x
of the clocke. Master Mondy seyng that, bade them leaue, and the one
younge man asked hym why: and then he sayd thou shalt know, & toke
hym by the arme to haue had him to the counter. Then all the yoũg mẽ
resisted the Alderman, & toke him from master Mondy, and cryed pyen-
tyses and clubbes. Then out at euery dooze came clubbes and weapõs
and the Alderman fled, and was in great daungier. Then moze people
arose out of euery quarter, and oute came seruynge men, and water men
and Courtiers, and by a.xi.of the clocke there were in Chepe.vi.or.vii.
hundreth. And oute of Paules churcheyarde came.iii.hundreth, whiche
wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake xx
vp the counterpes, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Mayre had the-
ther committed for hurtynge of the straungers, and came to Newgate
and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause.
The Mayre and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamacion
in the kynges name, but nothynge was obeyed. Thus they ranne a
plump thorow sainct Nycholas Shãbels, & at sayncte Martyns gate,
there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desyrynge theym
to go to their lodgynges: And as they were intreatyng, and had almost
brought them to a staye: The people of sayncte Martynes threwe oute
stones and battes, and hurte dyuerse honest persones, that were per- xx
swadynge the tyotous people to ceasse, and they bade them holde their
handes, but still they threwe oute bryckes and hoate water. Then a ser-
geaunt of Armes called Nycholas dounes, whiche was there with ma-
ster Moore, entreatynge them, beynge sore hurt, in a fury cryed doune
with them. Then all the mistruled persons ranne to the doores and wyn-
dowes of sayncte Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it
into the strete, and lefte fewe houses vnspoyled. And after that they
ranne hedlynge into Cornehill by Leaden hal, to the house of one Mu-
tuas a Frencheman or Pycardy borne, whiche was a greate bearer of
Frenchemen, were they pyckpursses, or howe euell disposicion soeuer xl
they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled dyuerse
Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kynges lawes: &
al thei were so borne out by thesame Mutuas, ỹ no mã durst medle with
them, wherfore he was sore hated, & yf the people had found hym in their

fury

fury,they would haue striken of his head:but when they foūd hym not, the water men,& certeyn young prestes that were there fell to rifynge: some canne to Blāchechapelton, & brake the strūgers houses, & threwe shooes and bootes into the strete: This from.x.or.xi.of the clocke, continued these ryotous people, durynge, whche tyme a knight called syr Thomas parr,in great hast went to the Cardinall & tolde him of thys ryot,which incontinent strengthened his house with men & ordinaunce. And after.this knight roade to the king toRichemōd,& made the report much more then it was:Wherfore the king hastely sent to Lōdō,& was truly aduertised of the matter, & how that the ryot was ceassed, & many of the doers apprehēded.But while this ruffling cōtinued,syr Richard Cholmeley knight, Lieutenaūt of the Towre,no great frende to the citie,in a frantyke fury losed certayn peces of ordinaunce,& shot into the citie,whiche did litle harme, howbeit his good wyl apered.About.iii.of the clocke,these ryotous persons seuered and went to their places of resorte,& by the waye they were takē by the Wayte and the heddes of the citie,and some sent to the Towre,and some to Newgate,and some to the Counters,to the number of.iii.C.some fled,and specially the watermen and prestes,& seruyng men, but the poore prentises were taken. About fyue of the clocke,the erles of Shrewesbury and Surrey, whiche had harde of this ryot,came to London with suche strength as they had, so dyd the Innes of court,and diuerse noble men:but or they came,all the ryot was ceased,and many taken as you haue heard.

Then were the prisoners examined,& the sermon of docter Bele called to remembraunce,and he taken & sent to the Towre, & so was Jhon Lyncoln:but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Thē the iii.day of May was an Oyer & determiner at Lōdō before the Wayte, the duke of Norffolke,the erle of Surrey and other. The citie thought that the duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his,which the yere before was slayn in Chepe,in so much the duke then in his fury sayd, I pray God I may once haue the citezēs in my daungier: & the duke also thought that they bare him no good wil,wherfore he came into the citie with.xiii.C.men in harneys to kepe the Oyer & determiner. And vpon examinaciō it could neuer be proued of any metyng,gathering,talking or cōuenticle at any daye or tyme before that day,but that the chaūce so happened without any matter prepēsed of any creature sauing Lyncoln & neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamations were made that no womē shoulde come together to bable & talke,but all men should kepe their wyues in their houses. All the stretes that were notable stode ful of harnessed men, which spake many opprious wordes to the citezens, whiche greued them sore: and yf they woulde haue bene reuenged,the other had had the worsse,for the citezēs were.ii.C.to one:but lyke true subiectes they suffered paciently.

When the lordes were set,the prisoners were brought in thorough y stretes tyed in ropes,some men,some laddes, some chyldren of.xiii.yere.

There was a great mournyng of fathers & frendes for their chyldren & kynsfolke. Emong the prisoners many were not of the citie, some were priestes, and some husbandmen & laborers, the whole some of the prisoners were .ii.C.lxxviii. persons. The cause of the treason was, because the kyng had amitie with all Christen princes, that they had broken the truce & league, cõtrary to the statute of kyng Hẽry the .v. Of this treasõ diuerse were endited, & so for ỹ tyme the lordes departed. And the next day the duke came agayn, & the erle of Surrey with .ii. M. armed men, which kept the stretes. Whẽ the Mayre, the duke, & the erle of Shrewsbury & Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and .xiii. founde gultye of high treason, & adiuged to be hanged, drawen & quartered, and for execucion wherof, were set vp .xi. payre of galowes in diuerse places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blãchechapelton, Gracious strete, Leadẽ hal, & before euery coũter one, & at Newgate, at S. Martens, at Aldrisgate, at Bishops gate. This sight sore greued the people to se galowes set in the kynges chamber. Then were ỹ prysoners ỹ were iudged, brought to the places of execution, & executed in most rigorous maner, for the lord Edmõd haward sonne to the duke of Northfolke, & knight Marshal shewed no mercy, but extreme cruelty to the poore pongelinges in their execuciõ, & likewise the dukes seruauntes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hãge, some bad drawe, some bad set the citie on fyer, but all was suffred.

On Thursday the .viii. day of May was Lyncoln, Shyrwyn, & two brethrẽ called Bets, and diuerse other adiudged to dye. Then Lyncoln said, my lordes, I meant well, for & you knew the mischief that is ensued in this realme by straũgers, you would remedy it, & many tymes I haue cõplained, & then I was called a busy felow: now our lord haue mercy on me. Then all thesayd persons were layd on the hardels, & drawen to the standarde in Chepe, & first was Jhon Lyncoln executed, & as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaũdemẽt from the kyng to respite execution. Then the people cried, God saue the king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another daye, and the prisoners sent agayn to warde, and the harnessed men departed oute of London, and all thynges quyet.

The .xi. daye of Maye the kynge came to his maner of Grenewiche, where the recorder of London & diuerse Aldermen came to speake with his grace, and al ware gounes of black coloure. And when they perceaued the king comming out of his priuie chambre into his chãbre of presence, they kneled doune, & ỹ recorder sayd: Our most natural, beninge and souereigne lorde, we knowe well that your grace is displeased with vs of your citie of Lõdon for the great ryot late done: we assertein your grace that none of vs, nor no honest person were condiscendynge to that enormitie, and yet we, oure wyfes and chyldrẽ euery houre lament that your fauour shoulde be taken from vs, and forasmuche as light & ydle persones were the doers of thesame, we moost hũbly beseche your grace

to

to haue mercy of vs for our negligence, & compassion of the offendours for their offence and trespasse.

Truly sayd the kyng, you haue highly displeased and offended vs, & ye oughte to wayle and be sory for the same, and where ye saye that you the substantiall persons were not consentyng to the same, it appereth to the contrary, for you neuer moued to let theim, nor sturred once to fyght wtih theim, whiche you saye were so small a nombre of light persones, wherefore we must thynke, and you cannot deny, but you dyd wynke at the matter, but at this tyme we wyll graunt to you neither out fauor nor good will, nor to thoffenders mercy, but resort to the Cardinall our lord Chaūcelour, & he shal make you an answer & declare our pleasure, and with this answer ỹ lōdoners departed & made relatiō to ỹ Maior.

The.xviii.day of this moneth the quene of Scottes, which had bene at the Courte and at Baynardes Castell, a whole yere at the kynges charge, and was richely apoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of Jewells, plate, tapissry, Arras, Coyne, Horsses, and all other thinges of the kynges gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great rythes, albeit she came into Englande with muche pouertie, and she entred into Scotland the.xiii.daye of Juyn, whome her husband receaued at Berwick: but the Englishemen smally hym regarded. All her charges within the realme, comminge to the courte & returnynge, were of the kynges purse.

Thursdaye the.xxii.day of May the kynge came into Westmynster hall, for whome at the vpper ende was set a clothe of estate, & the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinall, the dukes of Northfolke & Suffolke, ỹ erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex & Wilshyre, of Surrey, with many lordes & other of the kynges coūsaill. The Mayre & Alderme, & al the chief of the citie were there in their best liuery (according as the Cardinall had thē apoynted) by.ix.of the clock. Then the kynge cōmaūded that al the prisoners should be brought foorth. Thē came in the poore youg̃linges & olde false knaues boūde in ropes all along, one after another in their shertes, & euery one a halter about his neck, to the nūber of.iiii.C.mē & .xi.womē. And whē all were come before the kinges presence, the Cardinal sore layed to the Mayre & cōminaltie their negligēce, & to the prisoners he declared that thei had deserued death for their offence: Then al the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious lord, mercy. Then the lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the kyng pardoned thē al. And then the Cardinal gaue vnto thē a good exhortacion to the great gladnes of the herers. And whē the generall pardon was pronoūced, all ỹ prisoners shouted atonce, & altogether cast vp their haltersinto ỹ hal roffe, so that the king might perceaue thei were none of the discreetest sorte. Here is to be noted ỹ diuerse offenders which were not takē, hering ỹ the king was inclined to mercy came wel appareled to Westmynster, & sodeynly stryped thē into their shertes w halters, & came in emong the prisoners willingly, to be partakers of the

kynges pardon,by the whiche doyng,it was well knowen that one Jhō Gellon yoman of the Croune,was the first that began to spoyle,and exhoyted other to dooe theſame,and becauſe he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other pꝛiſoners,and ſo had his pardon. This compaignie was after called the blacke Wagon.Then were all the galowes within the citee taken doune, and many a good pꝛaier layed foꝛ the kyng,and the citezens toke moꝛe hede to their ſeruauntes.

In June the kyng had with hym diuerſe Ambaſſadoꝛs, foꝛ ſolace of whom he pꝛepared a coſtly Juſtes,he hymſelf and.xii.agaynſt the duke of Suffolk and other.xii.his baſe and bard was the one halfe clothe of ſiluer,and the other halfe blacke Tinſell. On the ſiluer was a curious loſe woꝛke of white veluet embꝛaudered with Golde,cut on the Siluer and euery cut engrayled with golde,ſo that that ſide was golde,Siluer and veluet. On the blacke tynſell ſyde was blacke veluet enbꝛoudered with golde and cut,and euery cut was engrayled with flat gold of Damaſke.The baſe and barde wer bꝛoudered with greate letters of maſſy golde Bullion,full of peaꝛles and ſtones,meꝛueylous riche:al his compaignie wer in like ſuite, ſauing that they had no iuelles.The kyng had on his hed a ladies ſleue full of Diamondes.On the kyng attended gē tlemen,Armouꝛers,and other officiers to the nomber of.CxxV.perſones all in white Ueluet and white Sattyn,hoꝛſe and harneis foꝛ hoꝛſemen. Cappes and Hoſen foꝛ footemen,all white at the kinges coſt.This royally the kyng & his compaignie with his waiters came to the tiltes ende

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke with the Marques Doꝛcet, the Erles of Eſſex and Surrey, and.viii.other of his bande,in bardes and baſes of white Ueluet & cꝛimoſin ſattin loſenged,ſet full of letters of.C. M.of gold,foꝛ Charles & Mary,and thei toke the other ende of the tilt. Then the Trompettes blewe,and the Kyng and the Duke ranne fiercely together,and bꝛake many ſpeꝛes,and ſo did all the other,that it was harde to ſaie who did beſt: but when the courſes were ronne, they ranne volant one at another,ſo that bothe by the repoꝛte of ſir Edwarde Eylfoꝛde Maſter of the Armury, and alſo of the Judges and Heraldes,at theſe Juſtes wer bꝛoken fiue hūdꝛed and ſixe ſpeꝛes: and then the kyng theſame night made to the Ambaſſadoꝛs a ſumpteous banket,with many ridelles and muche paſtyme.

After this greate triumphe,the king appointed his geſtes foꝛ his paſtyme this Sommer,but ſodeinly there came a plague of ſickenes, called the Swet yng ſickenes,that turned all his purpoſe. This malady was ſo cruell that it killed ſome within thꝛee houres, ſome within twoo houres,ſome mery at diner and dedde at ſupper.Many died in the kynges Courte,the Loꝛde Clinton, the Loꝛde Grey of Wilton,and many knightes, Gentlemē and officiers. Foꝛ this plague Wighelmas terme was adiourned,and becauſe that this malady continued from July to the middes of December,the kyng kept hymſelf cuer with a ſmall compaignie,and kept no ſolempne Chꝛiſtmas,willyng to haue no reſoꝛt foꝛ

feare

feare of infeccion: but muche lamented the nombre of his people, for in some one toune halfe the people died, and in some other toune the thirde parte, the Sweate was so feruent and infeccious.

The.x.yere.

IN the beginning of this yere, Trinite terme was begon at Orenford, where it continued but one day, and was again adiourned to Westminster. This yere came to Calice frō Pope Leo, a legate de latere, called Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardianall Campeius, for to exhorte the kyng to make warre on the Turke. And likewyse the sayed Leo sent iii. other legates furth, at that tyme for the said purpose, one into Fraūce another into Spain, and the third into Germany. The.ix. yere. x

When the Cardinall of Yorke knewe, that there was comming a legate into Englande, whiche should haue a greater preheminence then a Cardinall, he whose ambicion was neuer satisfied, caused a Bishoppe and certain Doctors to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome hym, and to shewe hym that yf he would haue the Popes purpose to take any effecte in Englande, he should in any wyse sende in poste to Rome, to haue the sayed Cardinall of Yorke to be legate also, and to be ioyned in commission with hym, whiche thing was doen, (not without good rewardes) so that in thirtie and fiue daies, the bull was brought to Calice, During whiche tyme the Cardinall of Yorke sent to the Legate to Calice, redde cloth to clothe his seruauntes, whiche at their comming to Calice, were but meanely appareled. And when all thinges were ready, he passed the sea and landed at Douer, and so kept furthe his iorney toward Londō. At euery toune as thei passed, he was receiued with Procession, and accompaigned with all the Lordes and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Black heth, ther met hym the Duke of Norffolke, with a great xx nomber of prelates, knightes and gentlemen, all richely appareled. And in the waie he was brought into a riche tēte of clothe of golde, where he shifted himself into a robe of a Cardinall, edged with Ermyns, and so toke his Moyle ridyng toward London.

The night before he came to London, the Cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the carriages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelue mulettes with emptie Coffers couered with redde, whiche twelue Mulettes wer led through London, emongest the Mulettes of Campeius, which were but eight and so these.xx. Mulettes passed through the stretes, as though thei had been full of treasures, apparell, and other necessaries. xl And when they came into Chepe, one of the Mulettes brake from her keper, and ouerthrewe the Chestes, and ouerturned twoo or three other Mulettes cariages, whiche fell with suche a violence, that diuerse of them vnlocked, and out of some fell olde Hosen, broken Shoen, and toasted Flesshe, peces of Breade, Egges and muche vyle baggage: at whiche sighte the Boyes cryed, see, see my Lorde Legates treasure,

and so the Muleters wer asshamed, and tooke vp all their stuffe & passed furth. And about thre of the clock at after none on the.xxix.day of July the said legate entred the citie, & in Sothwarke met him all the clergie of London, with crosses, sensers & copes & sensed him with great reuerence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupacions of the citee in their best liueries stode in the stretes, & hym hyghly honored: to whō sir Thomas Moze made a brief ozaciō in the name of the citee. And whē he cam to Paules, ther he was receiued by bishops mitred, and vnder a canapy entred the churche: whiche canapy his seruaūtes toke foz their fees. And when he had offred, he gaue his benediccion to al the people, and toke a- gain his mule, & so was with al his train afozsaid, conueighed to Bathe place, & there rested: where he was welcomed of the Cardinall of Yozke. And on Sondate next ensuyng these twoo Cardinalles as legates, toke their barges & came to Grenewiche, eche of them had beside their crosses two pillers of siluer, two litle axes gilte, and two cloke bagges embzou- dered, and the cardinalles hartes bozne befoze thē. And when they came to the kynges hall, the Cardinall of Yozke went on the right hande: and there the king royally appareled and accompaignied, met them euen as though bothe had come from Rome, and so bzought them bothe vp into his chamber of pzesence, and there was a solempne ozacion made by an Italian, declaryng the cause of the legacy to be in twoo articles, one foz aide agaynst Gods enemies, and the second foz refozmaciō of the Cler- gie. And when Masse was doen, they were had to a chambet, and serued with lozdes and knightes, with muche solēpnitie: and after dinner they toke their leaue of the kyng and came to London, and rode thzough the citee together, in greate pompe and glozy to their lodgynges.

When the Cardinall of Yozke was thus a legate, he set vp a court, & called it the court of the legate, and pzoued testamētes, and hard causes to the great hinderaunce of all the bishops of the realme. He visited bis- shopes and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of xxx refozmacion he gat muche treasure, & nothyng was refozmed, but came to moze mischief: foz by exāple of his pzide, pziestes & al spiritual perso- nes wered so pzoude, that thei ware veluet, & silke, bothe in gounes, tac- kettes, doblettes, & shoes, kept open lechery, and so highly bare thē selfes by reason of his auctho3ities & faculties, that no mā durst once repzoue any thing in thē, foz feare to bee called heretike, & then thei would make hym smoke oz beare a faggot. And the Cardinall hym self was so elated that he thought hymself egall with the kyng: & when he had said Masse he made dukes & erles to serue him of wyne with a say taken, & to holde the basō at the lauatozies. Thus the pzide & ambicion of the Cardinal & xl clergie was so high, ỹ in maner al good persons abhozred & disdeined it.

This yere the French kyng wzote to the kyng of Englād, ỹ if it were his pleasure, he would send an ambassade into England, to cōmon with the kyng & his counsaill foz the redempyng of the citee of Turney & other thynges: whiche answered the messenger, that the ambassade of ỹ Frēche

kyng

kynge should be right hartely welcome to him. And so the Frenth kyng sent into England the lorde Boneuet, hygh Admyrall of Fraunce, & the bishop of Parys as chiefe Ambassadors, accompanyed with many noble men, & young freshe galãtes of the courte of Fraunce, to the nũbre of lxxx. & more, & with them came a great nũbre of rascal & pedlers, & Juellers, and brought ouer hattes and cappes, and diuerse merchaũdise vncustomed, all vnder the coloure of the trussery of the Ambassadours.

After that these noble men were landed at Douer, thei were receaued
r by the nobles and gentelmen of the countrey, and so conueyghed from lodgyng to lodgynge tyll they came to Blackheth, & before them went their cartages and people in great numbre, to the summe of. xii. C. one & other, whiche was thought to be to many for an Ambassade. These gẽtlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

Monday the. xxvii. day of September, the erle of Surrey hygh Admyrall of Englande, in coate of riche tyssue cut on cloth of siluer, on a great courser richely trapped, & a great whistell of gold, set with stones and perle, hangyng at a great and massy chayne baudryck wise, accompanyed with an. C. xl. gentlemen, rychely appareled, on goodly horsses came to blackheth, & there amiably receaued ỹ Ambassadors of Fraũce.
xx The yoũg galantes of Fraũce had coates garded with one colour, cut in. x. or. xii. partes very richely to beholde: & so al the Englishmẽ accoupled thẽ selues with the Frenchmen, louingly together, & so roade to Lõdon. After the. ii. Admyrals folowed. xxiiii. of the Frenche kynges garde whome accompanyed. xxiiii. of the kynges garde. And after thẽ a great numbre of archers, to the nũbre of. iiii. C. And in this order they passed thorough the citie to Taylers hal, & there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, & the rẽnaunt in marchaũtes houses about. When these lordes were in their lodgynges, then the Frẽch harder mẽ opened their wares, & made the Taylers hal lyke to the paunde of a marte. At this doynge
xxi many an Englishmã grudged, but it auailed not. The last day of Septẽber, the Frẽch Ambassadors toke their barge, & came to Grenewiche. The Admyrall was in a goune of cloth of siluer rayled, furred with rych Sables, & al his cõpany almost were in a new fassiõ garmẽt, called a Shenew, which was in effect a goune cut in the middle. The gẽtlems of Fraũce were brought to the kynges presence, wher the bishop of Parys made a solẽpne oracio: which beyng ended, & aũswer made therto, ỹ kyng highly entreteyned the Admirall and his company, and so dyd all the English lordes and gentelmen. The Ambassadours beyng dayly in counsayl at Grenewiche, the other gentlemen daunced & passed the tyme
xl in the quenes chãbre with ladies & gentlewomen. After long coũsailing & muche deslyng of the French kyng and his counsayll, it was agreed that the citie of Tourney should be deliuered to the Frenche kynge, he payenge. vi. hundred thousande crounes for the citie, and. iiii. hundred thousand crounes for the Castel, the which the kyng had buylded, but it was not fully perfourmed: & also he should pay. xxiii. M. l. Tournies, the

whiche summe the citezens of the citie of Turney ought to the kyng of England for their liberties and fraunchises.

Upon these agremētes to be perfozmed, it was cōcluded that the citie of Tourney shoulde be deliuered to the French kyng. The Frechemē the lother to come to their purpose, made a pzetēce of mariage to be had betwene the Dolphyn, sonne & heyze to the Frēche kyng & the lady Mary the kynges daughter, which was agreed vpō this cōdicion, that if they both consented at lawful age, then to be ferme & stable, oz els not: foz thē they were both very young. And so all matters were concluded, and the erle of Wozcester & the bishop of Ely apoynted to go into Fraunce foz the deliuery of the citie of Tourney, and perfozmyng of the other agrementes. And foz the sure payment of the summes of money to be payde to the kyng of England vpon thesayd agrementes, there were .iiii. gentelmen of the realme of Fraunce left in Englande foz hostages: whose names were Mounsire Memozancy, Mouñsire Monpesart, Mounsire Moy, Mounsire Mozret. Of the whiche .iii. the .ii. kyzst named were of noble blood, but the .ii. last were but of meane houses. And because they were youg, there was auncient gentelmē, apoynted gouernours to thē.

When all thinges were concluded & sealed, the kyng and all the Ambassadours richely appareled & the .ii. legates, toade solēply to ỹ church of sainct Paul frō the bishop of Durhās place: & there was made from the West dooze to the quere dooze of the churche egall with the highest stiep, a hautepace of tymber of .xii. fote bzoade, that the kyng & the Ambassadozs might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yozke sange hygh masse, & had hys cloth of estate of Tyssue: hys Cupboozd set with basōs all gilt couered: his place was .v. steppes high. At the first lauatozy, iii. Erles serued him, & at the second .ii. dukes & a Marques, & with the laye taken, they gaue hym wyne, and after water. And when masse was done, the Cardinal Campeius and he gaue to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done, doctoz Pace the kynges secretozy, a man very eloquēt, made a goodly Dzacion in pzayse of peace: and that done, the kyng and all his nobles and Ambassadozs went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner the kynge roade agayne to the bishop of Durhams place.

That night the Cardinall of Yozke made to the Ambassadozs a solempne banket, & them accōpanied many lozdes & ladyes of Englande. And when the banket was done, in came .vi. mynstrels, richely disguysed, & after them folowed .iii. gentelmen in wyde & long gounes of Crymosyn sattyn, euery one hauyng a cup of golde in their handes, the first cup was ful of Angels & royals, the second had diuerse bales of dyce, & the .iii. had certayn payzes of Cardes. These gētelmē offered to playe at mōchaunce, & whē they had played the length of the first boozde, thē the mynstrels blew vp, & then entred into the chābze .xii. ladyes disguysed, the fyzst was the kyng hym selfe & the French quene, the second the duke of Suffolke, the lady Dawbeny, ỹ lozd Admirall & the lady Guyldfozd

syz

syr Edward Neuel, and the lady Sentliger, syr Henry Guyldford, and
mastres Walden, Capitayn Emery, and mastres Anne Carew, syr Gi-
les Capel, & lady Elizabeth Carew, Nycholas Carew, & Anne bzoune,
Fraunces Bzian and Elizabeth blont, Henry Nozrys & Anne wotton,
Fraunces poyntz and Mary fyenes, Arthure poole & Wargaret Bzu-
ges. On this cõpany attended.xii. knightes disguysed, beating tozches
all these.xxvi. persons disguysed were in one suyte of fyne grene satyn
all ouercouered with clothe of golde, vnder tyed together with laces of
gold, & maskyng whoodes on their heddes: the ladyes had tyers made
x of bzaydes of dãmaske gold, with lõg heres of white gold. Al these mas-
kers daũced at one tyme, & after they had daunced, they put of their vi-
zers, & then they were all knowẽ. The Admyzal & lozdes of Fraũce har-
tely thanked the kyng, that it pleased hym to viset thẽ with such dispozt
and then the kyng and his company were banketed, and had high chere,
and then they departed euery man to hys lodgynge.

The.viii.day of October at Grenewiche was song a solẽpne masse by
the bishop of Durhã, & after masse doctoz Tũstal master of the Rolles,
which after was bishop of Londõ, made an eloquẽt pzepositiõ in pzaise
of ỹ mattimony to be had betwene the Dolphyn & the lady Mary: & all
xx that day were ỹ straũgers feasted, & at night they were bzought into the
hall, where was a rock ful of al maner of stones, very artificially made, A pageaunt.
& on ỹ top stood.v.trees, ỹ first an Oliue tree, on which hãged a shild of
ỹ armes of the church of Rome: the.ii. a Pyneaple tree, with ỹ armes of
the Emperour: ỹ.iii. a Roysyer with the armes of Englãd: the.iiii. a bzaũ-
che of Lylies, bearing the armes of Fraũce: & the.v. a Pomegranet tree,
bearing ỹ armes of Spayn: in tokẽ ỹ al these.v. potentates were ioined
together in one league against ỹ enemies of Chzistes fayth, Jn: & vpon
ỹ middes of ỹ Rock sate a fayze lady, richely appareled with a Dolphin
in her lap. Jn this Rock were ladies & gẽtelmẽ, appareled in Crimosyn
xxx sattyn, couered ouer w̃ floures of purple satyn, embzoudered on w̃ wzo
thes of gold knyt together with goldẽ laces, & on euery floure a hart of
gold mouing. The ladies tyer was after ỹ fassiõ of Jnde, w̃ kerchieses
of plealaũce, hached w̃ fyne gold, & set with letters of Greke in golde of
bulliõ: & the edges of their kerchieses were garnished w̃ hanging perle,
These gẽtiemẽ & ladyes sate on ỹ neyther parte of the Rocke, & out of a
caue in the said Rock came.x. knightes, armed at all poyntes, & faughte
together a fayze tournay. And when they were seuered & departed, ỹ dis-
guysers dissended frõ ỹ rock, & daũced a great space: & sodeynly ỹ rocke
moued & receaued ỹ disguysers, & ymediatly closed agayn. Then entred
xl a person called Reapozt, appareled in Crymosyn satyn full of tõges, sit-
ting on a flyẽg hozse with wynges & fete of gold called, Pegasus. Thys
persõ in Frẽche declared ỹ meaning of the rocke & ỹ trees, & ỹ Tournay.

After this pastyme ended, the kyng and the Ambassadours were ser-
ued at a bancket with.ii.C.& lx. dyshes: & after that a boydee of spyces Abanquet.
with.lx. spice plates of siluer & gilt, as great as mẽ with ease might beare.

This

This nyght the Cupboord in the hall was of.xii.stages all of plate of golde and no gilt plate. When that euery mā had ben plenteously serued, the tables were taken vp, and the kynge and the quene and all the straungiers departed to their lodginges. After diuerse Justes & feastes made, the sayd Ambassadors by the kynge & lordes: Syr Thomas Exmew Mayre of Londō, made to them a costly dynner at the Goldsmythes hall, which dynner they highly praysed, it was so well ordred.

And whē tyme came, they toke their leaue of the kyng, the quene and the kynges counsaill, & deliuered into the kynges possessiō their.iiii.hostages as you haue harde before: at whiche departing the kyng gaue to the Admyral of Fraūce a garnisshe of gilt vessel, a payre of couered basons gilt.xii.great gilt bolles,iiii.payre of great gilt pottes, a stāding cup of gold, garnished with great perle: and to some other also, he gaue plate, to some Cheynes of gold, to some riche apparel, & to some greate horses with ryche bardes, so that euery gentelman was well rewarded: which liberalitie the straūgers much praised: & after that al their trusses were ready they departed toward the sea, & toke ship & lāded at Boleyn.

Sone after their departing, the erle of Worcester, beyng the kynges chāberlayn. The bishop of Ely, the lord of.S.Jhōs, syr Nicholas baur, syr Jhon pechy, syr Thomas bulleyn as Ambassadours frō the kyng of England, accompanyed with.lxx.knightes & Gētelmen & yomē, to the nūber of.iiii.C. & aboue passed the sea with some stormes, & came to Calys, & passed thorough Picardy with great & kynde entreteynmēt in all places, till they came to Parys, where they were nobly receaued, euery man matched with a lyke pere: & after they were brought tothe Frenche kynges presence, where the bishop of Ely made a solempne oracion, as concerning the mariage and the peace: he did it with suche a bolde spirite that the Frenchemen muche praysed his audacitie.

The cōclusiō of this peace was this, that Hēry king of Englād, Fraūces kyng of Frenchemen, & Charles kynge of Castel had sworne a perpetuall peace, duryng their lyues. And yf it shoulde happen any of the iii. to violate the league in any poynt and to moue warre: then the other.ii.should ioyne together, and make warre agaynst the violater or breaker of the peace.

After al thinges cōcluded, the Frēch king made a banket house in the bastill of Parys betwene.iiii.olde walles: this house was couered with coardes strayned by craft, & euery coarde was woūd aboute with bore, & so layd crosse wise one ouer a nother in fret, & at the metynges a great knop gilt with gold foyle: Ouer their coardes was streyned wollen clothes of light blew: this roofe was.lxx.fote high, & on euery side.iii. stages high: al the pillers of the stages were couered with antique worke, & the brestes of the stages curiously wrought with armes, fynettes & braunches: the roofe was set full of starres gilt furnished with glasses betwene the fretes: and in this house was.ii.C.xii.braunches gilt hanged, and on euery braunche a great numbere of lightes of white waxe:

and

and diuers sortes of maskes were shewed that night: and also there was shewed at euery side of the palace a great Cupboord of massiue plate of muche greatnesse, and euer the French kyng welcommed the lordes and Ambassadours with good coũtenaunce. After diuerse feastes, iustes and banketes made to the Englishe Ambassadours the byshop of Ely with syr Thomas Bulleyn and sir Rychard Weston were sent by the Frenche kyng to Konyack to see the dolphyn, where they were well receaued, and to them was shewed a fayre young chylde: and when they had sene hym, they departed. The fame went that the Frenche kyng at that tyme
x had no sonne, but that this was but a colour of the Frenche kyng, howbeit it was proued otherwise after.

In this season the Earle of Worcestre, and with hym sir Nicholas Vaux, sir Jhon Pechy, syr Edward Belknap with many other knightes toke their leaue of the Frenche kyng, and roade to Courtney, where they were well receiued. Then began the Capitaynes and the souldiours to mourne, knowyng that the toune should be yelded to the Frenche kyng, and many a young gentelman, and many a tall yoman wished that they had not spent their tyme there. And the next day after, the sayd earle discharged sir Richarde Jernyngham of his office of capitayne and com-
xx maunded euery man to be obedient to the kynges pleasure and to prepare to returne into England. The eight day of Februarye the lord Chatilion came nere to the citie of Tournay with. xxi. hundreth men in harneys. The erle of Worcestre sent sir Edward Belknap to knowe his commission, and there he sheued hym his commission, whiche was to receiue the citie of Tourney. Then sir Edward Belknap desired hym too sende his commission to the earle of Worcestre, whiche he refused to do, saiyng it was sufficient to shewe it: well sayd sir Edwarde Belknap you must understande that we haue a commission from the kyng our master to deliuer you the citie at a day appointed: wherfore we must shewe the
xxx kyng of Englande both your commission that you had authoritie to receiue it from the Frenche kyng, and also that you by your indenture sealed with your seale of armes shall confesse that you receiue the citie as a gift, and not rendred as a right to the kyng your master, or els be you sure that the citie shall not be deliuered. Then the lorde Chastileon was wonderous wroth ỹ he was no better beleued: And so dayly were great messages sent to the citie from him to the erle of Worcester, and aũswers were sent of the Englishe part. But when the day approched he had full aunswere that he must deliuer his cõmission and also seale the indenture, or els the Englishmen would not put him in possession of the toune, for
xl their commission was otherwise. The Frenche capitaines perceauing ỹ yf they disagreed at the daye, that doubtes might folowe, wherfore they sent their commission and sealed their indenture and sent it likewyse in the mornyng, and came forward with their banners displayed: whereof herting the earle, he sent woord that the cytie was neither yelded nor gotten, but deliuered for confederacion of mariage, and therfore thei should

The maner of the delyuery of Tournay.

not entre with banners displaied. Then were the Frenchmen angry, but there was no remedy but to rolle vp their standerdes and banners. And when thei came to the gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemply red openly: and then the Frenchemen entred with drumsades and minstrelsy without any banner: and then to Monsire Castileon was deliuered the Castell, and there he ordeined watche and warde in euery part. Thus was the cytie of Turnay deliuered the eight daie of February in the. x. yere of the reigne of the kyng, and many a tall yoman that lacked liuyng fel to robbyng, which would not labor after their returne.

Duryng this tyme remayned in the Frenche court Nicholas Carew Fraunces Bryan and diuerse other of the young gentelmen of England and they with the Frenche kyng roade daily disguysed through Parys, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolishe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discommended and gested at. And when these young gentelmen came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and braggyes, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentelwomen were dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure as you shall here.

After the kynges Ambassadors were returned, and Tournay deliuered to the Frenchemen vpon the conditions aforesaid, the hostages that were here lefte for the paument of the great somes and performaunce of the conditions comprysed in the league (of the whiche one was that if the mariage toke none effect, then the citie of Turnay should be redeliuered vpon repayment of thesame some) thesaied hostages knewe not in what case they stode, but when they knewe it, they were very heuy & sorowful: howbeit, they dissimuled the matter in the best wise thei could. The kyng vsed familiarly these foure hostages, and on the. vii. daie of Marche prepared a disguisyng, and caused his great chamber at Grenewyche to be staged, and great lightes to be set on pillers that were gilt, with basons gilt, and the rofe was couered with blewe satyn set full of presses of fyne gold and flowers: and vnder was writen, lammes, the meanyng wherof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed. Into this chamber came the kyng and the quene with the hostages, and there was a goodly commedy of Plautus plaied, and that done, there entred into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet bordred about with gold, with hoopes from the waist downward, and sleues ruffed and plited at the elbowe and plain in the middes, full of cuttes, plucked out at euery cutte with fyne Camericke, and tired like to the Egipcians very richely. And when these ladyes had passed aboute the place, in came eight Noble personages in long gounes of taffeta set with flowers of golde bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke veluet enbroudered with golde all to cut, and plucked out with cuttes of white sarcenet, and euery man had buskyns of blacke veluet full of agglettes of golde. Then the eight men daunced with

with the eight ladies all beyng viserd, and sodainly the men cast of their large gounes, and then their vnder apparell was sene. And when al was done, euery lorde and lady put of their visers, and then it was knowen that the kyng and the duke of Suffolk and the French quene were there whiche were present at the plate tyme.

The. viii. daie of Marche was a solempne Justes, the kyng hymself & eight young gentelmen based and barded in blacke Veluet embroudered with gold, against the duke of Suffolk and eight of his bande al in white satyn with droppes of golde. And that daie they all ranne excea- xx dyng well, whiche the straungers highly commended. & iustes.

In the ende of Marche the kyng sent for all the yomen of garde that were come from Tourney, and after many good wordes geuen to thē, he graūted to thē. viii. C. the day without attendaunce, except thei were specially cōmaunded, & yet for all this the cōmaltie said that the kyng was euil counsailed to geue away the citie of Tourney, because the maintenyng of a garrison there should haue norished & brought vp men & yonger brethren in feates of warre to ỹ great strength & defence of ỹ realme.

This yere the. xii. daie of February died the Emperour Maximilian, for whome the kyng caused a solempne Obsequy to be done at Paules xx churche, all the nobles of the realme and knightes of the Garter beyng present, of whiche ordre the said Emperour was one.

¶ The. xi. yere.

IN the beginnyng of this yere, the kyng with all the knightes of his ordre beyng in Englande, roade on double horsses, with the henxmen folowing the kyng, from Colbroke to Winsore in gorgious apparel, and there he kept with greate solempnitie the feast of. S. George, and dined in the hall. And the byshop of Wynchester prelate of the ordre sat at the boordes ende alone. The kyng was solemply serued and the surnap cast like the feast of a coronacion. All thynges were plenteous to straungers that resorted thether. At the masse of Requiem was xxx offered the banner and other hachementes of honor belonging to Maximilian the Emperor late deceased. After this feast ended, the kyng came to Richemond, and so to Grenewyche, and late all Maie.

In whiche moneth the kynges counsaill secretly communed together of the kynges gentlenes & liberalitie to all persones: by the whiche they perceiued that certain young men in his priuie chamber, not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so familier and homely with hym, and plated suche light touches with hym that they forgat themselfes: Whiche thynges although the king of his gentle nature suffred and not rebuked nor reproued it: yet the kynges counsail thought it not mete to be suffred for xl the kynges honor, & therfore thei altogether came to the king, besechyng him al these enormities and lightnes to redresse. ¶ To whom the kyng answered, that he had chosen thē of his counsaill, both for the maintenaūce of his honor, & for the defence of all thyng that might blemisshe thesame: wherfore if they sawe any about hym misuse theimselfes, he committed it

to their reformacion. Then the kynges counsaill caused the lorde chamberlein to cal before them Carew (and another who yet liueth, & therfore shall not at this time be named) with diuerse other also of the priuy chãber, whiche had bene in the Frenche court, and banyshed them the courte for diuerse considerations, laiyng nothing particulerly to their charges. And they that had offices were cõmaunded to go to their offices: whiche dischatge out of the courte greued sore the hartes of these young menne whiche were called the kynges minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kynges priuie chãber, whose names wer sir Richard Wingfeld, sir Richard Jernyngh̃, sir Richard Weston and sir Willyam Kyngston: and diuerse officers were chaũged in al places.

Then sir Jhon Pechy was made deputie of Caleis, and sir Rychard Wingfeld therof discharged, & Nicholas Carew made capitain of Ricebanke and commaunded to go thether, whiche was sore to hym displeasant. These young minions which was thus seuered from the kyng, had bene in Fraunce, and so highly praised the Frenche kyng and his courte, that in a maner they thought litle of the kyng and his court, in comparison of the other, they were so high in loue with the Frenche court, wherefore their fall was litle moned emong wise men.

This yere in the moneth of June was elected to be Emperor Charles xx kyng of Castel, & nephew to the quene, by the whole assent of the electors of thempire: Although the Frenche kyng sent his great Master to cause hym to be elected to the high maiestie of the Empire: yet his ambassador & great Master of his household called Gonffier lord of Boisy, & brother to Willyam Gonfier lorde Boneuet Admirall of Fraunce, whiche was Ambassadour of England the last yere as you haue hard, did not so his message that it toke any effect. The kyng which had sẽt doctor Pace his secretory for the auauncement of his nephewe the kyng of Castell to the dignitie imperiall, because he had the duchie of Ostrik & many other seignories in Almain, was very toyous of this election, & caused a solẽpne xxi Masse to be song at Paules the. viii. daie of July: at whiche Masse. was present the Cardinall Campetus, the Cardinall of Yorke, the Duke of Buckynghã, of Norffolk & Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, Fraunce, Venice and Scotlande. And after Masse was done, the quier sang Te deum, and then all the lordes departed to Baynardes Castle to dinner, & that night were solempne fiers made through London, & great plẽty of wine geuẽ by Italiẽs, duchemen & Spaniardes for these newes.

This sommer the quene desired the kyng to bring to her manour of Hauering in the Bower in Esser, the gentelmen of Fraunce being hostages. And for their welcõmyng she purueyed all thynges in the moste li- xl berallest maner: and especially she made to the kyng suche a sumpteous banket that the kyng thanked her hartely, and the straungers gaue it great prayse. The kyng lyng there did shote, hunte, and ronne dayly with the hoftages to their greate ioye.

This yere in September the kyng late at his manour of Newhall in

Essex, otherwyse called Beaulieu, where the kynge had newly buylded a costly mancion, and there to welcome the quene and the Lordes, and the Frenche gentelmen, he made to them a sumpteous banket, and all a long the chamber sat a ladie and a lorde, or a knight, which were plenteously serued. And after the banket ended, with notie of minstrelles entered into the chamber eight Maskers with white bердes, and long and large garmentes of blewe satyn pauned with Sipres, poudered with spangles of Bullion golde, and they daunsed with ladies sadly, and communed not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers, but behaued themselfes sadly. Wherfore the quene plucked of their visors, and then apperedthe duke of Suffolk, the Erle of Essex, the Marques Dorset, the lord Burgainy, sir Rychard Wyngfeld, sir Robert Wyngfelde, sir Rychard Weston, sir Willyam Kyngston: all these were somwhat aged, the youngest man was fiftie at the least. The ladies had good sporte to se these auncient persones Maskers. When they were departed, the kyng and the foure hostages of fraunce, & the erle of Deuonshire with sixe other yong Gentelmen entered the chamber, the whiche sixe were all in yelowe Satyn, hosen, shoen, and cappes, and sixe other were in like maner in Grene: the yelowe satyn was freted with siluer of damaske, and so was the grene very rychely to behold: and then euery Maskер toke a ladie and daũsed: and when they had daunsed and cõmoned a great while, their visers were taken of, and theladies knewe them, and there the kyng gaue many brooches and proper giftes to the ladies. And after this done, the quene made a banket to the kyng and his lordes and the other straungers.

In the moneth of Nouember, the kyng came from Lambeth to Westminster hal, and so to the starre chamber, and there were before him the Lorde Ogle, the Lorde Hayward, sir Mathewe Broune, sir Willyam Bulmer, and Jhon Skot of Camerwell, for diuerle riottes, misdemeanours and offences, & especially the kyng rebuked sir Willyam Bulmer knight, because he beyng the kynges seruaunt swore, refused the kynges seruice, & became seruaunt to the duke of Buckingham, saiyng: that he would none of his seruauntes should hang on another mannes sleue, and that he was aswel able to maintein him as the duke of Buckynghã, and that what might be thought by his departyng, and what myght bee supposed by the dukes retaining he would not then declare. The knight kneled still on his knees criyng the kyng mercie, and neuer a noble man there durst entreate for him, ỹ king was so highly displeased with him. Yet at the last when other matters were hard, the kyng moued with pitie forgaue thesaied sir Willyam his offence, saiyng, that we will that none of out seruauntes shalbe long to any other person, but to vs, nor we wil not that our subiectes repine or grudge at suche as we fauoure, for our pleasure we will haue in that cace as vs liketh, for one we wil fauor now and another at suche tyme as vs shall like: and therefore sir Willyam if you serue vs hartely, you shall not be forgotten, & for this tyme we pardon you. Likewise he pardoned the lorde Edmõd Hayward, and sir Mathew

thew Browne their offences, which were indicted of riottes, and maintey-
naunce of bearynges of diuerse misdoers within the countie of Surrey:
but the lorde Ogle humbly besecched the kyng of his mercie, to whom he
aunswered. Sir your matter concerneth murder of our subiecte, whiche
greate offence is not onely to vs but to God, and therfore we remit you
to the common lawe. And then he rose and went to his barge, and by the
waie he made James Yarforde Maior of the Cytie of London knyght,
and so he with all his counsaill came to Lambeth.

The. iiij. gentelmen hostages of Fraunce, daily resorted to the courte
and had great chere, and were well entertained, and euery tyme they mo-
ued, stirred and required the kyng to passe the Sea, and to mete with the
Frenche kyng their Master, whom they preised hyghly, affirming that if
the kyng & he might once familierly common together, that there should
suche a constant loue rise and encrease betwene theim, whiche afterward
should neuer faile. This request was often tymes hard and litle regar-
ded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of Fe-
bruary it was agreed that the kyng in person, should passe the sea to his
castell and lordshyp of Guisnes, & there in Maie next comming betwene
Guisnes and Arde, the kyng and the Frenche kyng should mete. When
this was fully concluded, the kyng wrote letters to all suche lordes, la-
dies, gentelmen and Gentelwomen as should geue their attendaunce on
hym and the quene: which incontinent put theimselfes in a redines after
the moste costliest fashion, for the furniture of thesame metyng.

Then were sent to Guysnes vnder the rule of sir Edwarde Belknap
three. M. artificers, which buyloed out of the yearth on the playn before
the castle of Guysnes, the most goodliest palaice of timber that euer was
wrought in thesame place, and so curiously garnished without & within.
Beside this, prouisions were made within the realme of Englãd and in
Flaunders for vitaill, wine and all other thynges necessary for thesame.
And yet beside all this Orleaunce kyng of armes of Fraunce came into
the court of England and made proclamation, that the kyng of Englãd
and the French kyng, in a campe betwene Arde and Guysnes with. xviii
aydes in June next ensuyng, should abyde all commers beyng gentel-
men, at the tylt, and torney, and at barriers, and lyke proclamation was
made by Clarenseaux kyng of Armes of Englande, in the Courte of
Fraunce, and in the courte of Bourgoyne, and in diuerse other Courtes
and places in Almain, and Italy. For turnyshyng of Justes, there was
deuised a tilte and all thynges necessary for that enterprice, in a goodly
playn betwene Guysnes and Arde.

Duryng the tyme of these preparations, newes were brought to the ki
king that Charles his nephew elected Emperor of Almain would shor-
tely depart out of Spain by sea, and come by Englande to go into Ger-
many to receiue his firste Croune at Acon. Wherefore the kyng caused
great prouisions to be made at euery haue, for the receiuyng of his wel-
beloued nephew and frend, and daily prouisions were made on al sides.

for

foz these noble metynges of so hygh pzinces: and especially the quene of Englande and the Lady doʼwager of Fraunce, made gzeate coste on the apparell of their ladies and gentlewemen.

The first date of Febzuary being Candelmas euen, as the kyng and quene were come from euensong at their manour of Etenewiche, before the quenes chamber there blewe a trompet sodainly, and then entred into the Quenes chamber foure Gentelmen appareled in long and large garmentes of blewe damaske bozdered with gold, and bzought with the a tricke waggon, in the which sat a lady richely apareled with a canapy
x ouer her hed, & on the.iiii. cozners of the waggon were.iiii. hed peces called Armites, euery pece beyng of a sundery deuice: thesaied lady put vp a bill to the kyng, the effecte wherof was that the.iiii. gentelmen present would foz the loue of their ladies answer al commers at the tilt at a day by the kyng to be apointed: whiche daie was apointed at shzofetide next ensuing. At whiche daie the fozesaid gentelman valiantly accomplished their enterpzice, with greate laudes of the kyng the quene and ladies.

In this yere the kyng beyng informed, that his realme of Irelande was out of ozdze, discharged the Erle of Kildare of his office of deputie, and therunto (by the meanes of the Cardinall as men thought) was ap-
xi poynted therle of Surrey lozde Admiral, to whom the Cardinal did not owe the best fauour. Wherfoze thesaid erle of Surrey in the beginning of Apzil, tooke leaue of the kyng, and the duke of Nozffolke his father, and passed into Irelande, and had with him diuerse gentlemen, that had bene in the garrison of Tourney, and one hundzed yomen of the kynges garde, and other to the nombet of a thousande menne. Where he by hys manhod and wisedome, bzought the erle of Desmonde and diuerse other rebelles, to good confozmitie and ozdze: and there he continued in greate hardnes two yere and moze, in whiche space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wild Irysshe.

xx When it was concluded that the kynges of Englande and Fraunce should mete, as you haue hard, then bothe the kynges committed the ozdze and maner of their metyng, and howe many daies they should mete, and what pzeheminence eche should geue to other, to the Cardinall of Yozke, whiche to set all thynges in a certauntie, made an instrument, the very true tenour whereof ensueth.

Thomas Archebyshop of Yozke and Cazdinal. &c. Albeit that by the treatie and metyng of the right high and right puyssaunt pzinces, Henry by the grace of God, kyng of Englande, and of Fraunce, lozde of Irelande my souereigne lozde: And Fraunces by thesame grace kyng of
xl Fraunce ryght Chzistened, made and concluded at London the eight daie of October, the yere of our lozde a thousand fiue hundzed and.xviii be emongest other thynges concluded and accozded, that thesame metyng shalbe in place indifferent, and not subiect to any of thesaied pzyncces. Neuertheles, wee considerying the honoure, pzofyte, and vtilitie, that shall redound by the enteruieu of thesaid two pzinces, & not onely to the

saied twoo pynces, their realmes and subiectes, but also to all chzistendom: after declaracion thereupon had with the saied pzinces. Also considering that the saied illustre kyng of Englande my souereigne lozde, in passing the sea with his retinue, shall sustaine great costes and expences, and dispose hymselfe to great labours and daungers, leuing his realme and puissaunce foz certain tyme, we haue thought and esteemed that he should not be wholy satisfied to thonoz and dignitie of thesame, right illustre kyng of England my souereigne lozde, and should not haue in regarde condigne of his labouzs & dangiers, if the said entetuew oz meting after the first treatie, should be in place indifferent, wherfoze it is that we desiring to weye egally thonour and dignitie of the said twoo kynges by vertue and power of the commissions to vs geuen, of whom the tenours shalbe hereafter declared: we haue made, declared, and ozdeined certaine artycles accepted & appzoued, by thesame pzinces respectiuely, which thei will obserue, & by this pzesentes we make, declare & ozdein as foloweth.

And first we declare and ordeine, that befoze thende of the moneth of Maie next comming, the saied illustre kyng of Englande shall come personally to the castell of Guisnes, with his bedfelowe the Quene, and his sister the dowares of Fraunce: and semblably the right Chzistened kyng of Fraunce, shall come in persone to his Castle of Arde, with the Quene and his mother: and some daie, houre, and tyme, within. iiii. daies at the moste, after the ende of Maie, that shalbe assigned by the commissioners of the one and the other partie. The said kyng of England shal issue out of his castle of Guisnes halfe a mile iong, without that he shall issue out of the limites of his demain of Guisnes, and shal come towardes the said castle of Arde: and there within the territozie of the saied castle of Guisnes, he shall rest in some place not foztified noz walled, and nere the limites of Fraunce, that the saied commissioners shall assigne (as aboue said) and the saied right chzistened kyng, partyng from his castle of Arde shal come towardes the saied kyng of England thesame daie, place tyme and houre, that shall tary hym within the demain of Guisnes as is saied. In the whiche shall not be set noz dzessed any pauilions oz tentes, and there the saied two kynges beyng on hozsebacke, with their retinue shall se the one the other, and salute eche other, and speake together familiarly, and common in that sozte & maner, and so long as shall seme to theim good. And after the said salutacion and communicacion finished foz that time, the saied illustre kyng of England shal returne to his castle of Guisnes, and the said right chzistened kyng to his castle of Arde.

Item, foz asmuche that wee thynke to bee satisfied touchyng the laboures daungiers and honoure of the saied kyng of England my souereigne Lozde of so muche, that the saied right Christened kynge at the firste speakyng, he shall come forwarde vnto and within his territozie of Guisnes, we will kepe the honour of the said kynges, and therfoze declare and ozdeine, that on the morowe after the firste enteruew, thesame kynges shall mete together in some place indifferent betwene Arde and

Guysnes,

Guysnes that shalbe assigned by thesaied Commissioners, and after the salutacion made on the one and the other partie, thesaied right illustre kyng of Englande shall go to the Castle of Arde, to se, salute, and visite the quene of Fraunce, and also the sister of thesaid christened kyng, with whom he shall dine pryuely. And likewise thesaied right christened kyng shall go to the Castle of Guysnes, to visite and salute the Quene of Englande, and the dowares of Fraunce, with whome he shall dyne. In the whiche place thesaied princes shalbe receiued familiarly and amiably, vnto mutuall loue, and also to the honoure of thesaied princes.

¶ Item, as thesaied serene prynces of Englande and Fraunce, be lyke in force corporall, beautie, and gyfte of nature right expert and hauyng knowlege in the arte militant, right cheualrous in armes, and in the flower and bygor of youth, whereby semed to vs a right assembly, that for to decore and illustre thesame assembly, and to shewe their forces in armes, they shall take counsail & dispose themselfes to do some fayre feate of armes, aswell on fote as on horseback, against all commers. We declare and ordein, that the place where shalbee thesaied fight and feate of armes, shalbee chosen betwene Guysnes and Arde, and assygned by the commissioners, of the one and the other partie. And for a suertie of the
xx persones of thesaied kynges and their compaignie, thesaied place shalbe apparreled, diched, fortified and kepte of the one and the other partie, by equall nõber of men of armes, respectiuely committed and deputed that to do. And duryng the tyme of thesaied iustes and feates of warre, thesame kynges and quenes with their retinue, shal se eche other familiarly, and conuerse and speake together: And euery daie towardes the euenyng, after the Justes, triumphes, bankettes, and familiar communycacions dooen, thesaied kynges with their retinue shall returne into their Castles, that is to saie, the kyng of England into his castle of Guysnes, thesaid right christened kyng into his Castle of Arde, and thus they shal do dayly, duryng thesaied fight and feate of armes.

xxx Item, wee declare and ordeine, that when thesame kyng of Englande and the Quene his bedfelowe, and the Dowares of Fraunce his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the territorie and entrie of thesaied right christened kyng, the superiorite and prehemynence shalbe geuen to thesaied kyng of Englande, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to their retinue respectiuely, duryng the tyme that they shall tary and be there: and semblaby when thesaied right Christened kyng, and the quene his bedfelow and his right illustre Ladie and mother, with their retinue shall come to the territorie and entrie of thesaied illustre kyng of Englande, the superiorite and prehemynence shalbe geuen to thesaid right christened kyng,
xl to the quene his bedfelowe, and to his mother, and to their retinue duryng the tyme that they shall continue and abide there.

Item, for so muche as the Castle and places where thesaied enterbewe shalbe, be so litle and narowe that if entrie & license to come thether be geuen to all them that would go thether, diuerse anoyances, troubles

and impechementes ſhould folowe, wherfoze it is ſo that we Cardinall abouesaied, by theſe pzeſentes declare & ozdeine, that none of the retinue of theſaied kynges, Quenes, oz other lozdes and nobles, of what eſtate qualitie oz condicion that he oz they be, ſhal not come to theſaid aſſemble with moze greater nomber of perſones oz hozſe, then ſhalbee wzytten by letters, ſubſcribed by theſaied kynges, the whiche ſhall conteigne the eſtates and condicions of the perſones, aſwell men as women, and nombze of ſeruauntes and hozſe, except by the common conſent and licenſe of theſaied kynges.

Item, fozaſmuche as peraduenture it ſhall come that theſaid Pzinces & lozdes, gentelmen, and houſholo ſeruauntes, ſhall ſe and conuerſe togeather familiarly, to the ende that it may engender betwene them an amitie moze fyrme and ſtable, foz that cauſe and that moze ſuerly and agreably they may bee together, aſwel by date as by night, without any daunger oz feare, whiche we deſire to pzouide: we declare and ozdein that two gentelmen with ſufficient compaigne of equall and lyke nomber, be cõmitted and depute, reſpectiuely by theſaied kynges foz the keppng and ſuretie of the waies and watches, that ſhalbe made continually durynge the aſſembly of theſaied kynges.

The whiche gentelmen with their compaignies ſhall ozdein & depute explozatozs and ſpies in the valeis, fozeſtes, woodes, townes, bozowes, villages, caſtels, paſſages and waies, and other places daungerous and ſuſpect: from tyme to tyme, and houre to houre, aſwell towardes Flaunders, as Picardie, Artoys and Englande, to exployte and watche there. And if any be founde ſuſpect, theim to repulſe and take away, to thende that not onely theſaied pzynces, their gentlemen and houſhold ſeruauntes, maie ſurely and without feare viſite the one the other as ſaied is, but alſo thoſe that ſhall bzyng vitailes neceſſary to theſaied aſſembly, maie without daunger, trouble, impechement oz noyſaunce go and come: The whiche explozatozs ſhalbe bounden euery daie in the mozнyng and euenyng, to make repozte to theſaied pzynces oz to their ſaied counſailours reſpectiuely, of that which they haue found, and in what eſtate the waies be. We declare further and ozdein, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, ſhall not appzoche nerer then twoo tourneyes, to the place where theſaied entetuewe ſhalbe, except the retinew & men of warre that bee committed and deputed to kepe Bullein and Caleis, and that theſame men of warre noz none other durynge the aſſembly of theſaied pzinces, ſhal not pzeſume to come nerer, onleſſe by the conſent, accozde, and licenſe of theſaied pzinces.

Item, we Cardinall aboue ſaied, by expzeſſe aucthozitie and power to vs geuen, by theſe pzeſentes, bynde theſaied pzinces to do, fulfill, and accomplyſhe, all and euery the thynges aboue ſaied here in conteined.

Item, we declare and ozdeine that eche of theſaied kynges on his partie, ſhall ratifie, confirme, and appzoue all and euery the Chapiters and Articles aboue ſaied, by their Letters Patentes ſigned with

their

their handes. And by thesame lettres of ratificacion they shalbe bounde to accomplish with good faith and in worde of a kyng, all and euery the thynges abouesaied: the whiche letters made, subscribed and sealed, as is saied, they shal geue the one the other, and shall chaunge in the citie of London, within one moneth next after the daie of these presentes. Made the twelue of Marche, the yere of our lorde a. M. CCCCC. xix.

¶ The .xii yere.

THE most noble and puisant kyng, kyng Henry the.viii. king of England and of Fraunce, the yere of our Lord, a. M. fiue hundred and .xx. and of his bodely age .xxix. yere, and the .xxii. daie of Apryl began the .xii. yere of his reigne ouer the realme of Englande, & halowed the daie of saintt George at the maner royal of Grenewych with the noble knightes of the Gartet in robes of the order.

The kyng intending and persieuering in purpose to mete with Frances the Frenche kyng greate and ryche prouisions were made, wherfore the noble kyng and the Quene with all the noble courte, remoued the twentie and one daie of May beyng on Mondaie, from their maner of Grenewyche, towardes the Sea side, and so on the Fryday beyng the twentie and fiue daie of May, arriued at the cytie of Cantorbury, intendying there to kepe his Pentecoste.

Sone after whiche comming to Cantorbury, tidynges wete brought that Charles Emperor electe, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England, wherfore officers of the kyng were sent with great diligence to the Castle and toune of Douer, to be there in a redines against the arriuall of the Emperor.

The reuerent father in God my lorde Cardinall, came to the toune of Douer in hast with a nobell repayre, abidying the commyng of the Emperour, whiche Emperour, the Saterdaye beyng the .xxvi. daie of May arriued with all his nauie of shippes royall on the coast of Kent, directe to the toune or porte of Hieth thesaied daie by noone, where he was hayled by the noble knight sir William Fitzwilliam, vice admirall of Englande, with syxe of the kynges shippes well furnished, whiche laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Douer and Calcis, at the costes and charges of the kyng of Englande. Calmenes of the wether and lacke of wynde, caused that the Emperour might not so sone take lande at the porte of Douer, as he would haue dooen. Notwithstandyng towardes the euen he departed from his shyppes, and entered into his boate commyng towardes the lande, where in his comming to the lande: on the sea the reuerent father lorde Wolsay Cardinall and Legate, mete and receiued hym with suche reuerence, as to so noble a Prince appertetgned. Thus landed the Emperour Charles, vnder the clothe of his estate of the blacke Egle all splated on riche clothe of golde. In his retinue with hym, were many noble menne, and many fayre Ladyes of his bloud as princes and princesses, & one ladie as chiefe to be noted, was the princes

Iuinion

Aulnion with many other nobles whiche landed with hym in high and ſumptuous maner and greate riches in their apparell: greate ioye made the people of Englande to ſee the Emperour, and more to ſee the benyng maner and mekenes of ſo high a prince.

Then when the Emperour thus had taken lande, the reuerente father lorde Cardynall was as conduite to theſame noble Emperour from the ſhore of Douer vnto the caſtell ther: then were all perſons chered the beſt that there in the towne might be.

After the departyng of The emperour to the lande from hys nauy, the apparell of euery ſhip then ſhewed, as flagges, banners, ſtremers & tar- x
getes, then the mighty ordinaunce of euery of them brake oute by force of fyer as though the ſee had brente, maruelous was the noyſe of the gonnes.

The Emperour beyng thus in the caſtell of Douer, wyth haſt tidyn- ges came to the kyng where as he was at Cantorbury, who haſted hym towards the noble Emperour. And ſo came tidyng early in the morning to the caſtell of Douer, within which caſtell the kyng alighted: the Em- perour hering the king to be come, came out of his chamber to mete with the kyng, and ſo mete with him on the ſtayres or he could come vp, wher eche embraced other right louyngly: then the kyng brought the Emper- xx
our to his chamber, where as ther communyng was of gladnes.

Sone after, theſe twoo noble princes on the Whitſonday early in the morenyng toke their horſe and rode to the Cytee of Cantorbury, the more to ſolempne the feaſt of Pentecoſt but ſpecially to ſee the quene of Eng- land his aunte was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble perſonages of the realme of Englande and the quene wyth her beautiful trayne of ladies receiued and welcommed the ſame Char- les elect Emperour, whoſe perſon was by the kyng conueighed to a faire and pleaſant chamber where theſayde Emperour apparelled hym right richely. Then the noble retynue of theſayde Emperour aſwell of lordes xx
as ladyes were lodged, aſwell as there myght be wyth ioye and muche gladnes, and there in Cantorbury ſoiorned the Emperour and all hys trayne wyth the kyng, vntill the Thurſdaye in theſame weke.

The laſt daye of May beyng Thurſday, the Emperour toke leaue of the kyng and of all the ladyes, and gaue great thankes, and ſo rode to Sandewiche, and there toke his ſhippes, the wynd to hym was likynge, whereby he ſayled into Flaunders.

Then theſame daye, the kyng of Englande made ſaile from the porte of Douer and with noble apparaile landed at Calys at the hower of. xi. of the clock, and wyth hym the quene and ladyes and many nobles of xx
the realme. And ſo was the kyng receiued into the Checker and there reſted: great repayre of noble men came to the towne of Caleys from the Frenche court, to ſe the kyng and to ſalute hym, which were of his grace, princely entretayned.

Mondaye the. iiij. daye of June the kynges grace with all the nobles aſwel

aſwell the quene with her trayne of ladyes as other, with al the whole nõber of nobles remoued from Calis to his lordſhip royall of Guiſnes into the moſt noble and royal lodgynge beſore ſene, for it was a palays, the palays was quadrant, and euery quadrant of theſame palays was iij.C.xxviij. foote longe of a ſyſe, whiche was in compaſſe. xiij.C.&.xij. foote aboute. This palayce was ſette on ſtages by great connynge & ſumpteous wooꝛke. At the enterynge into the palays beſoꝛe the gate, on the playne grene was buylded a fountayne of enbowed woꝛke, gylte with fine golde, and bice, ingrayled with anticke woꝛkes, the olde God of wyne called Baccus birlyng the wyne, whiche by the conduyctes in therth ranne to al people plenteouſly with red, white, and claret wyne, ouer whoſe hedde was wꝛiten in letters of Romayn in gold, *faicte bonne chere quy uouldra.*

On the other hand oꝛ ſyde of the gate, was ſet a pyller which was of aunciẽt Romayne wooꝛke boꝛne with. iiij. Lyons of golde, the pyllers wꝛapped in a wꝛethe of golde curiouſly wꝛoughte and intrayled, & on the ſommet of theſayde pyller ſtode an image of ỹ blynde God Cupide wyth his bowe and arrowes of loue redy by his ſemynge, to Stryke the younge people to loue.

The foꝛgate of theſame palays oꝛ place with great and mighty maſonry by ſight was arched, with a tower on euery ſyde of theſame poꝛt rered by great craſte, and inbattayled was the gate and tower, & in the feneſtres & wyndowes were images reſemblynge men of warre redy to caſte greate ſtones: Alſo theſame gate oꝛ tower was ſet with cõpaſſed images of auncient Pꝛynces, as Hercules, Alexander and other by entrayled wooꝛke, ryche ly lymned wyth golde and Albyn colours, & well and warly was made ouer the gate loups, and enfoꝛced wyth batteylementes and in theſame gate a lodge foꝛ the poꝛter: whyche there appered and other, ſumpteouſly apparayled like vnto kynges officers.

By theſame gate, all people paſſed into a large courte fayꝛe & beautifull, foꝛ in this court appered much of the outward beutie of this place foꝛ from the firſte water table to the rayſyng oꝛ reſun pieces, was bay wyndowes on euery ſyde myxed with clere Stoꝛies, curiouſly glaſed, ỹ poſtes oꝛ monyelles of euery wyndow was gylte. Thus ỹ outward parte of the place lumyned ỹ eyes of the beholders, by reaſon of ỹ ſumptuous wooꝛke. Alſo the tower of the gate as ſemed, was buylded by greate maſonry, and by great engyne of mans wit, foꝛ the ſundꝛy counꝛtenañces of euery image that their appered, ſome ſhotyng, ſum caſtyng, ſume ready to ſtrike, and firynge of gonnes whiche ſhewed very hoꝛſume ready to ſtrike, and firynge of gonnes whiche ſhewed very hoꝛnoꝛably. Alſo all theſayd quadꝛantes, bayes and edifices, were royally entrayled, as farre as vnto theſame court appartayned. And dyrecte againſt the gate was deuiſed a hallpas, and at thentry of the ſtaier was images of ſoꝛe and terrible coũtenaunces, all armed in curious wooꝛke of argentyne. The bay of theſame halpas pendant by craſte of trimmer & vnder the trimmer, anticke images of gold enuyꝛoned wt verdour of

Oliues cast in compas, mounsteryng their countenaunces towardes ye enteryng of the palaice. The staier of thesaied halpas was caste of passage by the wentes of brode steppes, so that from the firste foote or lowest steppe, a persone might without payn goo vnto the highest place of thesame halpas.

On euery hande was there chamber doores & enterynges into the chambers of thesame palais, which were long and large, and well proporcioned, to receiue light and aire at pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber wer syled & couered wyth cloth of Silke, of the most faire and quicke inuencion that before that tyme was seen, for the grounde was white ingrailed, Inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of silkes knitte, and fret with cuttes and braides and sundery newe castes, that thesame clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fine burned golde & the roses in lossenges: that in thesame rose, were in kyndly course, furnished so to mannes sight that no liuyng creature might but ioye, in the beholdyng therof, for from the iawe peces of thesaied selyng: whiche pece was guilte with fine Golde, were woorkes in paan paled, all the walles to the creste encoũteryng the clere stories, the same creste which was of large depenes, the worke was antique knottes with bosses cast and wrought with more cunnyng then I can write, all which worckes and ouerages were gilte: and to set it the more to the glory, the florishyng Bise was comparable to the riche Ammell.

Also at the foote of thesame palaice was another creste all of fine sette gold whereon hanged riche & marueilous clothes of Arras wroughte of golde and silke, compassed of many auncient stories, with whiche clothes of Arras, euery wall and chamber were hanged, & all wyndowes so richely couered, that it passed all other sightes before seen. In euery chamber in place conuenient were clothes of estate, greate and large of clothe of golde, of Tissue, and riche embroudery, with Chaiers couered with like cloth, with pomelles of fine gold: and great Cushyns of riche woorke of the Turkey makynge, nothynge lacked of honourable furnishement.

Also to thesame palais was rered a Chapell with two closettes, the quire of thesaied Chapell siled with clothe of golde, and thereon frete ingrailed bent clothes of Silke, all was then silke and golde. The aultars of this Chapell were hanged with riche reuesture of cloth of gold of Tissue, embroudered with pearles. Ouer the high aultare was hanged a riche Canaby of merueilous greatnes, the aultare was appareled with fiue paire of Candelstickes of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on thesame halpas stoode twelfe Images of the bignes of a childe of foure yeres of age all gold: And all the Coopes and Uestementes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the citie of Florens, for all the copes and Uestementes wer but of one pece, so wouen for the purpose, cloth of Tissue & poudered with redde Roses purled with fine golde; the Ofrys sette

with

with pearles and precious stones. And all the walles and deskes of his Chapell was hanged with right Clothe of golde, & three ryche greate Crosses were there ready to be borne at festiual times, and basyns and Sensers, Gospellers, Paxes, Crewetes, holy Water vessels, & other ornamentes all of gold.

Also in the fyrst Closet was a trauerse for the kynges person of cloth of golde: And within that the kynges place and Chaire, with Cusshins of clothe of golde: before the trauerse was an altare of presence, whiche Aultare was adourned with clothe of brouderie, & riche Pearles and
x precious stones, set in goldesmithes woorke of fine golde. On the aultare was a deske or halpace, whereon stoode a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde, with an Image of the Trinitee, an Image of oure Lady, & twelue other Images all fine golde and precious stones, twoo paire of Candelsticks of fine golde, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, & other Ornamētes, thesaied Closet was hanged with Tappettes embraudered with riche woorke fret with pearles and stones, the roffe of thesame Closet was siled with woorke of Inmouled, gylte with fine Golde and Senapar and Bice.

The seconde Closette was for the quenes persone, in whiche was a
xx trauerse of riche clothe of golde, the aultare so richely apparcled, that there lacked neither Pearles nor Stones of riches: on the aultar were twelue greate Images of golde, the Closet hanged with clothe of gold all other iewelles Myssall, I suppose neuer suche like were seen, & the rooffe of thesame closet was siled with like woorke that ỹ kynges closet was as is before rehersed.

And from this palaice or place into the mightie and stronge fortresse and Castle royall of Guisnes, was a galery for the secrete passage of the kynges persone into a secret lodgyng within thesame Castle the more for the kynges ease.

xxx Also to this palaice was all houses of offices, that to suche an honourable Courte should apperteigne, that is to wete, the lord Chaumberlaine, lorde Steward, lorde Threasourer of the houshold, for the Comptroller and office of grene Clothe, Wardroppes, Iuell house, and office of houshold seruice, as Ewery, Pantrie, Seller, Buttery, Spicery, pitcher house, Larder and Poultrie, and all other offices large and faire that the officers might and did marueiles, as in the craft of viandes, by Ouens, harthes, reredorses, Chimnayes, Ranges, and such instrumētes that there was ordained. In this Palaice as ye haue hearde, was ỹ kynges grace lodged & all the nobles after their degrees. And for that
xl the toune of Guysnes was litle, and that all the noble menne might not there be lodged, theisette vp tentes in the felde, to the nōber of twentie and eight hundred sundery lodgynges, whiche was a goodly sighte. Thus was the kyng in hys Palais royall at Guysnes.

FRAVNCES the Frenche kyng was with all his nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the toune of Arde, whiche was prepared for his cō-

mynge,many tentes, hales & pauilions,were set and pight in the felde. On ỹ French partie also,there was at thesame toune of Arde buylded the Frenche kynges lodgyng full well,but not finished,muche was the prouisions in Picardy on euery part through all. The French kyng cõ- maunded his lodgyng to be made,a litle out of the toune of Arde in the territorie of an old castle,whiche by the war of old time had been beatẽ. On thesame place was edified a house of solas and sporte, of large and mightie compas,which was chiefly sustained by a great mightie maste, wherby the greate ropes & takell strained, thesame maste was staied. All the rosse of thesame house hong on thesame Maste, and with takell was strained & borne,by the suppoꝛters of thesame Maste oꝛ tree, the colours of thesame was all blewe,set with starres of gold foyle,and the Oꝛbes of the heauens by ỹ crafte of colours in the rosse, were curiosly wꝛought in maner like the sky, oꝛ firmamen, & a cresant strained sum- dell towardes ỹ toune of Arde,this cresant was couered with frettes and knottes made of Iue bushes,and boxe bꝛaunches,and other thyn- ges that longest would be grene foꝛ plealure. x

In this tyme the reuerent father loꝛde Thomas Wolsay Cardinall & legate a Latere as the kynges high ambassadoꝛ rode with noble re- paire of loꝛdes, gentlemen & pꝛelates to the toune of Arde,to ỹ French xx courte where of the Frenche kyng,thesame loꝛd Cardinall was highly enterteined. Of the noblenes of this Cardinall,the Frenchemen made bokes,shewyng the triumphant doynges of the Cardinalles royaltie. The nomber of the gentlemen,knightes and loꝛdes al in crimosyn bel- uet,with the marueilous nomber of chaines of golde, the great Hoꝛse, Mules, Courlers, & cariages , that there were,which went befoꝛe the Cardinalles commyng into Arde with sumters & cofers. Of his great Crosses and Pillers boꝛne,the pillowe bere oꝛ case bꝛoudered,the two mantelles,with other the Ceremoniall Offices, with greate & honou- rable nomber of bishoppes geuyng their attendaunce,the mightie and xxx great nomber of seruaũtes,as yomen,gromes, all clothed in Scarlet who so redeth of the Frenche boke,shall finde wonderfully set furthe.

The kyng of England beeyng at the Castle of Guysnes in the newe palais,many noble men of the Frenche court resoꝛted to his grace,to se the kyng of England and the quene,and to salute thẽ:who of the kyng of Englande were well entertained.

When the loꝛd Cardinall had soiourned at Arde in the Frence court by the space of twoo daies , and the high and vrgent pꝛincely causes in counsaill declared,the loꝛd Cardinal toke his leaue of the French kyng and of all the Frenche courte , & repaired vnto the Castle of Guysnes, xl where he founde the kyng of England his souereigne Loꝛde. And the- same kyng by his letters patentes,had geuen full power and aucthoꝛi- tie to thesame loꝛd Cardinall , concernyng all matters to bee debated, touchyng the kyng and the realme,and also gaue vnto thesame Cardi- nall,full strenght,power,and aucthoꝛitie, to affirme & confirme,bynde,

and

and vnbynde,what soeuer shoulde be in question,betwene hym and the French kyng,as though the kyng in proper person had been there presently.

When the lordes of the Frenche counsaill, sawe the high and greate aucthoritie that the Cardinall had, thei shewed it vnto ỹ French kyng, who incontinēt commaunded his commission to be made,of like power and aucthoritie,that the kyng of Englāde had geuen vnto thesaid lord Cardinall:thesame power & aucthoritie had thesame reuerent father, geuen to hym by Fraunces the French kyng,and affirmed by the counx saill royall of Fraunce: Then hastely was sent to the kyng of Englande the Frenche kynges patent,for the lorde Cardinall saied humbly to the Frenche kyng,that he would no suche power receiue, without the consent of the kynge of England his souereigne Lord: but when the kyng of Englande and his counsaill,had seen and vewed the French kynges Patent,and well considered, then he sent thesame Patent of power to tde lorde Cardinall with full assent:then the lord Cardinall the power receiued with much gladnes. It was highly estemed & taken for great loue that the Frenche kyng had geuen so greate power to the kynge of Englandes subiect.

xx Thursday the seuenth day of June,in the vale of Andren,within the lordeship royall of Guysnes,before daie was set and pight a royall rich tent,all of clothe of gold,and riche embroudery of the kyng of Englandes,and diuerse other hales and pauilions:thesame riche tente of gold was within hanged of the richest Arras,newly contriued & made, that euer before was seen,and a presence of the kynges estate,with two chayers & riche cusshyns therein:the ground was spred with Carpettes, of newe Turkey makyn,all of beautie.

But here is to be noted,that in this meane season in all the feldes about,bothe nigh and far,wer many of the French gard, ridyng and bexx holdyng the maner of the Englishe parte,some of the kynges gard,and some of the duke of Burbons gard,and some of the Admirall of Fraunces Gard,whiche slily marked the conueighaunce of the people of Englande. At the houre of metyng appoynted,the Lordes of England set their people and seruauntes in good arraie of battaill, in a plain felde directly before the castle of Guysnes. The kyng of England commaundded that his Garde should bee set in the breste of the battaill, or bend of footemen, & so it was doen. This battaill of footemen conducted themselfes so in ordre, that from the firste to the laste, neuer a person of the footemen brake his place or arraie, but kept theimselfes so well, that xxi neuer seruyng men theimselfes better demeaned. The seruynge men thus set in ordre in the felde, on the left hande of the kyng of Englande, somewhat towarde the Marres, longe while thus abidyng, in whych tyme the Castle of Guysnes shot a warnyng pece to the toune of Arde, and in lykewyse the Toune of Arde gaue warnynge to the Castle of Guysnes.

Now was gathered the Frenche kynges repaire, and by the Lord Marshall and Constable of Fraunce, the Lordes, and gentlemen were set in ordre: thus bothe these two high and mightie princes, intendyng to mete and assemble, many woordes and tales, and suspect demeaninges arose in the Englishe partie, for the great loue that we the English men had to our Prince, caused the ignoraunt people that wer not worthy to know the pretence of princes, to suspecte the Frenche partie, and the more because that Monsire Chatelion a Lord of Fraunce, in rigorous and cruell maner, threwe doune foure pennons of white & grene which were set vp by Richarde Gibson, by commaundement from the kynge for the suer marke or metyng place of the twoo kynges, in what grounde they shoulde encounter, woordes rose betwene Monsire Chatelion and Richarde Gibson, as farre as became for that deede, but at the commaundement of the Earle Marshall for that tyme, which was the noble Earle of Esser, the kynge of Englandes cosyn, that wronge by vs Englishemenne was paciently suffered, thus from tyme to tyme, and watche to watche, and bewe to bewe, the houre drewe nere, that was by bothe the Princes appoynted, of metyng or encountre.

Wherefore the kyng of Englande oure souereigne Lorde, with all the Court of nobles of England mounted on horsebacke, and marched towardes the baley of Andern in honourable ordre, all Gentle menne, Squiers, Knightes, and Barons, roade before the kynge and bishoppes also, the Dukes, Marques and Erles, gaue attendaunce next the kynge. He were muche wyse that coulde haue tolde or shewed of the riches of apparell that was emongest the Lordes and Gentlemenne of Englande, Clothe of Golde, Clothe of Siluer, Veluettes, Tinsins, Sattins embroudered, and Crymosyn Sattens: The marueilous threasor of Golde that was worne in Chaynes and Bauderickes, so greate, so weightie, some so manifolde, some in Colers of. S. greate, that the Golde was innumerable to my demynge to be summed, of all noble menne, Gentlememne, Squiers, Knightes, and euery honeste Officer of the kynge was richely appareled, and had Chaynes of Golde, greate and meruelous waightie: what shoulde bee sayed? surely emong the Englishemen lacked no riches, nor beautifull apparell or aray, and alwayes as the kynge of Englande and hys horsemenne marched, so pace for pace marched the moste goodly battayll or bend of foote men (out of defensable apparell) that euer I trowe before was seen.

The Frenche kyng on his partie marched towardes the encountre with all the ruffelers and gallantes of the Frenche Courte. In which tyme came to the Frenche kyng some reporte, that caused him to tarry, and alight from hys Horse, then the Frenchemen were very doubtfull and in a staye so still rested, vntill a Lorde of Fraunce called Monsire Morret, the saied Morret came to the Frenche kyng, and shewed him the very fidelitie of the kyng of England, whereby the Frenche kynge

mounted

mounted on horsebacke, and the better couraged, marched towardes the place appoynted of encountre.

Thus in marchyng thone kyng to the other, to the kyng of England came lord George Neuell lorde Aburgheny, and openly saied, sir ye be my kyng and souereigne, wherefore aboue all I am bounden to shewe you truthe, and not to let for none, I haue been in the Frenche partie, and they be mo in nomber, double so many, as ye bee: with that was the Erle of Shrewesbery Lorde Stewarde ready and saied, sir, whatsoeuer my Lorde of Burgheny saieth, I my selfe haue been there, and the
x Frenchemenne bee more in feare of you and youre subiectes, then your subiectes bee of them, wherefore saied the Earle, yf I were worthie to geue counsaill, your grace shoulde marche forwarde, so we intende my Lord sayed the kyng: then the Officers of Armes cried on afore, then in shorte while was the kyng on the banke of Andern: thē euery gentleman as they roade toke his place, and stoode still side by side, their regard or face towardes the vale of Andern.

Then the kyng of England shewed hymselfe somedele forwarde in
xi beautie and personage, the moste goodliest Prince that euer reigned ouer the Realme of Englande: his grace was apparelled in a garment of Clothe of Siluer, of Damaske, ribbed wyth Clothe of Golde, so thicke as might bee, the garment was large, and plited verie thicke, and canteled of very good intaile, of suche shape and makynge, that it was marueilous to beholde. The Courser whiche hys grace roade on, was Trapped in a marueilous vesture of a newe deuised fashion, the Trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wrought, pounced and sette with anticke worke of Romayne figures. Attendyng on the kynges grace of Englande, was the Master of his horse, by name Sr Henry Guylford, leadyng the kynges spare horse, the which horse was
xxx Trapped in a Mantellet bront and backe place, al of fine golde in Scafers, of deuice with Tasselles on Cordelles pendaunt, the Sadell was of thesame suite and woorke, so was the hedde stall and raynes. After folowed nyne henrce menne, ridyng on Coursers of Naples, thesame young Gentlemen were appareled in riche Clothe of Tissue, the Coursers in Harneis of marueilous fashion, scaled in fine Golde in Bullion, and workes subtile more then my sighte couide contrue, & all thesame horse Harneis were sette full of tremblyng spanges that were large & faire. The Lorde Marques Dorset bare the kynges sweard of estate before the kynges grace, the reuerent father Lorde Cardinall did hys attendaunce.

xl Thus in litle tyme, abidyng the commyng of the Frenche kynge and his, the which in shorte tyme came with greate nomber of horsemen ie, freshely apparelled, the Frenche kyng & his retayne, put themselfes in place appoynted, direct against the Englishe partie, beholdyng euery other of bothe nations, the Frenchemenne mused muche of the battaill of the foote menne, and euery of the Frenchemen to other spake of the

multitude of the englishe men whyche semed greate, yet were not they so many as the Frenche partie.

When the Frenche kyng had a litle beholden the Englishe men, he put hymself some what before his people, that were there on him attẽdaunt, the Duke of Burbon bearynge a naked Swearde vpright, the Lorde Amirall of Fraunce, and the Countie Colmen Galias, Master of the Frenche kynges horse, and no mo persones gaue their attẽdance in passyng with the Frenche kyng: whẽ it was perceiued that the Frẽch kynges swearde was borne naked, then the kynge of Englande commaunded the lord Marques Dorset to drawe out the sweard of estate, & and beare it vp naked in presence, whiche was so doen.

Then vp blewe the Trumpettes, Sagbuttes, Clarions, & all other Minstrelles on bothe sides, and the kynges descended doune towarde the bottome of the valey of Andern, in sight of bothe the nacions and on horsebacke met and embraced the twoo kynges eache other: then the two kynges alighted, & after embraced with benyng and curteous maner eche to other, with swete & goodly woordes of gretyng: and after fewe woordes, these two noble kynges went together into the riche tente of clothe of golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose, thus arme in arme went the Frenche kyng Fraunces the firste of & Fraunce, and Henry the eight kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, together passyng with communicacion.

When the two princes were in the tente, before rehersed, the French kyng saied, my dere brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine haue I trauailed to se you personally, I thinke verely that you esteme me as I am. And that I maye to you be your aide, the realmes and seigniories shewe the might of my persone: Sir said the kyng of England, neyther your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regarde, but the stedfastnes & loyall keppynge of promesse, compriſed in Charters betwene you and me: that obserued and kepte, I neuer sawe & Prince with myn yen, that might of my harte bee more loued. And for your loue I haue passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to se you presently, the whiche dooyng now gladdeth me. And thẽ wer the twoo kynges serued with a banket, & after mirthe, had communicacion in the Banket tyme, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

The Englishe officers went and ranne with greate pottes of Wyne, and Bolles to the Frenche menne, and them chered the best that might bee, all this season stoode still the noble men of the Englishe partie, and all other, and from their places moued nothyng that thei were appointed vnto. And the seruyng men in lykewise, not once moued from their ground or standyng, but the Frenchemen sodainly brake, and many of them came into the Englishe partie, speakyng faire, but for all that, the court of Englande and the lordes, kept still their arraie.

After the two kynges had ended the banket, and spice and wyne geuen

uen to the Frenchemen, Ipocras was chief drinke of plentie, to all that would drinke. In open sight thē came the two kynges, that is to wete: the Frenche kyng, & the kyng of England, out of their tent, by whiche I then well perceiued thabiliment royall of the Frenche kyng. his garment was a chemew, of clothe of siluer, culpond with clothe of golde, of damaske cantell wise, and garded on the bordours with the Burgon bendes, and ouer that a cloke of broched satten, with gold of purple coloure, wrapped about his body trauerse, beded from the shulder to the waste, fastened in the lope of the first fold: this said cloke was richely set
x with pearles and precious stones: this Frenche kyng had on his hed a koyfe of damaske gold set with diamondes, & his courser that he rode on was couered with a trapper of Tissue, broudered with deuise, cut in fashion mātel wise, the skirtes were embowed & fret with frised worke, & knit with Cordelles, & buttons tasseled of Turkey makyng, Raines & hedstall, answeryng of like woorke: & verely of his persone thesame Fraunces the Frenche kyng, a goodly Prince, stately of countenaunce, mery of chere, broune coloured, great yes, high nosed, bigge lipped, faire brested and shoulders, small legges, and long fete.

All the nobles of the Frenche courte, were in garmētes of many co-
xx lours, so that thei were not knowē from the braggery: thus as the two kynges were in communicatiō, diuerse noble men of England were called to presence. And then the two kynges departed with their compaignie, the kyng of Englande to Guysnes, the Frenche kyng to Arde.

Saterdaie the.ix.daie of June in a place within the Englishe pale were set and pight in a felde, called the campe, two trees of much honor the one called the *Aubespine*, and the other called the *Framboister*, whyche is in English the Hathorne, whiche was Henry, and the Raspis berry for Fraunces, after the significacion of the Frenche, these twoo trees were mixed one with ỹ other together on a high mountaigne, couered with
xxx grene Damaske, thesame Trees were artificially wrought resemblyng the nature of thesame as nigh as could be, the leaues were grene Damaske, the braunches, bowes, and withered leaues of clothe of gold and all the bodies and armes of thesame clothe of golde, laied on tymber, thei were in heigth frō the foote to the toppe. xxxiiij. foote of assise, in compasse aboute an hundred twentie and nyne foote, & from bough to bough, fourtie & three foote: on these trees were flowers & fruites, wrought in kyndly wise with siluer and Uenice gold, their beautie shewed farre: on the mountaigne was a place harber wise, where the Heraulde were, the mountaigne was rayled about, & the raile couered
xl with grene Damaske.

Thesame day the two noble kynges came to thesame trees of honor with great triumphe, accompaignied with diuerse nobles & yonge baliauntes, before whom were their shildes caried, & after borne aboute the listes, and set on the highest place, shewyng into the feldes, ỹ kynge of Englandes armes within a Gartier, and the French kynges within

a Coller

a Coller of his ordre of sainct Michael, with a close Croune, with a Flower delice in the toppe. The Campe was in length nyne hundred foote and in bredth three hundred and twentie foote, ditched rounde about, sauyng at the entrees with broade and depe diches, diuerse skaffoldes were rered aboute thys Campe, for the ease of the nobles: on the right side of the felde stood the quene of England, and the quene of Fraunce with many ladies. Thesame Campe was railed & bard on euery ende strongly, there was twoo lodgynges in the entery of thesame felde, for the twoo kynges richely adourned, which were vnto them very necessarie, for therein thei armed theimselfes and toke their ease: also in the- x
same compasse was two greate Sellers couched full of wyne, whyche was to all men as *largesse* as the fountain.

The cause of the settyng vp of the twoo greate shildes with armes Royall, was for ioye of the honourable metyng, there to passe the tyme from idlenes, with the exercise of noble feactes of Armes in honour, articles of Justes, Turnayes, battailes on foote at the Barres and suche victorious feactes were farre in Realmes Proclaimed, whyche caused muche people of noble courage thether to resorte: the twoo kynges as brethren in armes, vndertoke to deliuer all personages of thesame feactes, and to thesame twoo kynges by the ordre of armes were sociate, xx
the Duke of Uendosme, the duke of Suffolke, the countie saint Paule, the Marques Dorset, Monsir de Roche, sir William Kyngston, Monsire Brian, sir Richard Garnyngham, Monsire Cauaan, sir Giles Capell, Monsire Bukkal, Master Nicholas Carewe, Monsire Mountafilion, & Master Anthony Kneuet, the shieldes of all these nobles were hanged on the trees, with thre tables of the Chalenges, to the which al noble menne that would answere, brought in their shieldes to thesame trees, and them presented to the kynges of Armes, and to the Articles wrote with their handes.

Mondaye the.xj. daye of June, the twoo Quenes of Englande & of xxx
Fraunce came to the campe, wher either saluted other right honorably and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, & specially there was for the quene of England, a Tapet all of pearle called Huges Dike, which was much loked at for the costlynes of thesame.

At the houre assigned, the two kynges armed at all peces mounted on horsebacke, on them attendyng the noble persones, parteners of the chalenge: the French kyng sette hymself on a Courser barded, couered with Purple sattin, broched with golde, & embraudered with Corbyns fethers round and buckeled, the fether was blacke and hached wyth gold. Corbyn is a Rauen, and the firste silable of Corbyn is *Cor*, whiche xl
is a harte, a penne in English, is a fether in Frenche, and signifieth pain, & so it stode, this fether round was endles, the buckels wherewith the fethers wer fastened, betokeneth sothfastnes, thus was the deuise, *harte fastened in pain endles*, or *pain in harte fastened endles*: on hys hed pece he bare a sleue, all the partenars of the Frenche kynges chalenge were in lyke

apparell

apparell,euery thyng corresponden in clothe of silke embroudered,on his persone were attēdant on horsebacke noble persones, and on foote foure persones all appareled in purple sattin.

The kynge of Englande mounted on a freshe courser,the trapper of clothe of golde,of Tissue,the Arson mantell wise: And the hynt of the trapper bard fashion,cutte in waues of water worke,and euery waue rawe wrought and frised with Damaske golde, this worke was laied lose on russet veluet,and knitte together with poyntes of golde,which waues signified the Lordeshippe of the narowe sea. All the parteners
x of the kynges chalenge wer in thesame sute,their horses aswel as their persones,attēdyng on the kyng on horsebacke wer sir Henry Guilford Master of the kynges horse,sir Jhon Pechie deputie of Caleis,sir Edward Guilford Master of the kynges armye,& Monsire Moret of the Frēche courte appareled al foure in ỹ kynges,liuery, which was white on the right side,& the left side gold and russet bothe hose and garment. And on him wer attēdāt on foote sixe honorable knightes.xx.esquiers and officers to the nombre of an.C.&.xij.persons,of the whiche nomber all the knightes and gentlemen had coates,the one halfe siluer,and thother clothe of gold & russet veluet, and the other officers cotes wer
xx of right Sattin of thesame coloure,and all their hosen were of thesame suite very costly. Thus with honour and noble courage these twoo noble kynges with their compaignies entered into the feld,and them presented vnto the Quenes, & after reuerence dooen to theim, thei roade rounde aboute the tilte, & so toke their places appoynted,abidynge the answerers,which was for the first the duke Dallencon and tenne men of armes on his bēd,on coursers barded,ỹ bardes couered with white & blacke Veluet,fastened the one within the other, garded with Burgon bendes of Tynsell sattin, aswell their garmentes as their bardes. Then entered on coursers barded twelfe gentlemē of the bende of the
xxx lord Admirall of Fraunce,their garmentes and bardes were russet sattin,broched with gold and white and purple Sattin,after the deuise of their pleasure with great plumes. Whē these bendes were entered the feld,thei shewed themselfes about the tilte,& dyd reuerence to the quenes,the bend of the Duke Dallencon toke firste place,they made theim prest on bothe sides,the Frenche kyng was the firste that ranne,he did valiauntly and brake speres mightely.

Then ranne the kynge of Englande to *Monsire Graundeuile* wyth great vigor,so that the speres brake in the kynges hāde to the vantplate all to sheuers. And at the second course he gaue thesayed *Monsire Graundeuile*
xl such a stroke that the charnell of his hedde pece,although thesame was very stronge, was broken in suchewise that he might runne no more whereby the kynge wanted three courses.

Then ranne the Duke *de Vandon* and mette his counter parte righte nobely,and brake speres right valiauntly.

The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course & met right valiātly

hys

his counter parte and furnished the.v.courses right nobly together like good men of armes.

Hnd when all parties of the chalenge had right valiauntly furnished theyr courses, then ranne agayne the.ij.noble kynges, who dyd so valiantly that the beholders had great ioy, after which courses the heraulides cried the *disarmy* and the trompettes sounded to lodgyng.

Tewsday the.xij.day of June at hower cõueniẽt the.ij.quenes toke their stages and the bende of chalenge in the feld prest to answere & delyuer allcommers, to whom came.x.gentlemẽ armed on barded horses of the bend of *Mounsire de Suuyes* ther bardes and apparell clothe of veluet & full of friers knottes syluer, after that they had presented vnto the quene, then they toke thende of the tilte, & then course after course they ranne to the chalengers right egerly, and the chalengers of the partie of the twoo kynges deliuered to the ende of their articles of Justes.

Then entered a.xj.men of armes of the bende of Mounsure de Tremoyell, on horses barded with yelowe veluet, losenged with Friers knottes of blacke veluet, & after they had saluted ỹ quenes, they likewyse toke thende of ỹ tilt, & course after course, ranne till they wer deliuered of their chalenges of Justes: valiaũtly this daye was finished.

Wednesdaie the.xiiij.daie of June, the two hardie kynges armed at xij al peces, entered into the felde right nobly appareled, the French kyng & all hys parteners of chalenge were arraied in purple sattin, brochẽd with gold and purple veluet, embrodered with litle rolles of white satin, wherein was writtẽ, *quando*, all bardes and garmentes wer set full of thesame, and all the residue where was no rolles, were pondered & sette with the letter ell as thus. L. which in Frenche is she, which was interpreted to be *quando elle*, when she, and ensuyng the deuise of the first daye it signifieth together, harte fastened in pain endles, when she.

The kyng of England with all the bende parteners of his chalenge wer likewise on horsebacke, appareled in trappers of losẽges russet vel- xxx uet and clothe of siluer of damaske, embroudered & set in euery losenge a braunche of Eglantine of golde, the apparel of the persones wer of ỹ same correspondẽt to the trapper, this Eglantine tree is swete, plesant and grene, & yf it be kyndely and frendly handeled, and yf it be rudely delt with, it wyll pricke, & he that wyll pull vp the whole tree by the top his handes wyll bee hurte: The twoo kynges with their compaignies thus appareled, presented themselfes to the quenes, & so toke the ende of the tilte, then entered into the feld *Monsire Leskeuu* called lorde Liskyn, with hym came a.xj.men of armes, hymselfe the.xij.on horses barded and richely appareled, & so rode aboute the tilte & saluted the quenes, xi and toke the ende of the tilte.

Monsire de Leskeuu and his.xj.compaignions had their bases and bardes, all blacke clothe of gold of damaske all to cut on blacke sattin, their garmentes had mantell sleues on the left arme, to the wast behynd iust to the shulder, whyche was praised for the strangenes.

The

The Frenche kyne rãne to Moũsire Bewsy Damboyes, one of the bend of Mounsire Liskew, & the kyng of England charged his course and rãne to Mounsire Liskew, and so furnished their courses (as they laie) right nobly and valiauntly in breakyng speres that were strong thus course after course eche with other, his counter partie did right-valiantly, but the two kynges surmounted all the rest in prowesse and valiantnes. This bend thus furnished entred the Marques *de Salons*, and his bend .xii. persones all ridyng on coursers barded and appa-relled in white Sattin and blacke, broched wyth golde and siluer, xx with cuttes and culpynes muche after tawny and blacke Sattin bil-lottes: and after reuerence done to the quenes, toke thend of the tilte. To the Marques *de Salons* ranne the kyng of england, and the kyng-of Fraũce to another of the same bend, stil course after course ranne all the noble men til the Marques *de Salons* and his bend were deliuered, who bare theim right valiantly: then blew the trumpettes the retraict and the two kinges them vnarmed & after departed, the French kyng to, Arde and the kyng of England to his castle of Guysnes.

Thursday the.xiii. day of June by the noonetyde the two Quenes mette in the camp and toke their places, the people wer come to behold xx the honor & to see the two kynges, who al ready armed entred the feld to receiue and deliuer all men of answere of Justes. Then entred the erle of Deuonshyre nere cosyn to the kyng of England, on his bend the lorde Mountague also cosyn to the kyng, lord Harbert, lord Leonard Gray, Master Arthur Poole, Master Fraunces Brian, Master Hẽry Norres, and.iiij. other all richly appareilled, the one side blewe Veluet embrodered with a mans hartburning in a ladies hand holding a gar-den pot stillyng wyth water on the hart, the other syde was white sat-tin embrodered with letters of golde. Thys compaignie rode about ỹ title and did reuerence to the Quenes & so abode to thend of thesame. xxx The erle of Deuonshire charged his spere, and the French kynge like-wise charged his course to met thesame erle & ranne so hard together, that both their speres brake, and so mainteined their courses nobly.

Then ranne the king of England to *Mounsire Memorancie*, and hym en-countered and bare bothe togeather & gaue great strokes, the kynges moste noble grace neuer disuisered nor brethed tyll he ranne the fyue courses and deliuered his counter partie.

Dukes, Marqueses, Knightes, Esquiers and other ranne as faste as euer thei might, there was none abode when the coursers came, tyl the Earle of Deuonshire and his bend were deliuered of demaundes.

Then entered the lorde Hawarde sonne to the duke of Northfolke xl and.xj. compaignions apparelled and barded in crimosin Sattin full of flames of golde, the borders ribbed with crimosin Veluet, and wyth much honor and due reuerence done to the quenes were brought with Heraldes of armes aboute the titles, and so toke the place to theim ap-pointed, right ryche was their apparell. Then ranne the French kyng

and encountered thesame lord Edmond, they brake bothe their staues valiantly course after course, the encounter ceased not til they had furnished their fiue courses, so was the lorde Edmonde delyuered by the French kynge.

Then ranne the kinge of Englande to a strong gentleman named Raffe Broke and brake his spere, and ranne course after course tyll he had finished his courses right nobly and lyke a prince of most valiaunce. The residue ceassed not tyll they had eche deliuered other of their chalenge.

Friday the.xv.day of June the king of England mounted on a courser royall, his person armed at all peces, his apparell and trapper was the one syde riche cloth of gold, of tissue, the other side of cloth of Tissue of siluer, & cloth of golde of Tissue entered ounde the one with ỹ other the ounde is warke wauynge vp and doune, and all the borders aswell trapper as other was garded with letters of fine golde, and on ỹ other side that was ounde was set with sygnes called cyfers of fine gold, the which were set with great & oriental perles, the cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wete, God my frend, my realme & I may. This was the deuyse and reason thereof, al the kinges bende were apparelled in lyke apparell. xx

The French king likewise armed at all pointes mounted on a courser royal, al his apparel as wel bardes as garmentes were purple veluet entred the one with the other, embrodered ful of litle bokes of whit sattin, & in the bokes were writtenᵃ ᵐᵉ, about the borders of the bardes & the borders of the garmentes, a chayne of blew like Iron resembling the chaine of a wel or prison chayne, which was enterpreted to be *Liber*, a booke, wythin this boke was wrytten as is sayde ᵃ ᵐᵉ, put these two together and it maketh *libera me*, the chayne betokeneth prison or bōdes and so maketh together in Englysh, delyuer me of bondes, put to ỹ reason, the first day, second day, & third day, of chaūge, for he chaudged but the secōd day, and it is, *hart fastened in paine endles, when she deliuereth me not of bondes*, thus was thinterpretacion made, but whether it wer so in all thynges or not I may not say. Now is ready the two kinges and princes & all their retayne abidynge the aunsweres, and after salutacions made to the Quenes being by their stages, they toke thende of the title. xxx

Ready was Mounsire Florengis and with him. xij. men of armes ẅ coursers barded: ỹ bardes & appaarel was crymosyn veluet, tawny veluet, and Plunket veluet, embrodered borderwyse with sheperdes hokes of cloth of siluer. When they wyth honour had passed about the title, the reuerence to the Quenes & ladies done, the two kynges had their speres ready, then began the rushyng of speres, the kynge of England this day rāne so freshly and so many courses, that one of his best coursers was dead that nyght, this band was delyuered man after mā of their pretence of Justes. xl

Then entered bendes of *Mounsire de Rambeurs and Mounsire de Pyns*, ethe hauynge

eche hauyng.xi.persones in nomber,the one band all whit Satten enbrodered with blacke,& the other all blacke,dropped w siluer droppes and after reuerēce done to the quenes, at the end of the title toke their places. Then began a new encoũter hard and soze,many of them bare great strokes of the kinges,to their honor:when these bendes wer deliuered, the Heraldes cryed *a loste* and the princes them disarmed and went to lodgynge.

Saterday the.xviij.day of June the French kyng with a small nõbre came to ỹ castle of Guisnes about the hour of.viij.in the morynynge & the king being in his priuy chambre, had therof knowledge,who with glad hast went to receyue thesame French king, and him met and welcomed in frendly and honorable maner, & after cõmunicacion betwene them had,the king of England departed,leauing the French king ther in the sumpteous place before named. Then was busy the lord chãberlaine,the lord Stewarde and al other officers to make ready feast and chere,it were to longe to reherce al,for suche a feaste and banquet was then made,that of long tyme before the lyke had not bene sene.

The knig of Englãd thus departed,he toke his horse and wyth cõpaignie of noble men rode to Arde, where the French quene and other & noblemen him receiued with muche honour. After which receyuing he was by thesayd quene and lordes brought into a chamber hãged with blew beluet embrodered with flowers delice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bedde of like worke,from whence he was conueighed into another chamber,in the which was a kinges state: hys chamber was hanged and siled with cloth of gold, embrodered wyth great cordelles or fryers knottes of cloth of siluer. In thesame chambre wer two cupbordes on eithey syde one,furnyshed with great and goodly plate gilt. Noble feasting & chere was there made. After diner the ladies dressed them to daunce,the king the more to glad thequene & thesayde ladies, departed secretly and put hym self with.xxix.persons more in maskers & apparel,fyrst.x.young honorable lordes apparelled after the maner of Ry and Reuel in Ruselande or farre Estland. Fyrst theyr hosen of rych goldsatten called Aureate satten,ouerrouled to the kne with skarlet,& on theyr fete, shoen with litle pykes of white nayles after the Estlande guise, theyr doublettes of ryche crimosin beluet and cloth of gold with wide sleues lyned with cloth of gold, ouer thys they had clokes of crymosyn beluet short,lyned w cloth of gold,on euery syde of ỹ clokes ringes of siluer w laces of Uenice gold, & on their heades thei had hattes made in ỹ toune of Danske and Purses of Seales skynnes, and gyrdles of thesame:all these yong lordes had visers, on their faces & their hattes were drawen lyke hatbondes full of Damaske gold.

Other.x.lordes were apparelled in lõg gounes of blewe Satten of the auncient fashion embrodered wyth reasons of golde that sayde *adieu iunesse* fare well youthe: they had typpettes of blacke beluet and hattes hangynge therby,and on their heades,high violette standynge cappes

and girdelles of silke, and Purses of cloth of golde after the auncyent maner, with visers, their faces of lyke auncyentie.

Then was ther another compaignie of.x. lordes in which maskery the king was hym selfe, apparelled all in longe garmentes of estate all pale riche clothe of golde, all these had rych gounes which were lyned with grene Taffata, and knit with poinctes of Uenice siluer wherwith the rychclothe together was fastened ion their faces visers, and al the berdes were fyne wyer of Duket golde, the Dzunslad plaiers & other minstrels arayed in whit, yelow and russet Damaske, these mynstrels blew and played, and so passed throughe the citie of Arde. All these no- x
ble reuelers came into ỹ Frēch court & put thē in presence of the Frēch Quene and ladies: and when the Quene had them beholden, these re- uelers toke ladies and daunsed, in passynge the tyme right honorably. Then at thinstaunce of the French quene and her ladies these maskers and reuellers them disuised, shewinge them what persons thei wer. Then spices, fruites, ielies and banket viandes wer brought, that done and ended, ỹ king toke his leaue of the Frēch quene & ladies & in secret places euery one visered him selfe, so that they were vnknowen, and so passed through the French court, to whome were brought. xxx. horses trapped in Damaske, whyte and yelowe, and so in maskeler passed the xx toune of Arde, into the felde or campe.

But now to tell of the feast & riches royall that was in the presence of the French kyng in the newe palaice roiall. This daye the Quene of England receiued the French king w all honor that was accordynge. In presence lacked neither clothes of estat nor other riches, for to shew the multitude of siluer and golde in plate and vessel there that daye, it were impossible: for all noble men were serued in gilte vessel, and all o- ther in siluer vessel. When the Frenche kinge had washed and in hys estate was set, he was ryght honorably serued in all thinges nedefull, for Forestes, Parkes, felde, salte seas, Ryuers, Moates and Pondes, xxx wer serched and sought through countreies for the delicacie of viādes, wel was that man rewarded that could bring any thinge of likinge or pleasure: Ryght honorably was the French kynge entertayned, and al other after their degre and state. When the French kyng had washed, then the ladies came & profered them selues to daunce, & so dyd in the French kinges presence, which done, the French kynge tooke leaue of the Quene and ladies of the court. The reuerēd father lord Cardinall accompaignied with the Duke of Buckynghā, and other great lordes conducted forward the French kyng, and in their waye they encoun- tred and met the king of England & his company right in the valy of xl Anderne apparelled in their Maskinge apparell, whyche gladded the French king. After reuerence done, the sayd two kinges departed for that nyght.

Monday the.xviij. daye of June, there blewe such stormes of wind & wether ỹ maruaill was to hear, for whyche hideous tēpest som said it

was

was a very pronosticaciō of trouble & hatred to come betwene princes.

Tewsday the.xix.day of June, the two valiāt chalēgers kynges at houre conuenient entered into the feld armed at al pieces, abiding the comers. Then entered Mounsire Boniual and his bend.xiiij.persons in nōber wel armed riding on barded horses, their apparell was black veluet and cloth of golde bilet wyse and fayre plumes on their heades, and after reuerence done to the quenes, al ready beyng on their stages they toke their places at the ende of the tytle.

Ready were the speres, the French king charged and ranne course after course and dyd nobly. Also the king of England ranne surely and lost no course til Mounsire Boniuall and his bende was deliuered, the kinges and their retayne did not cease.

Then entered.xvij.persones roially armed, the bend of the duke of Burbon ridyng on barded courlers, their apparell was white veluet, tawny and blacke veluet, entred togethet & all bordered with clothe of golde garnished with plumes of thesame colours on their heades, they saluted the quenes and ladies and toke thende of the title as they that came to furnyshe thende of the chalenge of Justes.

The kyng of England was ready & strake his horse with the spurres & so fiersly ran to the countre partie that his graund graue gard was lose with the great stroke that the king gaue him: course after course ỹ king lost none, but euermore he brake his spere, and so nobly ended his Justes royal, for this daye ended the kyngs great chalenge, and of the king oure souereygne lordes doynges, all men there that him behelde reported his doynges (so valiante were his factes) euermore in honor to be renoumed. The French king on hys part ran valiantly breaking speares egrely and so wel ended his chalenge of Justes, that he ought euer too bee spoken of. When the bende of the duke of Burbon was of their pretence of chalenge delyuered, they toke leaue and departed.

Wednisday, the.xx.day of June, the two kinges begā to hold turneyes with al the parteners of their chalenge, armed at al pieces. The French kinge & his bend were apparelled, their bard couered wt purple sattyn, broched wyth golde and purple veluet, ouer al brodered wyth garlondes of friers knottes of whyt satten, and in euery garlonde.iiij. paunse flowers, whiche signified, thinke on Fraunces, to whō he spake was not knowen, goodly and rych was their apparel.

The king of England mounted on a courser of Napels barded & after hym al the fayre bend of his retayne on coursers barded, the bardes & apparell was the one side rych clothe of Tyssue enbrodered, and lined wt rich cloth of siluer, al ỹ outward part was cutte, the other syde was russet veluet poudered wt gold or purpled with gold, enbrodered with a great rocke or mountayne, & a picture of an armed knyght on a courser barded, vaunceynge himself vpon that hil: then was on thesame rych enbrodery a picture of a ladie cōming out of a cloude strikinge the knight into the body with an arowe a deadly wounde, & beneth on

the borders were writtē in letters enbrodered that sayde, *In loue whoso mounteth, passeth in perill*, this was the deuise, so was the kynge of Englande apparelled and al hys parteners of chalenge.

The quene of Fraunce and the quene of Englande were in the places appointed for their honors. The Judges were on stages to marke with ỹ king of Heraldes that was for Fraunce named Roy mon Joy, and for England kyng of armes Garter, to marke and wryte ỹ dedes of noblemen: euery person toke a naked sworde in his hande, the trumpettes blewe al waitinge to ride and runne, the French kynge and the king of England together entred, and their bendes, and reuerēced the quenes, and rode about the place, and then toke the ende of the felde in their abode.

Now again louned the trūpettes, the Heraldes broughte into the bēdes of diuers noble and wel armed men on horses barded, that is to wete: First the duke of Alanson and.x. men of armes on his bēd, ỹ lord Admyrals bend.xij.menne of armes, and Mounsire Gywer and.ix.in nomber of men of armes all gentlemen, Mounsire Trenoyll wyth.xj. men of armes, mounsire Liskew and with him.xj.men of armes on his bende, the Marques de Salons and.xij.men of armes on hys bend, al on horses barded, and naked swordes in their handes.

Then the two kinges put doune their visers & rode to the encoūtre valiantly, and for trouth strake and receuied great strokes, but verely the two kinges bet their countre parties to disarming, and then were they departed and that battail ceased: then went other, euermore two for two, till it came to the kynges agayne, at whiche it neded not to put them in remēbraunce: for coragiously the two kynges newely foughte with great randon and force, they shewed their vigors and strengthes and did so nobly that their coūtre parties had none aduaūtage. When they had thus eche of them fought.iiij.battailes, then came Mounsire Liskew with whom the king of England had fought one battayll, and presented the kynge wyth hys horse, which the kyng gentely receyued and for loue, incontinent mounted on hym, and ther fought the.v.battayle ryght valyantly. Thus was the turney deliuered honorably for that day.

Thursday the.xx.day of June, the quene of England & the French quene were come to the campe in roialtie like vnto their estates, the.ij. kynges were in the felde armed and apparelled, the Frenche kyng and his bēd on coursers barded, their bardes couered with purple broched satten and purple veluet right royally, without any more enbrodering. The kynge of Englande was mounted on a horse of force and courage royally and nobly apparelled he and his retain in sute lyke. The apparel was of cloth of siluer of damaske bordered wyth letters of cloth of golde of damaske all the borders, on the bardes and apparell were litle mountaynes & springing braunches of Basyle, wrought all of fyne gold, and euery braunche, lefe and stalke, was lose and wauerynge, all

thycke

thycke and full of leaues and braunches, that vneth was the clothe of syluer sene, the reasons written on the borders was thus: *Breake not these swete herbes of the riche mounte, doute for dammage*. Thys apparel was meruailous freshe and fayre: thus the two kinges & theyr retayne tooke the felde. Then entered the Earle of Deuonshyre cosyn to the kyng of England and. xvi honorable persones in hys bende well armed.

Then came Mounsire Florenges and. xij. persones on hys bende, then came Mounsire de Rambeurs Mounsyre de Pyns and. ix. mē of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Bonyual hym
x self, and. xiij. men of armes on his bende, then came the bend of Mounsire de Burbon &. xviij. men of armes, al wel and warlyke horsed & armed and euerye of these bendes after their deuises appareilled ryghte rychely.

The two noble kinges were ready and either of theim encountred one man of armes, the French kyng to the erle of Deuonshire, the king of England to Mounsire Florenges. The kyng of England bare back Mounsire Florenges and brake his Poldron & him disarmed, when ỹ strokes were striken, this battaill was departed, it was much praised. Then on went swordes & doune went visers, ther was litle abidinge.
xx Sir Jhon Neuell, Mayster Fraunces Bryan, sir Rouland, & mayster Robart Garnyngham were this day as aides for ỹ hurt persons that before wer of the entertayn, and fought feruently battail after battaill and none ceased till they all that woulde entre were deliuered of their pretence in chalenge royall pretenced. This daye was the chalenge of Turnays after the articles ended, and all noble men deliuered and so departed the felde: then the kinges rode about the feld as honor of armes required, and the Heraulides cryed *la fine des Turnayes*, by thesayde. ij. noble princes, the. xxj. day of June.

Fryday the. xxij. daye of June in the campe was set a barrier for to
xxx fyght on foote, also an Hale of the kynges of Englande was sette in the same place, enbrodered with cloudes of blewe, and oute of the cloudes the Sunne rising, the valence of the same was wrytten in letters of blewe enbrodered, *dieu et mon droit*, in whyche Hale the Lordes and other of the entertayne of the chalenge armed theim selfes.

Nowe was the noble kynges ready to do battaylle on foote at the Barriers, the Quenes on their stages: then entered bende after bend on foote and preased to the Barriers, euerye one in hys hande a Punchion spere, wherwith wythout any abode foyned and lashed alwayes one at another, two for twoo as the lotte fell. When the speares were
xl spent, then swordes to them were geuen. Then preased to the Barriers the two valyaunte kynges, and other, then was no tarynge but fought with suche force that the fier sprang out of their armure. Thus bende after bende they were all deliuered by the two noble kinges and their aydes of retayne.

Then in came a bend with two hande swordes and castinge dartes to answere to that chalenge.xij.menne wel armed,which preced to the barriers & mightely threw theyr speares the one to the other,ready or not ready,none fauored other more then two enemies or at vtterance, and euer still two for twoo,til al were deliuered concernynge the chalenge,so this same two kinges safe in body and limmes ended the battaill for that daye at the barriers wyth great honor.

Al men of armes passed and departed for that time, much preparacion was made there,as setting vp tentes, hales, and other places for furnishyng of houses of offices,and chambers of estates for the kynges & and quenes,& also thesame night was in the campe rered a large frame of tymber worke for a chapell place, whyche was siled w ryche clothes embrodered,wherin was made a stage of two degrees,with the chaire and cloth of state for the lorde Cardinall, the alter apparelled wyth all Iuelles missal of greate riches,thesame chapel thus finished the. xxiij. day of June beyng Satterday,at houre conuenient,the said lord Cardinal sang an highe and solempne masse by note before the two kynges and quenes:thesame done,Indulgence was geuen to all hearers, the two kynges together associate tooke their chamber. Of thys masse in Flaunders arose muche communication,in so muche that the common xx voyce went,how the.ij.kinges wer sworne together on the sacrament whyche was contrary,for the masse was for none other entent then to geue Indulgence to the kynges.

When tyme was,the two kynges washed and satte to meat vnder their clothes of estate,where they were rychly serued,the royaltie of ye fare and the ryches of vessel,plate and Iuelles surmounteth the witte of mā to expresse:the quenes in another Chamber wer serued with no lesse honor,the dyner ended,thesayd straūgers royally apparelled,presented them selfes in places of estate.

To tel you the apparel of the ladies,their rych attyres,their sumptuous Iuelles, their diuersities of beauties,and the goodly behauyor from day to day syth the first meting,I assure you ten mennes wyttes can scace declare it. xxx

The two noble kinges put them selfes in armes with their bend and entered the felde on foote,before the barriers,then entered the bendes of men of armes in armur ryght rychly,then al was ready and the two kynges at the barriers ready to fyght ryght noblye. Thys daye was deliuered at barriers by battail,a.C.&.vj.persones,the.ij.last battails did the kynges. The kyng of England with few strokes disarmed his counter partie. The French kyng likewyse bare him self right valiantly. Thus thesayd satterday was fully ended, and all men deliuered of articles of Iustes and all Turneys and battailes on foote by thesayde two noble kynges. xl

After this chalenge honorably performed,the kynges prepared di-

uers

uers maskers, and especially of the king of England, had.iiij. cõpanies, and in euery company.x. persones apparelled as you shall heare.

The firste persone of the firste.x. was appareilled like Hercules in a shirt of siluer of damaske writen in letters of purple about the border, *en femes & infauntes cy petit assurance*, whyche in Englyshe is as muche to saye: In women and childzen is litle assuraunce: he had on his head a whode with a garlonde of grene damaske cutte into leaues like Vyne leaues and Hawthorne leaues, in hys hande a club couered wyth grene damaske full of pzickes: the Lyons skyn aboute his backe was of cloth of
x gold of damaske, wzought and frysed wyth flatte gold of Damaske foz the heeres, and buskins of gold on his legges. Other thze were apparelled foz Hectoz, Alexandze and *Iulius Cæsar*, in Turkay Jubbes of grene cloth of gold wzought lyke chãblet very richly, & on their hedes bonettes of Turkay fashyon, of cloth of gold of Tyssue, and clothe of syluer rolled in Cypzes kercheffes after the Vanyns fashyon, and girdles of cloth of gold wyth pendantes of thesame cutt in greate flages, and euery one buskins of grene damaske, and thze other lyke Pzinces of Jury foz Dauid, Josue, and Judas Machabeus: these thze were in longe gounes of russet Tinsel satten with great wide sleues lined with cloth
xx of gold pẽdant and great tippettes of thesame cloth of gold baudericke wise and whodes of thesame, buskyns of grene damaske, their vysers had berdes of fyne golde: the other thze were foz Chzisten pzynces, as Charlemaine, Arthur & Godfry de Bulloigny. These thze were apparelled in long vestures of calendzed cloth of golde and purple clothe of gold bzoched together, with whoddes and cappes of thesame, visers & buskyns of grene Damaske.

Other.x. wer apparelled in cotes of crimosyn Sat tin al ouer couered with *quaterfoy'es* of cloth of gold, of tissue, and clothe of syluer rayled, the gold was frynged with syluer, and the siluer wyth gold and layde
xxx lose on the Crimosyn Sattẽ, and euery quaterfoyle was knyt to other with laces of gold. Ouer that ỹ said.x. persones had euery one a large mantle oz Robe of crimosyn satten enbzodered full of fygures of golde and on their heades bonettes of stoole wozke of gold of damaske, and euery one had on hys vyser a berde of golde wyth with whoddes and buskyns of crimosyn Satten.

Ten of the ladies were appareled after the Genowayes fashyõ, the ground of their gounes was whit Sattẽ, ouer diapzed with right crimosyn satten & gold of Damaske, and on their heades square bonettes of damaske golde, rolled wyth lose gold that did hange doune at their
xl backes, with kerchiefes oz cleres of fyne Cypzes.

The other.x. ladies were attyzed after the fashyon of Millayne, in ryche Tyssue & clothe of syluer rayled, parted, trauers & ruffed sleues with fozesleues pendant, knit w̃ poyntes of gold & caules oz coyfes of gold piped, & Myllayne bonettes of crimosyn satten dzawen thzoughe wyth clothe of golde. Thus the kynge of England, and.xix. noblemen

wyth

with hym and his sister Quene Marye do wager of Fraunce and .xix. ladies with her like maskers apparelled as you haue heard, all mouted on horses trapped in veluet white and yelow, and euermore a lord and a lady rydyng together, with mynstrelsie departed out of Guysnes on sonday the .xxiiii. day of June and toke their way toward Arde, and in the way on the banke of Anderne these maskers met with the Frenche kyng, beyng in a chariot with .xxviii. persones richely apparelled in Maskyng apparell, and eche compaigny passed by other without any countenaunce makyng or disuiseryng.

The Frenche kyng and his compaignie went to Guysnes, the king of England to Arde, where his maiestie was receiued into the French court, and brought into the chamber of riche apparell, where at the instance of the French Quene the kinge and al hys, them disuisered and shewed theyr faces, and al the ladies of England likewyse, then began feast & chere to aryse, the king of England was set, and after all the ladies and Maskers of England, and were nobly serued of many straūge meates: After diner began the daunces in passing the tyme ioyously e.

The French Maskers apparel was not all of one suite, but of seueral fashions, of diuers silkes, some cut, some broched, some had plumes that were very fayre, but very beautifull was the syght.

The Frenche kinge and his company was then at Guisnes, where the quene of England met and welcomed them. Then the French king and his Maskers shewed themselfes bare faced, and when the Quene them saw she did then the more reuerence. Greate was the chere that then was there. After dyner and daunces done, the French king drew him self into a secret chamber & put from hym his appparel of maskery and toke to him hys apparell of vsaunce, in the whyche were many fair Emeraudes, this done, he toke his leaue of the quene, and on the court he loked with a high countenaunce and so departed, the lord Cardinal and the duke of Buckingham hym conductinge, the king of Englande, this tyme durynge, was at Arde, where he passed the time with much solas. At tyme conuenient he toke leaue of the Frenchmen & all other of the frēch court, and after they had visered them selfes they rode nobly thus apparelled through the towne of Arde, and so passed till they came to the campe, where as all the chalenges were finished, and there the French kyng perceiuing the cōmyng of the English maskers, stode still beholding them. Then the kyng of Englande put of his viser and preased vnto the French king: then the two kinges embraced and amiably together communed, after which communicacion eyther of other by kyngelye salutynge tooke leaue, and for remembraunce eyther to other gaue gyftes. The kynge of England gaue to the Frenche kynge a colloure of Jewels of precyouse stoones called Balastes the Sanker furnyshed wyth greate Dyamantes and Perles. The Frenche kynge gaue to the kynge of Englande a Bracelet of precyouse stones, riche Jewels and fayre, and so departed thesayde two noble kynges,

the

the sayd.xxiij.day of June, which was sonday and Midsomer day.

During this triumph so much people of Picardie and West Flaunders drew to Guysnes to se ỹ kyng of England & his honor, to whō vitailes of the court were in plentie, the conduicte of the gate rāne wyne alwayes, there wer bacaboundes, plowmen, laborers & of the bragery wagoners & beggers that for drunkennes lay in routes and heapes, so great resort thether came, that both knightes aud ladies ỹ were come to se ỹ noblenes, were fayne to lye in hay and strawe, and helde theim therof hyghly pleased. From the court of the Emperor, nor of the lady
x Margarete court, nor of Flaunders, Brabāt nor Burgoin came neuer a persone to aunswere to the chalenge: By that it semed that ther was smal loue betwene the Emperor and the Frenche kynge: Moreouer Mounsire Fayot captayne of Boleyn wyth Mounsyre Chattelon did theyr deuoyer to haue taken the toune of sainct Omer, of which doyng was thought no goodes to the Emperor.

Monday the.xxb.day of June, the kyng of England & the Quene & al the court remoued frō Guysnes to the toune of Caleys & ther made the king his abode, where was concluded the metinge of the Emperor with the kyng, wherfore was made newe and great prouisions.

xx In the tyme of the triumph there was a muttering that the toune of Caleys should be rēdred into the French kynges hādes, & for trueth ỹ Frēchmen so spake & sayd, wherwith many Englishmē wer greued.

While the king lay thus in Caleys, he considered the charge of hys nobles, and thought that lesse nombre of seruauntes would now serue them for the tyme of his abode, and so caused the Cardinal to cal al the gentlemen before him, whiche in the kinges name gaue to theim thankes with much commendacions, and for eschewing of coste, because the king taried but the Emperors cōminge, he licensed them to send home the halfe nombre of their seruauntes & bad them after their long charxxx ges to liue warely, this terme warely was amongest the most part taken for barely, at which saying the gentlemen sore disdayned.

Thus in Caleys rested the king & the quene vntil ỹ.x.day of July. Then ỹ kinges grace with goodly repayr rode to the toune of Graueling in Flaunders ther that night to rest & se the Emperor, on ỹ kynge wer wayting the lorde Cardinall, Dukes, Marquises, Erles, bishops, Barons, knightes, and gentlemē. The noble Emperor passed the water of Graueling, and at a place called Wael, there he mete & receyued the kinge of Englande, the Emperor made such semblant of loue to all the court of Englande that he wan the loue of thenglishmē, & so passed
xl the Emperor and the king of England to Graueling, where the kynge lodged the best that might be, all lordes, gentlemen, yomen, & all sortes of Englishmen from ỹ highest to the lowest were so chered and feasted, with so louing maner that much they praysed Themperors court. In Grauelyng was the Emperors Aunte Margarete, she welcomed the kinge and other noble men of the realme.

When

When the French king and his lordes had knowlege of ỹ metynge of the Emperor and the kyng of England in the towne of Grauelinge, they were therwith greately greued, as by many thinges appered for after the Englishmen were in Fraunce disdained, & in their suites ther greatly deferred and had litle right and muche lesse fauor, so from day to day still more and more began hartburnning, and in conclusion open warre did arryse betwene the two realmes.

Wednisday the. xj. day of July, the Emperor & the lady Margaret came with the king of England to the toune of Caleys, the Emperor & the lady Margaret were lodged in Staple hal, and al gentlemen and other lodged in other places right well prepared of all necessaries for their cõming: & for solas was buylded a banqueting house. 800. foote round, after a goodly deuyse, builded vpon Maskes of shyppes in suche maner as I thinke was neuer sene, for in it was the whole speare portrated, which by reason of the great winde that blewe, coulde not be acheued, thesame day at night, the king & .xb. persones wer apparelled all in black Ueluet couered with cloth of golde, cut on the veluet, fastened w̃ knottes of gold, on the whiche knottes honge spangels of golde lyke tuftes and bonettes of thesame and clokes of crimosyn Satten & cloth of gold wrapped trauers, and their buskyns of thesame clothe of gold. All these lusty maskers went to the Emperors lodging and were receiued and in the chambre of presens daunced and reuelled, the which at the Emperors request, the kinge and other theimselues disuisered, whereby the king was knowen: then the kynge toke his leaue and departed for that nyght.

Tewsday the. xij. day of July, because the banquet house could not be finished, the Emperor and the lady margaret supped with the king & the quene at the checker, where thesame night after supper reuelled lxxxvi. Maskers: after the reuelles was a bãquet: After whych banket the kyng brought the Emperor and the lady Margaret to ỹ Staple, and after withdrew hym.

This night was. viij. compaignyes of maskers, and in euery compaignie. xij. persones all in gold, siluer and veluet rychely appareilled, but because the rome was small, the shew was the lesse.

In these reuelles were put in maskers apparel diuers gentlemen of the French court vnweting to ỹ kyng or any other that bare rule, for diuers yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the Frenche partie, then the Emperors partie, through which meanes thei saw and much more heard then they should haue done.

Friday, the. xiij. day of July, the Emperor did entẽd to haue departed from Caleys, but the counsail was suche that he departed not that night. The charters before tyme concluded, there were redde, and to the Emperor declared al the whole articles of high peace & league tripertite, to which the French kynge had assented and fully contented, & for the more exemplificacion of thesame, he sent the lorde *de Roche* wyth let-

letters of credēce to signifie to the Emperors Maiestie that to thesame articles he the Frenche kyng promised in the worde of a king as prince faythfull, to obserue & kepe for him and his realme & subiectes. Thus by the lord de Roche in the Emperors presēce & before the king of England in the name of his master there shewed the Frenche kynges will in the toune of Caleys with many high and vrgent causes concernyng the princes, whereby the Emperor went not out of Calays that night, by whiche abode the emperors seruauntes were muche in doubt of the Emperors persone.

x Saterday the .xiiij. day of July, about none ỹ Emperor toke leaue of the quene of England his aunte and of her traine of ladies, the kyng with all his nobles conducted the Emperor on his way to a billage towardes Flaūders called Wael, wher the Emperor enbraced the kyng, and him betoke to almightie God, and the kyng gaue to him a courser of Naples richely apparelled.

The kyng toke leaue of the Duches of Sauoye great aunte to the Emperor and of all nobles of the Emperors court, & so departed, smal tyme in Calayce the kyng made abode, but in goodly hast shipped and with te quene and all other nobles in safetie tooke lande. And after xx passed the tyme of Sommer with huntyng and other sportes honorably and made no great iestes this yere.

This yere the kynge kept his Christmas at his Maner of Grenewiche with muche noblenes & open court. And the .x. day of Febuary in his owne person Jusied to all comers, and the .xij. day his grace and therle of Deuonshyre with .iiij. aydes answered at the Turnay all comers which were .xvj. persones, noble and riche was their apparel, but in feates of armes the kyng excelled the rest.

In this tyme was Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham accused to the kyng of high treason, wherfore the kynges grace by the aduise of hys xxx cousail, sent & directed his letters to the sayd duke, beyng at his maner of Thornbury in the countie of Glocester, that incontinent he shoulde come to his presence all excuses layde aside. Also the kynge gaue commaundement to sir Willyam Cumpton, sir Richard Weston, and Sir Willyam Kyngston knightes for the kynges bodye, to take with them secret power and also seriauntes at armes, and that thei shoulde wisely take hede that whē the duke had receiued the kynges letters, he should not conuey hymselfe, whiche they wisely accomplished. The duke of Buckyngha accused.

The sayd Duke vpon the sight of the kynges letters remoued, & sojnied tyll he came to Wyndsore, and there offered at. S. George, and xl alwayes not farre from him awaityng his demeanor, were thesame knightes lyng. The Duke lodged in Wyndsore for that night, and as it was well proued, he meruailously feared, inso muche that he called vnto him a seruaunt of the kynges named Thomas Ward, thesame Thomas Ward was gentleman Herbenger for the kyng, and demaūded of him what he made there, who answered, saiyng that ther lay his

office, there the duke perceiued that he could not escape. And so muche was he in spirit troubled that as he was at breakefast his meat would not doune, yet he made good countenaunce, and shortly toke his horse, and so rode till he came to Tothill besides Westminster where he toke his barge: before this tyme was the dukes chauncellour taken and as a prisoner kept in the tower, whiche had confessed matter of high treason concernyng the kynges persone.

When the Duke was in his barge, he commaunded to lande at my lorde Cardinals bridge, where he landed wyth foure or fiue of his seruauntes, desiryng to see the same lorde Cardinall, but to hym was answered how the same lorde was diseased, well sayd the duke yet wyll I drynke of my lordes wyne or I passe, then a Gentleman of my Lordes brought the Duke with muche reuerence into the Seller, where the duke dranke.

When he sawe and perceiued no chere to him was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to hys barge, saiynge to his seruauntes, I meruaill where my chauncellor is, that he cõmeth not to me, not knowynge that he was in prison.

The duke thus in his barge cõmyng towardes London, sir Henry Warney capitaine of the kynges Garde, on him attendyng. C. yomen of the kynges garde in a barge on the ryuer of Thames met the same duke, and without abode borded the dukes barge & hym in the kynges name attached. And then from him were put his seruauntes, and the duke was brought to the Hale wharfe and there landed, the dukes seruauntes were commaunded to go to the Maner of the Rose in saincte Larence Pountnay, and there to abide till the kynges pleasure were further knowen.

Sir Henry Warnay brought the duke through the Thames strete to the Tower of London, the people muche mused what the cause might be, and for trouth tyll it was knowen, among theim was muche speakyng. There was also attached a Monke of a Charterhouse besides Bristow called Henton, also Mayster Jhon Delaker the Dukes Confessor, and the dukes Chauncellor before mencioned, al were in the Tower prisoners. The.xvj. day of April was the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the whyle that euer ambicion shoulde be the losse of so noble a man, and so muche in the kynges fauor, by hym all Lordes and other may beware how they geue credence to false prophesies, or false hypocrites. For a Monke of the Charter house shewed the Duke that he shoulde be kynge of Englande, whych to the kynges persone coulde be no higher treason.

Alas that euer he gaue credence to suche a false traitor.

The

The.xiij.pere.



N this tyme inquiries were made in diuers shyres of Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham beynge prisoner in the tower of London, where, by the knightes & gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by thesame Duke in Blechyngly to the Lorde Aburgenye, thesame Lorde was attached for consaile-ment, and the Lord Mountague the kynges Cosyn and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edward Neuell knight, brother to the sayd lorde Aburgeney forbidden the kynges presence.

x The Duke of Northfolke was made by the kynges letters patētes high Steward of Englande, to accomplishe the high cause of appele of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to decerne and iudge the causes of the pieres. &c.

Wherfore shortly after was made in Westmynster hall a scaffolde for the Lordes and a presence for a Judge, railed and counter railed about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Northfolke was chiefe Judge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the Duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Deuonshyre, Essex, Shrewisbury, Kent, Oxford, and Darby, the lorde of S. Jhons, Lorde Delaware, lorde Fitz Warren, Lorde Wylloughby, Lorde Broke, Lorde xi Cobham, lorde Harbert, & the lorde Morley, satte as Peres & iudges vpon thesame duke of Buckyngham.

When the lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Louell and sir Richard Chomley knightes, brought the duke to the barre with thaxe of the Tower before him, who humbly bareheaded reuerēced the duke of Northfolke, and after all the lordes and the kinges lerned counsaill. Then the Clarke of ỹ counsail sayd, sir Edward duke of Buckyngham hold vp thy hande, thou art endited of high treason, for that thou traitorously hast conspired and ymagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten xii the life of our soueraigne lorde the kyng: of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the Duke answered by my Peres.

And when thenditement was openly redde, the duke sayd, it is false and vntrue and conspired and forged to bryng me to my death, & that wil I proue, allegyng many reasons to falsefy the inditement, & against his reasons the kynges Atturnay alleged the examinacions, cōfessions and proues of witnesses.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought furth, then was brought before hym Syr Gylbert Perke preste his Chauncellor, fyrst accusor of thesame Duke, Maister Jhon Delacourt priest, the Dukes xi Confessor and his owne hand writyng layde before hym to the accusement of the duke. Charles Kneuet Esquyer Cosyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besides Bathe, whiche like a false

ypocrite had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had diuers tymes sayd to the duke that he should be kyng of England, but the duke sayd that in himselfe he neuer consented to it. Diuers presumpcions and accusementes wer layde to him by Charles Kneuet, which he would fain haue couered. The depositions were redde, and the deponentes were deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Northfolke, and sayd my lorde, the kynge oure souereigne Lorde hath commaunded, that you shall haue hys lawes ministred with fauor and right to you. Wherefore yf you haue any other thinge to say for your selfe you shalbe hard. Then he was commaunded to withdrawe him, & so was led into Paradise a house so named. The Lordes went to counsaill a great while and after tooke their places. Then sayd the Duke of Northfolke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of sir Edward duke of Buckyngham touching the high treasons? The Duke of Suffolke answered, he is giltie, and so sayd the Marques and all the other Earles & lordes: Thus was this prince duke of Buckyngham founde giltie of high treason by a Duke, a Marques, vii. Erles, and. xii. Barons.

The Duke was brought to the barre for chafyng and swette meruailously, after he had made his reuerēce, he paused a while. The duke of Northfolke as a Judge sayd, sir Edward, you haue heard how you be indited of high treason, you pleaded thereto not gyltie, puttyng your selfe to the peres of the realme, the whiche haue found you giltie: then the Duke of Northfolke wept and sayd, you shalbe ledde to the kynges prison and there layde on a Herdill and so drawen to the place of execution, and there to be hanged, cutte doune aliue, your membres to be cutte of and cast into the fyer, your bowels brent before you, your head smytten of, and your body quartered and deuyded at the kynges wyll, and God haue mercy on your soule. Amen.

The duke of Buckinghās iudgement.

The Duke of Buckingham sayd, my lorde of Northfolke, you haue sayd as a traytor should be sayed vnto, but I was neuer none, but my lordes I nothyng maligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternall God forgeue you my death and I do: I shall neuer sue to the kyng for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from hym then I desire. I desire you my lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

Then was the edge of the axe turned towardes him, and so led into a barge, Sir Thomas Louell desired him to sytte on the cusshyns and carpet ordeined for him, he sayd nay, for when I went to Westminster I was duke of Buckyngham, nowe I am but Edwarde Bowhen the moste caitiffe of the worlde. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him sir Nicholas Vawse & sir Willyam Sandes Baronetes and led him through the Citie, who desired euer the people to pray for him, of whom some wept and lamented, and sayd, this is thende of euill

lyfe

life. God forgeue him, he was a proude prince, It is pitie that he behaued him so against his kynge and liege lorde, whō God preserue. Thus aboute.iiij. of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

Frydaie the.xvij. day of Maie, about.xj. of the clocke. This duke w a great power was deliuered to Jhon Kyeme and Jhon Skeuyngton shyriffes, who led him to the skaffolde on Tower hill, where he sayd he had offended the kynges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him, and al men to pray for him, and that he trusted to dye the kynges true man. Thus mekely with an
x axe he toke his death, on whose soule Jesu haue mercy. Then the Augustine friers toke the body & head & buried them. Alas that euer the grace of truth was wdrawen frō so noble a man, that he was not to his kyng in alegeaunce as he ought to haue been, suche is thende of ambicion, thende of false prophesies, thende of euill lyfe and euill counsaill.

About this tyme Fraunces the Frenche kynge made open warre against the Emperor Charles both by lande and sea. The Prouinces of Aragon, Castle, and all Spayne, Germany, Brabant, Flaunders & the steades mainteined the partie of the Emperor. The kynges highnes cōsideryng ỹ murder & effusion of Christen bloud, and the trouble that
xx might ensue to al the princes of Christendome, by inuasion of the great Turke sent the Cardinall of Yorke his Chaūcellor by name lord Thomas Wolsey to his toune of Calayce to intreate an amitie and peace betwene those two mightie princes. For this voiage great preparacio was made, not onely for him but also for the Earle of Worcestre then lorde Chamberlayn, the lorde of S. Johns, the lord Ferrys, the lorde Harbert, the bishop of Duresme, the bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armicane, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir John Peche, sir Jhon Hussey, Sir Richarde Wyngfelde, sir Henry Guldforde, and many other knightes, Esquiers, gentlemen, Doctors, and learned menne. And thus honora-
xxx bly accompanied he rode through London the.xxb. daye of July, & at Thomas Beckettes house the Mayer & Aldermen toke leaue of hym, praiyng God to send him good spede. Thus passed he to Cantorbury where tharchebishop, and the bishop of Cantorbury and other prelates receiued him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng vnder Canape to the bishoppes palayce: the.viij. day of Julye he came to Douer: the.xx. daye he & thother lordes with their retinues toke passage, and ariued at Calayce in safetie, where the lorde Deputie and counsaill receined theim wyth muche honor, and lodged the Cardinall in the Staple hall.

xl Shortly after whose ariuall, came thether ỹ Chauncelor of Fraūce and the Countie de Palays with.iiij.C. horse, as ambassadors frō the Frenche kynge. And likewise from the Emperor came great Ambassadors, and when thei satte in counsail, the Emperors Ambassade shewed their Commission & power. And euen so did the Frenche kynges Ambassade, which was more larger then the Emperors commission.

Thus when the grudges were declared on bothe sides, when the Emperors Ambassadors cõsented to peace, the French kynges would not. And when the Frenche Ambassadors cõsented to peace, the Emperors would not. The Cardinall then would haue knitted the Emperor, the kyng our soueraigne lorde, the Frenche kynge, and the bishop of Rome in a league and amitie together: the other Ambassadors had no suche Commission, especially the bishop of Romes, where vpon letters were sent to Rome in all hast and the Frenchmen taried in Calayce till he returned, & beheld the toune, with whiche the counsail of Calaice wer not contented. Herevpon the Cardinal rode to the Emperor accompanied & with his Ambassadors (and left the Frenche ambassadors in Calaice to abide his returne) and passed by Grauelyng, Dũkirke, Newport, Owdenborow, & sundry tymes in the waye he was encoũtred and receiued with noble men. And without Bruges he was receiued with many noble men, and many lordes and other of the Emperors court, and a myle without Bruges the Emperor his owne persone met him, and shewed to him and to the other lordes & gentlemen of england gracious countenaũce, & so accompanied ỹ cardinall into the toune, where great multitude of people beheld them, & so rode to the Emperors palayce where he lighted, and fyrst embraced the Cardinall and after all the lordes, & knyghtes, and gentlemen of Englande. It is to suppose the Emperor knewe of the Commission geuen to the sayd Cardinall, whiche had the kynges power as if his grace had been present, and also had the great seale wyth hym, whiche had not been seen before, or els the Emperor woulde not haue done hym so high honor and reuerence.

The Englishe lordes, knightes, esquiers, yomen of the kynges gard & other beyng to the nomber of. iiij. C. lx. horse, were wel lodged euery man after his degree, and euery lodgyng furnished with fewell, bread, bere, wyne, Bens, Muttons, Ueles, Lambes, Uenison, and all maner deintie biand aswell in fishe as flesshe, with no lacke of spices and banketting dishes. & & &

The next day after the great chere made to ỹ lord Cardinall & to all his lordes, knightes, gentlemen, and all other lordes and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinall made his proposicion cõcernyng peace to be had betwene the sayd Emperor and the French kyng declaryn the calamities, misery, and wretchednes that came by warre: and the cõmodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, concorde & tranquilitie, whiche proposicion continued a great while: and when the Cardinall had made an ende, the Emperor himselfe answered and said: The lawe of God byndeth euery man to claime & aske his right, & that & thesame lawe byndeth no man to holde, kepe, and withstande another mans right. Our cosyn of Fraunce doeth wythholde our rightes & patrimonies whiche we haue princely desired, & eftsones wil, and if he wil rendre to vs our said rightes & patrimonies, we are contented to haue peace with hym and his subiectes, yf not we trust in God & oure ryght

that

that the troubles by your fatherhed reherſed, ſhal come vpon hym and his adherentes. And for the titles of our regalitie, to putte that to the biſhop of Rome, we do conſider that kynge Edwarde of Englande the thirde of that name of noble memory, warred by iuſt title to recouer the realme of Fraunce from Philip de Ualois, whiche title by interceſſion was put to the biſhop of Rome & his court, to diſcuſſe & expended there by ỹ ſpace of. xxiij. yeres vndetermined, notwithſtãding great purſuite & labor was made to haue it ended: Suche lyke tyme ſhoulde be to vs tedious, wherfore we entende by the ayde of God to folowe our title.

x The Cardinall replied & declared the league that was betwene the thre mightyeſt princes of the worlde, that is to ſaye, the Emperor, the kynge our ſoueraigne lorde Henry the. viij. and the Frenche kyng, and how that to the prince that fyrſt moued warre, the other two ſhould be enemies vnto hym, and ſayd, beholde the mightie power and puiſſaunt realme, riches, ſhippes, vitailes, and ordinaũce, lordes, chyualry, horſemen, archers and comminaltie, this is in the high and mightie kynge of England my ſoueraigne lord, and he that fyrſt warre beginneth, by the ſayd league my ſayed ſoueraigne lorde to his honor may lefully ſpred his baner and make warre in defence of his frende. For this and other
xx thynges my ſoueraigne lorde deſires of your highnes and maieſtie the conſent of peace.

My lorde Cardinall ſayd the Emperor, I eſteme moſte the honor of my dere vncle the kynge of Englande and truſt in his aſſuraunce, that neither his royall perſon, his realme, his power, Nauye, nor ordinaũce ſhalbe but to our ayde in aſſiſtynge our tried title, nor will cõſent to any thyng in diſhonorynge vs or our Empire: God defende but we ſhoulde humble our ſelfe to his requeſt, our high honor reſerued. Lorde God who may eſteme more higher iniuries and wronges thẽ we in our perſon, our predeceſſours, and our louyng ſubiectes haue endured by the
xxx houſe of Fraunce. My lorde Cardinall ſayd the Emperor, their pride with our honor we may & muſt apprehende and ouerthrow by the help of God: With theſe wordes the counſaill brake vp.

All the lordes and menne of honor of England that day dyned in the Emperors court.

When they were ſet and ſerued, it came ſo to paſſe that an honorable man of the Emperors as he ſat at dyner ſayd thus. It is thought that the kynges Maieſtie of Englande entendeth to make a peace. Alas that euer he ſhoulde ymagyn a thyng ſo muche to the diſhonor of the Emperor. The kynge is his vncle, is it not come to his hearynge that
xl all the worlde heareth? It was ſo that by aſſent of the Byſhoppe of Rome and other princes to make peace wyth vs, the Frenche partie after the battayll of Gyngate obtained by Maximilian then archeduke of Oſtriche, where euerye noble manne of vs foughte wyth the Frenchmen quarter naked, and ſlewe of theim a meruailous nomber. They deſired the doughter of Maximilian named Margarete

to wife, whiche lady is Duches of Sauoy and yet liuyng, & she beynge like an Emperors childe was deliuered into their handes as quene of the realme, with diuers tounes in Picardie rēdred with her and parte of high Burgonie, and treasure meruaylous. Nowe sithen thesame Maximilian had spoused Jane doughter and heire of Fraunces Duke of Britaigne, whiche lande the Frenchemen ouer rāne and spoiled, and she constrained to sue vnto Charles kynge of Fraunce for a safe conduict to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and vpon the same safeconduict graunted, the sayd ladie Jane passynge through Fraunce with a small company, was by thesame Charles taken at Amx bois & there maried her against her wyll, wherupon he forsoke the lady Margarete and sent her againe to her father themperor without rediliuer or rendryng againe the tounes that wer deliuered with her. And where as the duke of Geldre is subiect to the Emperor, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the Frenche kynge, rebell? And where also by iust title the realme of Naples ought to be vnited to the croune of Castle, dyd not the Frenche kynge fayne a iorney into the holy lande pretendyng title by Jeniamy brother to the great Turke beynge then captiue in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtained the sayd Jeniamy, & so passed into Naples wythout peril, and seazed all the lande into hys xx handes, & then prisoned he thesame Jeniamy? Thus to the great damage of Castle, he made claime to Naples by Margaret quene of England late wyfe to Henry the.vj.

The kyng of Nauerne is euermore vassal to the houle of Aragon & Castell, yet the Frenche kyng caused him to rebell, hopyng thereby to subdue the sayd countreys.

Of late daies the Frenche kyng by false treason caused Sir Robert de la Marche to submitte himselfe to the Emperors Maiestie, who receiued him vpō his othe & fidelitie, pardonyng all offences past. Is not this false traitor returned, and is of the Frenche partie? How may that xxx court, that counsaill, that kyng, that realme that cōsenteth to treason & periury by maintenaunce of traitors be called honorable? Hath not the French kyng sworne, and is bounden neuer to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperor? & yet doth at this day. And albeit that his Maiestie speaketh not of these thynges, yet he well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayeth, *Vine Burgoigne*, euery manne that heard this reherfall, knewe that it was true, howbeit he was not answered, but some Englishe knightes sayd, Sir you haue sayd well, and as God will all muste be. Thus was this narracion ended. xl

In this season the Emperor gatte the toune of Newzon: Also of the Emperors partie a great army arriued in the Duchy of Mylan & also the Emperors power besieged the noble citie of Nessiers, but the capitaine called *Franciscus* was suspected of treason, for he remoued wyth the

the hoste from the seage without knowlege of the Emperor.

The Emperor made a seage volant about the Citie of Turnay, for the reskue wherof and also of Messiers, the French kyng made a great army and him selfe in person.

Durynge this seage the Frenchemen toke a Spaniardes ship laden with Englishemens goodes at Margate within the kynges streames, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchmen were C.lx.men, and of Spaniardes and Englishemen only.xxb.

The kynge of Denmarke Cristianus came to se themperor his brother in law beyng a stately prince, yet meanes was made that the lorde Cardinall and he spake together without great signe of amitie.

The lorde Cardinall after he had soiorned in Bruges by the space of xiij.daies & concluded diuers matters with the Emperor & accomplished his cõmission: he tooke leaue of his Maiestie, and likewise dyd all the noblemen of England, & after cõuenient iornies arriued with al his company at Calyce, where thembassadors of Fraunce taried him, & immediatly after his ariuyng he treated with them of peace, yet not so ernestly as he did before & that perceiued well thesayd Ambassadors and wrote therof to the Frenche kynge, yet the welth & prosperitie of both the realmes & their subiectes were highly reasoned betwen the Cardinall & the sayd Ambassadours, especially for fishyng, where vpõ was concluded that ỹ subiectes of both the princes might freely fishe on the sea, & repaire to any porte of thone or thother prince without robbyng, spoylyng, or takyng vnto the second day of Februarye next.

The French kyng with a mightie army & himselfe in person repaired to the coũtrey of Cambray, mindyng to passe the streites, but they wer wstanded by the Emperors power, yet he cõtinued there frõ October vnto Nouembre wout any thing doyng, to the great displeasure of the Frenche kynge. The duke Dalefon hearyng that, made preparations wyth the Almaynes to passe the marryes by the point Dassans, and there the Almaynes had made bridges of pypes & vessels, & brought thither their great ordinaunce. The Emperor beyng in the toune of of Valencian and therof aduertised, caused strong watche to be made, and as they would haue passed, the bastarde Emery, & the capitaine of Gaunt with.xij.C.men mette with them, where was a great conflicte and many men slaine, and at the last the Almaines were put to flight & their bridges and other prouisions broken: Of the Frenche partie wer slaine in this conflicte.xiiij.C.men, and of the Burgonians were slaine the bastarde Emery, the capitaine of Gaunte and.iiij.C.men.

The lord Cardinal after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce and could not bryng theim to no cõformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperor the lord of sainct Jhons & sir Thomas Boleyn knight to aduertise his Maiestie therof.

Lykewise

Likewise the sayd lord Cardinall sent to the frenche kyng the Erle of Worcester and the bishoppe of Ely to exhorte hys grace to peace, he hard theim, but he gaue theim but fewe wordes to answere, and after they had been. xix. or. xx. daies in his hoost, they tooke leaue and returned to Calyce.

Duryng the continuaunce of the Cardinall in Calayce all writtes and patentes wer there by hym sealed and no shyrifes chosen for lacke of his presence.

The kyng of Hungary sent an Ambassador to the kynges highnes for ayde against the Turke, whom the Cardinall honorably entertayned duryng hys abode in Calayce. His commyng was for ayde as men sayd against the frenche kyng. x

The lorde Cardinal after the returne of the englishe Ambassadors from the Emperour and from the frenche kynge, tooke shippyng and landed at the porte of Douer, the. xxvij. day of Nouember, and there toke his iorney to Blechyngly, where the kinges grace welcomed hym geuyng him also thankes for his great paines and trauaill.

This tyme the frenche kynge layde seage to the toune and Castle of Hedyng, the Burgonions perceiuynge they were not furnished for the defence thereof, forsoke the sayed toune and castle and fledde into Flaunders to no litle reioysyng of the sayd Frenchemen. xx

The Admyrall of Fraunce named Mounsire Bonyfet with a puissaunt armye made signe as though he woulde passe into Nauerne, howbeit sodainly he reculed with his hooste and beseaged the toune of Fontraby in Biskay, and brake the fyrste, second, and thirde walle thereof with his ordinaunce meruailously: And after gaue a freshe assault to the same. The Spaniardes (notwithstandynge that the ordinaunce was caryed into Nauerne for defence thereof) defended theimselfes manfully and slewe of the Frenchemen. vj. hundreth and moo, and of the Spaniardes. lx. slaine. Then the Capitaine of Fontraby made serche what vitailes was in the toune, and founde that there was but for two meles, he called the inhabitauntes and menne of warre together declaryng their great necessitie, and sayed the batterey of the walles discorageth vs not, but the great necessitie of vitailes, wherfore we muste do like the Wolfe that runneth from the wood for hunger to hys death, and considerynge the great scarcitie of vitailes in Byskay, by meanes whereof we cannot be vitayled we muste nedes rendre the toune. Neuertheless they kept the toune seuē daies after that they had neither bread, flesshe fruite nor oyles in the same, but onely herbes and water, yet at last herbes failed also, by meanes wherof they rendred the toune by composicion, and or the Frenchmen entered, they deliuered the Englishemen all their goodes out of the toune. xxx xl

The Frenche kynge liyng enbattailed in the countrey of Cambray sodainly brake his campe, not muche to hys honor. Great warres was this tyme in Italye, in so muche that the Emperours hoost wanne the citie and countrey of Mylan to the high displeasure of the Frenche kynge, for he lost there many of his nobles and other capitaines & men of warre.

Thus the Frenche kyng returned into his countrey without reskuyng the citie of Turnay, neuertheless he sent them a letter which was taken by the people of the Countys of Nasson, the tenour whereof
x folowеth.

Trustie and welbeloued we grete you well, lettyng you to wete that " dayly before vs appeareth your true faythfull seruices, by that you " abode within oure citie of Turnay with great ieopardie, to the muche " honor of vs and our realme, and to your praise and manly fame for euer " and vs to be your good lord for the demerites of your so high seruices. " And where as we entended the relief and reskue of you and our sayde " subiectes and citie of Turnay, we consideryng the weale of our person " and realme, haue remoued vs from that purpose. Wherefore we maye " no more saye vnto you but God and Mounsire sainct Denys be youre "
xx succours.

When the Countie of Nasson knewe that no reskew shoulde come, he then sent for more people and ordinaunce and planted siege on all parties of the citie. Then the capitaine of the Castell and Prouost of the citie after thei knewe of the French kynges retreite, and after long consultacion amongest them had, rendred the Citie and Castle by appointment, that is to say, that the Burgeises should haue. xv. daies to depart with bagge & baggage, leuyng behynd thē all the ordinaunces aswell of the Castle as of the Citie. Thus was the Castle and Citie of Turnay rendred into the Emperors handes the last day of Nouembet
xxx the yere of our Lorde God. M. D. xxi.

This yere many goodly & gorgious Mommeries were made in the court to the great reioysing of the Quene and ladies and other nobles beyng there.

The last day of december the Cardinall accompaignied the Emperors Ambassadours to the court where they were honorably receiued and highly feasted durynge their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgious disguisynges, enterludes and bankettes made in the same season.

Pope Leo dyed and Adryan chosen.

xl This yere was a great pestilence and death in London & other places of the realme, and many noble capitaines died, as the lorde Broke, sir Weston Browne, sir Jhon Heron, sir Edward, sir Jhon Peche and muche other people.

The bishop of London Doctor Fitz James likewise deceased thys yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to thesame benefice.

The

The lorde Thomas Haward earle of Surrey, came out of Ireland to the court the.xxv.day of January, when he had been there the space of.xx.monethes in great trauaill & payn, & often tymes sore troubled by the wylde Irishe, howbeit by his noblenes and manhod he brought the lordes of Ireland to the kynges due obeylaunce, and had of them many victories to his perpetuall laude and praise.

The Frenchemen this tyme spoyled & shamefully robbed ỹ kynges subiectes on euery coast of the sea, so that wheresoeuer the kyng roade his poore subiectes came with lamentacions and cryes shewynge hys grace of the crueltie of the Frenchemen & of their inhumaine dealynge with them, but euer the Frenche Ambassadours promised restitucion of euery thyng, but none was restored.

In this moneth of January, the kyng commaunded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readynes, which was done with all diligence.

About this tyme the duke of Albany arriued in Scotland, notwithstandynge that the Frenche kynge sware vnto the Cardinall that he should neuer come into Scotlande, without the kynge our souereigne lordes consent, but for all that he had cõmission from the frenche kyng although the Frenche kynge wrote to the kynge that he was entred Scotlande without his assent.

The second day of Februarye, the kynge beyng at Grenewiche, came thether the Cardinall with a Legacion from Leo bishop of Rome, and also his ambassadour, on whõ waited many a nobleman, the kynge met them at his chamber dooze welcõmyng them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinall, high and victorious kyng it hath pleased our Lorde God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a kynge electe in fauor of the high heauen, and so appeareth presently by your noble persone, so formed & figured in shappe and stature with force and pulchritude, whiche signifieth the present pleasure of our lorde God wrought in youre noble grace. And further he praised his wisedome, prudence, and learnynge, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of hys most noble grace. And finally the Cardinall declared how the sayd bishop of Rome had sent his highnes an Atte in Bull vnder leade, declaryng therein his grace to be the defendor of the Christian sayth, and his successors for euermore.

And when his grace had receiued the sayd Bull and caused it to be redde & published, he went to his chapell to heare Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sundrye princes, the Cardinall beyng requested to syng Masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Bason with water, the duke of Suffolke gaue thassay, the duke of Northfolke helde the towell, and so proceded to Masse. And that done gaue vnto all them that heard the Masse cleane remission & blessed the kyng and the Quene ond all the people: ther was the Bull efsones declared, and trumpettes blew, the shalmes and saggebuttes played in honor of the kynges newe style. Thus hys hyghnes went to

Defender of the fayth.

Dyner

dinner. In the middes whereof, the kyng of Heraldes and his compaignie begau the larges, cryng *Henricus dei gratia rex Angliæ, et Frãnciæ, defensor fidei, et dominus Hiberniæ*, thus ended the dinner, with muche habundance of vitaill and wyne, to all maner of people.

The.x. daie of febyuary, the Lord Hodie chief Baron of the kynges Eschequer gaue ouer his office, and for him was admitted by the Cardinal, master Jhon Fitz James, a right honorable man & well learned.

In this time was much busines betwene the Emperor & the Frẽch kyng, wherfore the king sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned
x and vitayled for the warre: the Admiral was called Christopher Coo, a man expert on the sea, for saffegarde of the Merchauntes, and other the kinges subiectes, that were greuously spoyled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scottes and other rouers.

This tyme was the.viij. day of Febyuary, the lord Dacres Wardein of the Marches of Scotlande, entered into Stotland with.v.C.mẽ, by the kynges commaundemente, and there Proclamed that ỹ Scottes should come into the kynges peace, by the fyrst daye of Marche folowynge, or els to stande at their perilles, the Duke of Albany beynge then within fyue myles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

xx The.xj. day of Febyuary, sir George Neuell lorde Burgayny, beeing then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and ther in the kinges Bẽche confessed his enditement of misprision, in the cause of Edwarde late Duke of Buckingham to bee true, and after the open confession thereof, led againe to the Tower.

The lord Montacute the kinges cosyn, was about this tyme recõciled to his graces fauor, which had bene prisoner in the Tower, wyth sir Edward Neuel knight, this sir Edward Neuel was forbidden the kynges presence, for bearinge fauor to the Duke of Buckingham.

This yere the second of Marche, certain noble men of the Empire
xxx arriued in England to passe into Spain, who wer honorably receyued and in honor of them great Justes and triumphes wer made, and that finished and done, thei toke their leaue and departed on their iorney.

Also this time commission was geuen throughoute the realme, for generall musters to be had, to knowe what power might be made with in thesame, & also men sworne of what substaunce and landes thei wer of. And the Cardinal aduertised of thesame: not wythout grudging of ỹ people, & marueiling why thei shuld be sworne for their own goodes.

The citie of London was thys moneth aduertised of the comming of the Emperor, wherefore was greate preparacion: and the citezens
xl sent the kynges grace one hundred tall men wel harnisshed, to furnysshe hys nauie, appoynted to kepe the narowe seas.

The Frẽch kyng certified the kynges hyghnes, by his leters dated in Marche, how the Graund capitain of Fraunce, the Countie de Palais, Monsire de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had won the toune of Milain, which was not true, for within fiue or syxe dayes af-

ter,it was euidently knowen that the Frenchmen were beaten backe, and had wonne nothyng, to their great shame and reproche.

Moreouer thesame season the Frenche kynge wrote his letters to the Seignory and commonaltie of Gean, to send him thre Carectes & sixe Galeis furnished for the warres, vnto his porte of Breste,to maintein his warres agaynst the forsayd Emperor,who made him by their letters suche a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

The kynges hyghnes kepte thys yere his Easter at his manour of Richemont, and caused hys amner to make enquiry,eyght miles roũd about thesaid manour,what poore people was in euery parish. And for the eschuyng of murther, that moste commonly fortuned euery good-friday,by reason of the great resort of poor people,his grace caused thẽ to be refreshed with his almose at home at their houses.

About this tyme a rouer or thiefe of Scotland,called Duncan Camell,was after long fight taken on the sea,by a Squyer of Cornewall called maister Jhon Arondell,& presented to the kinges highnes, who committed him to the Tower of London, where he remaygned prisoner a long season after.

In the moneth of Marche,as you had hard before,came certain noble men from the Emperor to the king, which the more to solace theim enterprised a Jultes,he him self was chief on the one syde, hys courser was barded in cloth of siluer,of Dẽmarke,embrodered wyth. L. L. L. of Golde,and vnder the letters a harte of manne wounded , and great rolles of Golde with blacke letters , in whyche was wrytten, *mon ua uera*, put together,it is, *ell mon ceur ua uera, she hath wounded my harte*, and thesame suit was his base.

Then folowed sir Nicholas Carewe , his base and bard was white Damaske,on whiche was embraudered with Clothe of gold : a prison and a man loking out at a grate,and ouer the prison came from the prisoner a rolle,in which was written in Frenche, in prison I am at lyberty,and at libertie I am in pryson,and all his apparel was garded with shakelles of syluer.

Then folowed therle of Deuonshire,the lord Roos in one suit,their apparell was whit veluet,embraudered wyth cloth of gold, wroughte in deuice an harte,trauersed crosse wise wyth a chayne,the which deuided the bard in foure quarters,in twoo quarters was a hand of golde holding a spere of the worlde , on the other twoo quarters was twoo handes holding two plumes of fethers,and on the borders were written,my harte is betwene ioye and peyne.

Then folowed Anthony Kyngston,and Anthony Kneuet,their apparell was a hart bounde in a blew lace,embroudered on Crimsin sattin,and written about wyth letters of gold,my harte is bounde.

Nicholas Darrell had a bard and base of black sattin,embraudered full of hartes, turned or broken of gold,and written in letters of siluer.

my

my harte is broken.

Last of that bend was Anthony Broune, which had a bard of siluer full of speres of the world broken, set on hartes broken al of golde writen aboute in letters of blacke *Sance remedy*, wythout remedy.

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke and his bend al in bardes and bases of russet veluet and cloth of siluer, embraudered with braunches of paunces of golde, at these Justes were many speres broken, whych the straungiers highly commended.

The third day of Marche, the Cardinall made to the kyng and the x Ambassadors a great and a costly banket, and after that a playe and a Maske, their garmentes were russet sattin and yelowe, all the one side was yelowe, face and legge, and al the other syde was russet.

On shrouetewesday at nyght, the said Cardinall to the kinge & ambassadors made another supper, and after supper thei came into a great chamber hanged with Arras, and there was a cloth of estate, and manye braunches, & on euery braunche. xxxij. torchettes of waxe, & in the nether ende of the same chamber was a castle, in which was a principal Tower, in which was a Cressel burning: and two other lesse Towers stode on euery side, warded & embattayled, and on euery Tower was xx a banner, one banner was of thre rent hartes, the other was a ladyes hand gripinge a mans harte, the third banner was a ladies hand turning a mannes hert: thys castle was kept with ladies of straūg names, the first *Beautie*, the second *Honor*, the third *Perseueraunce*, the fourthe *Kyndnes*, the fyfth *Constance*, the sixte *Bountie*, the seuenth *Mercie*, and the eyghte *Pitie*. these eyght ladies had Willian gounes of white sattyn, euerye Ladye had her name embraudered wyth golde, on their heades calles, and Willein bonettes of golde, with Jwelles. Undernethe the basse fortresse of the castle were other eyght ladyes, whose names were *Dangier*, *Disdain*, *Gelousie*, *Vnkyndenes*, *Scorne*, *Malebouche*, *Straungenes*, these ladyes were tired xxx lyke to women of Jnde. Then enterd eyght Lordes in clothe of golde cappes and all, and great mantell clokes of blewe Sattin, these lordes were named, *Amorus*, *Noblenes*, *Youth*, *Attendaunce*, *Loyaltie*, *Pleasure*, *Gentlenes*, and *Libertie*, the kyng was chyefe of thys compaignie, thys compaygnye was led by one all in Crymosyn Sattin wyth burninge flames of golde, called *Ardent Desire*, whyche so moued the ladies to geue ouer the Castle, but *Scorne* and *Disdain* sayed that they woulde holde the place, then *Desire* sayd the ladies shoulde be wonne, and came and encoraged the knyghtes, then the lordes ranne to the castle) at whych tyme wythoute was shot a greate peale of gūnes) and the ladies defended the Castle wyth Rose xl water and Comfyttes, and the lordes threwe in Dates and Drenges, and other fruites made for pleasure, but at the last the place was wonne, but Ladye *Scorne* and her compaygnye stubbernely defended theim wyth bowes and balles, tyl they were driuen out of the place and fled. Then the lordes toke the ladies of honor as prysoners by the handes, and brought them doune, and daunced together verye pleasauntlye,

whiche much pleased the straungers, and whē thei had daunced their fyll, then all these dysuisered themselfes and were knowen: and then was there a costly banket, and when al was done, the straungiers toke their leaue of the king and the Cardinall, and so departed into Flaunders, geuing to the king muche commendacion.

The kynge like a prince which forseeth all thinges, saw that warre was likely to ensue, caused the earle of Surrey, his hygh Admirall, to put in readines his nauie, both for the conduictynge of the Emperoure into England, and also for the defence of his subiectes, which wer daily robbed and spoiled on the sea, which lorde Admiral toke such diligence with the helpe of sir William Fitz William his Vice Admyrall, that all the shyppes by the beginnyng of April, were rigged and trimmed, and in especial the Henry grace of due, the kynges great ship, was brought out of the ryuer of Thamis into the Downes, readye to sayle whether God and the kynge woulde.

In thys yere at the Assise, kept at the castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Justices, and al the gentlemen, Bailiefes and other, resorting thether, toke such an infeccion, whether it wer of the sauor of the prisoners or of the fylth of the house, that manye gentlemen, as syr Jhon Cut, syr Giles Alington knightes, and many other honest yomen therof dyed, and al most all which were there present, were sore sicke and narrowly escaped with their liues. And this yere also dyed Sir Edward Powninges, knight of the Gartier, sir Jhon Pechy, and sir Edwarde Belknap baliaunt capitaynes, whiche were suspected to be poysoned, at a banket made at Arde, when the two kinges met last.

This yere also, was not wythout Pestilence nor Derth of Corne, for Whete was sold this yere in the citie of Londō, for .xx.s. a quarter, & in other p'aces, for .xxvj.s. viij.d. And in thesame yere in Decēber, died Leo bishop of Rome, for whom was chosen, one Adrian born at Utrike, ỹ Emperors schole maister, and in thesame moneth Gawan Douglas bishop of Dunkel in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into Englād because the Duke of Albany was arriued into Scotland, and had taken vpon him to be gouernor of the kyng and the realme, to whom the kyng assygned an honest pencyon to lyue on. But when the kyng was aduertised that the Duke of Albany was arryued into Scotland, and had taken the rule of the young king, his realme, and he much doubted the sequele of the matter, considerynge the Duke to be heire apparant to the croune of Scotland: wherfore he sent Clarenseaux kinge of Armes into Scotland, and wyth commaundemēt, that he should declare to the Duke of Albany, that his pleasure was, that he should departe ỹ realm of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the French king, at the last meting, that he would not come into Scotland, the second was, that the kyng of England was vncle to the kyng of Scottes, and by the very bond of nature, ought to defende his nephew, Wherefore hys nephew beyng young, and in the custody of him

to

to whom,if he should dye, the realme of Scotlande should discende,he doubted lest he might be brought out of the way,as other dukes of Albany before had serued the heires of Scotlande:and if he would not auoyde Scotlande,then Clarenseaux was commaunded to defie hym, which accordyngly did defie hym,at holy Rode house in Edenbrough, to whome he answered,that neyther the French king, nor the kyng of Englande,should let hym to come into his naturall countrey, by theyr agrement:also as towchyng the young king,he sayd,that he loued him as his souereigne lord,and him would kepe & protect,against al other.

x When Clarenseaux had reported his answere to the king, then he knewe wel that al this was the French kinges doynge, wherefore he prouyded in all thinges accordingly. The Earle of Anguishe of Scotland that had maryed lady Margaret,the king our souereigne lordes sister,late wyfe vnto kyng James of Scotlād, that was slain at Flodon felde, was by the Duke of Albany,sente by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce,where shortly after his arryuyng,he was by the French king committed to prison,and his brother like wyse, which escaped after as you shall heare.

Also the.vj.day of Marche, the French kyng commaunded all En-
xx glyshmēnes goodes beyng in Burdeaux,to be attached and put vnder a reste:and likewyse deteyned the kynges trybute, whyche he shoulde haue out of Fraunce,and also the French quenes dowry,and when the kyng sent to him for it,he euer gaue faire wordes, and made delaies, but none was payed,and euer the Ambassador promised fayre.

¶ The.xiiij.pere.



xxx He king this yere kept the daye of saynt George w̄ great solempnitie,at his manour of Richemond, where wer elect to the order of the Gartier, Done Ferdinādo brother to the Emperor,and Archduke of Oystrycke, and sir Richard Wingfeld, knight by the Emperors meanes,to the which ỹ Emperor had geuen two hundred pound penciō out of ỹ house of Burgoin,which sir Edward Pouninges before had of the Emperors gyft. Duryng this war betwene the Emperor and the French king, & the kyng of Englande lyng still an entreator betwene them,the Englishmē wer robbed on both sydes,and when their wines were laden at Burdeaux,and redy to depart, it was attached,and the Merchauntes put in prison:the poore fishermen on the coast of Englād sometyme met wyth the Frenchmen and them spoyled, but to no recō-
xl pence of that they had taken. The Merchauntes of England,that had factors at Burdeaux,complayned to the king of England,and shewed hym how the Frēch king, contrary to his league and his safeconduyte vnder hys seal,by hys people,had taken their goodes,and empryshoned their factors and frendes,and can haue no remedy. Likewise complained all the Merchauntes,how their shippes were restrayned,in euery

the.xiiij.pere

porte of Fraunce, and their goodes rifeled, and could haue no redreſſe. The king and his counſail were ſory to here the cõplaintes of the merchauntes, and ſo concluded to ſende for the Frenche Ambaſſadours, to whom the Cardinal ſayd: ſir how is this chaunce happened? you haue promiſed euer in the name of the kyng your Maiſter, that all leagues, promiſes and couenauntes ſhould be kept, & that full reſtitucion ſhould bee made of euerye hurt and dammage, and that ferme peace & amitie ſhoulde be kept: but contrary to your ſaiyng, our Merchaũtes be robbed and ſpoyled, yea, although he hath graunted his ſafeconduyte, yet they be robbed, and ſtayed at Burdeaux, is this the peace that you and your Maiſter hath promiſed to be kept? is this the amitie that he was ſworne to kepe? Is this the word of a king? Is thys the ſtrength of a prince, to breake hys ſafeconduyt? And wher you aduiſed our merchãtes to ſue in Fraunce for reſtitucion, and dyd warrant them to be reſtored, you haue put them to coſte and loſſe, for thei haue ſued there longe and ſpẽt their goodes wythout any redreſſe, and now you haue empriſoned them, and kept both them and their goods, is this iuſtice? is this reſtitucion? And all this was youre procurement, and now ſe what is come of your promyſe, ſurely thys may not be ſuffered, and beſyde this the kyng is enformed, that the kyng your Maiſter had ſpoken by hym, foule and oppробrious wordes, yea, in the hearynge of the Engliſhmẽ whyche were ſore greued to hear ſuch wordes, and were not ſo able to be reuenged.

The Ambaſſadour of Fraunce ſayd, that it was not ſo as it was reported: wel ſayed the Cardiuall, yf you note the counſayll of Englande ſo lyght, as to tel fables, you be miſauiſed, but I pray you how often times hath the kyng written to your Maiſter, for the reſtitucion of ſuch roberies as hath be done, and yet can haue no redreſſe? Wherefore he graũted letters of marcke, which may ſtand wyth the league, but Mõſire Chaſtilion hath taken Merchauntes of Englande pryſoners, and hath ſent certain hether for their raũſome, this is open war & no peace. Maiſter Preſident Polliot or Pulteyne the Frenche Ambaſſador, anſwered, that ſurely the matters which wer alleged againſt his maiſter the French king, were but forged matters and not true: but he ſayed ye for a truthe, daily in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made againſte the Engliſhemen, for greate robberies done by them, aſwell on land as on ſea, affirmyng it to be done in the Emperors querel, & yet ye French kynge for the loue he beareth to England letteth his ſubiectes to be vnhard, although he dayly lament the great iniury, done to hym and his ſubiectes by Englyſhmen: and therfore my lord I pray you, beleue not ſuch tales, tyl I haue tolde you the truthe.

Then the Cardinal called the foure hoſtages, that lay here for the payment of money for Turney, & they four were deliuered, to my lord of ſainct Jhones, to ſir Thomas Louel, to ſir Andrewe Windſore, and to ſir Thomas Neuell, euery knight one to kepe ſafe, and none of their

countrey

countrey to speake with them priuely, & the Ambassador was cõmaunded to kepe his house in silence, and not to come in presence, till he was sent for, whiche ordre sore abashed the French hostages, and thambassador, but ther was no remedy, and commaundement was geuẽ to the Maior at London, to attache al the Frenchmen body and goodes, and them to kepe in prison, til he hard farther of the kynges pleasure: then were all the Frenchmen in London and aboute, arrested and brought to prison, so that al the prisons in and aboute London, wer full of them, some of them escaped by speakyng Dutch, and sayd they wer Flemin-
x ges borne, whiche was not tryed.

The king for safegard of his Merchaũtes, sent. xxviij. goodly shippes to the sea, wel manned and trimmed for the warres, and seuẽ other shippes he sent towarde Scotland, whych entered the Frith, and proferred to enter into the Scottysh shippes that lay in the hauen, but the Scottes ran their shippes on land, and the Englishmen folowed wyth boates and landed, and set the shippes on fire, and at Lith toke certain prisoners, whych they brought into Englande, & stil the kynges great nauie kept the narrowe seas, for then was neither peace betwene Englande and Fraunce, nor open warre as you haue hearde.

xx The king had perfect knowledge, that Charles the Emperour would be at the kinges toune at Calice the. xxiij. day of May, to passe thorow Englande into Spain, wherfore the kyng sent the Marques Dorcet, accompaignied with diuerse knightes and gentlemen, to receyue hym at Calice, which in al hast sped them thether. Lykewyse the Cardinall toke his iorney toward Douer the. xx. day of Maye, & rode throughe London, accompaignied wyth two Erles. xxvj. knightes, & an hundred Gentlemen, eyght Bishoppes, ten Abbottes, thirty Chapelleines all in veluet and Sattin, and yomen seuen. C. & so by ioyneing he came to Douer the. xxvi. day beyng Mõday. In the meane season tidinges
xxx wer brought to the kyng, that the French kyng had sent a great army toward Calice, and the men of war lay at Abuile, Munstrell, Bulleyn, and about, nere the Englysh pale. Wherefore the kynge lyke a Prynce that forsawe all, and entending not to be disceiued, wrote to his nobles and cities and tounes, to prepare certayne menne of war in a readines which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the nauie, so that thei might shortly be at Calice yf nede required.

On Sundaye the. xxv. daye of Maye, the lorde Marques Dorset the bishop of Chichester, & the lorde de Lawar, with other noble mẽ, at the water of Graueling, receiued the Emperor in the name of ỹ kynge
xl of England, and so the Emperor embraced theim, and he hauing in his compaignie many noble men, came toward Calice, wher at the Turnepike in the lordeship of Marke, he was receiued of sir Edward Guylford Marshall of Calice, wyth fyftie menne of armes richly besene, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke, then in passing forward toward Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, and into Calice he was receyued

wyth procession, and then by the lord Barne deputie there, and the cou-
sayll of the toune: then was he receiued by the Maior and Aldermen of
the toune, and then of the Maior and Merchauntes of the Staple, & so conueighed to the Checker, and there lodged.

On the Monday, he and al the nobles of Spain, Flaũders, & Germany, toke ship at Calice and landed at Douer, at foure of the Clocke at after none, and with him the Duke Daluoy, the Prince of Orenge, the Countie Nassaw, the Countie Ualcord, the lord Ogmond, and the Marques of Brandenbrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinal receiued hym on the Sandes, accompaygnyed with thre hundred Lordes, & Knightes and Gentlemen of Englãd: Themperor embraced the Cardinall, & tooke hym by the arme, and so passed forward, and toke horses and rode together to Douer Castle, wher thei wer lodged. Thenglish Harbingers diligently lodged the Emperors train, euery man according to hys degree. The kyng of England was come to Cantorbury, the.xxbij.day of May, and receiued by the Archbishop: and hearynge of the Emperors arriual, wyth a smal compaignie on the Wednesday, beyng the Assension euen, he rode to Douer, and with muche ioye and gladnes the Emperour and he met, and there taried the Assension day, and on Friday, the kinge brought the Emperoure aborde on hys newe xx
shyp, called the Henry grace a dieu, a shyppe of.xb.C. and rowed about to all hys greate shippes, whych then lay in Douer rode, the Emperor and his lordes, muche praised the makyng of the shyppes, and especially the artilerie, they sayed, they neuer sawe shippes so armed.

Thesame day at after none, the two noble princes marched forward to Cantorbury, where the Maior and Aldermen receiued thẽ without the toune, with a solempne oracyon, to whom the Emperors secretary answered ornatly. Then the Princes with their swerdes borne naked before theim, and the Empẽrour on the ryght hand, entered the citie of Cantorbury, and so with procession were brought to Christes Church xxx
where the Archebishop and twelue prelates mitered, receyued thẽ vnder a Canapy, and so they offered to the Sacrament, & the Emperour was brought to the Bishoppes palace, where he lay for that night, and the kyng lodged at S. Augustynes. The morowe after, these princes remoued to Sytyngborne, & the next day to Rochester, wher the Bishop receyued them with the whole Couent, & on Mondaye thei came to Grauesende by one of the Clocke, where they toke their Barges, & ther were thirty Barges appoynted, for the straungiers, & so by.vj.of the clocke they landed at Grenewiche, thesame Monday, the.ij.day of June, where the Emperour was of the kyng newly welcõmed, & al his lx
nobilitie, & at all the hal doore the Quene and the Prynces, and all the Ladies receyued & welcommed hym: and he asked the Quene blessing (for that is the fashyon of Spain, betwene the Aunte & the Nephew) ỹ Emperor had great ioye to se the Quene hys Aunte, & in especyall his young cosyn Germain the lady Mary. The Emperor was lodged in

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the kinges lodging, whiche was so richely hanged, that the Spanyardes wõdered at it, and specially at the rych cloth of estate: nothyng lacked that might begotten, to chere the Emperor and his Lordes, and al that came in his compaignie, were highly feasted.

The Wednesday, the more to do the Emperor pleasure, was prepared a Justes royall: on the one part was the kinge, the erle of Deuonshire and .x. more compaignions, al mounted on horsback, their apparell and bardes, were of rich Cloth of golde, embroudered wyth syluer letters, very ryche, with great plumes on their heades. This cõpaig-
x nie tooke the felde, and rode aboute the tilt: then entered the Duke of Suffolke, and the Marques Dorset, and .x. with them barded, & their apparell was russet veluet, embroudered wyth sundery knottes, and culpyns of golde. The Emperor & the Quene, with al the nobles stode in the galery, to behold the doyng. The king ran at the Duke of Suffolke .viij. courses, and at euery course brake his spere. Thẽ euery man ran his courses and that done, all ranne together volant, as as faste as they could discharge, and when the speres appointed were brokẽ, then they disarmed & went to supper. After supper, the Emperor beheld the ladies daunces, and sodainly came to the chamber, sixe noble mẽ, appa-
xi reled in Crimosin veluet and cloth of golde, and a mantell of Taffeta, rolled about their bodies, and hoddes and bonettes of cloth of gold, on their heddes, & veluet buskyns on their legges: these Maskers entred and daunced a great while wyth the ladies, and sodainly entred syx other Maskers with drumslades, appareled in lõg gounes, and hoddes of cloth of gold, of whych nomber was the kyng, the duke of Suffolke, the prince of Orẽge, the countie of Nassow, the countie of Naueray, & Monsire Egremõd. When these maskers wer entred, the other auoyded, & then thei toke ladies and daunsed, so ỹ the straũgiers much praised thẽ: & whẽ the time came, euery person departed to their lodgyng.

xii Thursday, they that Justed the other daye, appoynted themselfs to Tornay, & as the kyng was armyng him, there came to him one George Luffkin and shewed him, that there was one come frõ his Ambassador in Fraunce, the king called for the messenger, and deliuered his letters, which ỹ king red, and said to syr William Compton, tel the Emperor that I haue newes, if it pleaseth hym to come hether: Sir William Compton went and told this to the Emperoure, which without delay came to the kyng, whych shewed him the letters frõ sir Thomas Cheiney his Ambassador, wherin was conteyned ỹ definitiue answer made aswel to sir Thomas Cheyney, as to Clarẽseaux king of armes of En-
xi glande, by the French kynge, to the kinges requestes: for you shall vnderstand, that the kyng of Englande by hys Ambassador, had often times demaunded, both his trybute and hys lawful debte, and also restitucyon to be made to his subiectes greued, and farther also the league was broken, by makyng warre on the emperor, so that now by ỹ league the kyng of Englande should be enemy, to him that first brake, and did

take

take part wyth the other, yet he had so much compassion, on sheding of Christen bloud, that he would not enter warre, but shew him self a mediator and an entreator betwene thē. And vpō thys sir Thomas Cheney had often moued the French kyng, & also moued him to take peace with the Emperor for two yeres, so that some mediaciō of peace might be entreated, in the meane season: to all this the French king answered we haue wel considered your Maisters desire, to ỹ which we nothinge agree, nor hold vs content wyth his request. Sir said thambassador, ỹ kyng my Maister shalbe aduertysed of your answere by me, wherfore I besech your grace of safeconduit, to returne into England: then sayd ỹ the kyng, there is an officer of armes come hether out of Englande, let him come and he shalbe hard, and haue an answere, to which thing Sir Thomas Cheney answered not, but wyth reuerence departed, and so on the .xxj. daie of Maie, the said officer called Clarenseaux king of armes, came to the French kinges chāber at Lions, which was accōpaignied with many noble men and gentlemen, and then Clarenseaux put on his cote of armes, and desired licēse to speake, and libertie according to the law of armes, which was to him graunted: thē he declared that where the French kinge was bound by league tripertite, to kepe peace with the Emperor, and with the king of England, and whosoeuer first ỹr brake, the other two to be enemies to hym, to ỹ which league the Frēch king was sworne, whiche league he apparantly had broken, by making warre on Thēperor, by syr Robert de la Marche, and by hym selfe in persone. Wherfore the kinge by that league muste bee hys enemie, and take parte agaynst hym.

Also he declared, ỹ the Frēch king kept away the kinges rētes, and debtes, dew to him. Also ỹ he deteyned the dower of the Frēch quene. Also that contrary to his promyse, he had sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland: Also that contrarye to Justice he had empriſoned Merchantes, hauing his safeconduite, where they should haue gone in safty ỹr seyng there was no warre proclaimed, betwene him and the kyng his maister: al these articles with many mo, ỹ kyng my maister is ready to proue. Nay said the French kyng, I begā not the war, nor sent Robert Lamarche to make warre, but commaunded him to the contrary, and or I made warre in proper person, his warre was open, & he had oure toune of Tournay strongly besieged, and as touching the Duke of Albany, it hath cost me .xl. M. Frankes, to kepe him out of Scotland, but I could not let hym to go into his owne coūtrey. Thys ỹ Frēch kynge excused his vntruth. Sir I am farther charged to tell you, said Clarēseaux ỹ the king my souereigne lord, holdeth you for his mortal enemie ỹr this day furth, & al your adherentes: wel sayd the Frēch king, I loked for this a great while agone, for sith the Cardinall was at Bridges, I loked for no nother, but you haue done your message: thē ỹ Frēch king rose and departed, and Clarenseaux was cōueighed to his lodgyng, & shortly after, sir Thomas Cheyney and he, by safeconduyt, departed & came

came to Bulleyn, and there Monsire Fayet capitain there, theim both staied til the Ambassador of Fraunce, whiche had lien in England, wer clerely delyuered out of Calice. The whole circūstaunce of the demaū-des and defiaunce, and the French kinges aunswere, was conteined in the letter, which was brought to the king, which shewed it to the Em-peror (as you haue hard) but while the king and the Emperor loked on the letter, a sodein noise rose emongest both their subiectes, that it was a letter of defiance, sent to them bothe by the French king, whych was nothing so. Thus now was the warre open of al parties, betwene En-
x glande and Fraunce, & Spain. When the two princes had of this mat-ter commoned their fill, themperor called for a horse, and the king him-self was armed, and bothe the bendes that should Tournay, mounted on horsebacke, and themperor in rich apparell of tissew and richly trap-ped brought the kung into the felde, and toke vp hys horse, that all men had great pleasure to beholde him. The men of armes fel to Turnay, and brake swerdes and wer seuered, and after came together agayn, & fought very valiauntly, and when tyme was, the Heraulides cryed the disarme, and assone as the king was vnarmed the Emperor & he went to supper, and after supper, the kyng brought the Emperor into the hal
xx where was a Cupperd of. xij. stages, al set wyth great mightie plate al of golde, at the vpper end honge thre clothes of estate, and the hall was ful of great lyghtes, set on gylt braunches.

When the two Princes were set, and the Quene also, then entered in eight noble menne, in Maskers apparell with visers, their garmen-tes blacke Ueluet, garded and embroudered wyth golde in cut workes and ouer that double Lumberdy Mantelles of Sattin, folded vp on euery shulder, curiously embroudered, these Maskers were halfe En-glish Lordes, and the other straungiers. They toke Ladies and dau-sed, and sodainly entered eight other Maskers, apparelled in rych tin-
xxx sel, matched wyth clothe of golde, and on that Turkey Clokes, reban-ded wyth Nettes of Siluer, and betwene the knittinges Flowers of Golde, and the Mantelles were Crimosin Sattin, both the Maskers had hoddes of Crymosyn Sattyn, these lustie Maskers entered, and reueled lustely, and when they had done, then were the spices brought and wyne, and then al persones began to draw to reste.

On Friday, the sixt day of June, the king and the Emperour, wyth all their compaignies marched toward London, where in the waye a Myle from Sainct Georges Barre, was set a ryche Tent of Cloth of golde, in whyche tente were two lodgynges, one for the Emperoure,
xl and another for the kyng, where these two Princes shifted theim. And when the Heraulides had appointed euery man their roume, then eue-ry man set forwarde in ordre, rychlye apparelled in Clothe of Golde, Tyssew, Siluer, Tinsell, and Ueluettes of all coloures. There lacked no massye Cheynes, nor curyous Collers: an Englyshe manne and a straungier roade euer together, matched accordinge to their degrees,

before

before the Emperoure and the kinge, were borne two swordes naked, then the two Princes folowed in Coates of cloth of golde, embraudedered with syluer, bothe of one suite: after theim folowed the Kynges Henxmenne, in Coates of Purple Ueluet, pieled and paned wyth rych Cloth of siluer, and with them were matched the Emperours Henxemenne, in equall nōber, in Coates of Crimosyn Uelvet, with two gardes, the one golde, and the other siluer: then folowed the Capitaynes of the Gardes, then the Emperours Gard on the right hande, and the Englishe Garde on the left hande, and so in this ordre they wente forwarde, and in the waye the Maior Jhon Milborne and hys brethren, x in fyne Skarlet and well horsed, met wyth the Emperour and ỹ king where one sir Thomas More knight, and well learned, made to theim an eloqueut Oracion, in the praise of the two princes, and of the peace and loue betwene them, and what comfort it was to their subiectes, to se theim in such amitie, and how that the Maior and Citezens, offered any pleasure of seruice that in them laye, next their souereigne lorde.

When this was done, they came into Southwarke, wher the Clergie receiued theim, in Copes, with Crosses, and Sensers, and so kepte the one syde of the strete, al the citie throughe. When they came by the Marshalsie at the kinges Benche, the Emperoure desired pardō of the xx kyng, for the prisoners, and he at the Emperours requeste, pardoned a great nomber of theim. When they were almoste at the Brydge foote there was a staye, the kyng demaunded the cause, and it was told hym that the Heraulides had appoynted two gentlemen to ryde together, one was the Ambassadour from the Marques of Mātua, to the Emperour, and the other from the Citie of Seines, to the Emperour also and the Citie and the Marques were not frendes, the Emperour incontinent, sent his Lord Chamberlayne to theim, saiynge: that yf they woulde that daye do hun honour, he would thanke theim, and yf they woulde not ryde as they were appointed, he prayed them to departe. xxx When the lorde Chamberlayne had told this message, they rode furth and made no more curtesye.

When they wer come to the Drawe Bridge, ther were set Targettes, of the Armes of the Emperour and his Dominions, rychly paincted, and on the other syde, stode one great Giaunt, representynge Hercules, wyth a myghty Clubbe in hys hand, and on the other syde stode another Giaunte, representyng Sampson, wyth the Jawe bone of an Asse in his hande. These twoo Gyauntes helde a greate Table, in the whyche was wrytten in Golden letters, all the Emperours Style. From the Drawe Bridge these two Princes passed, to the myddes of xl the Bridge, where was raised a faire edifice, wyth Towers embattailed and gates, al lyke Masonrye, of Whyte and Blacke, lyke Touche and Whyt Merbell: aboue this buildinge was a faire pagiaunt, in the whych stoode Jason all in harneys, hauyng before hym a golden Fleece, and on the one syde of hym stode a fiery Dragon, and on the other side

stoode

stode two Bulles whiche beastes cast out fyer continually, & in a tower on the one side stode a fayre mayde representyng the lady Medea whiche was very straungely and rychely appareled, and aboue this Pagiant were writen these verses.

Leticię quantum mimijs prebebat, Iason
Aurea Phrixee vellera nactus ouis
Leticię quantum tulerat Pompeius et vrbi
Hoste triumphato Scipio Romulidum
Tantum tu nobis Cæsar mitißime Princeps
Intrans Henrici Principis hospicium

When they had beholde this Pagiant they came to the Conduite at Gracious strete where was made a Bastyle with two great gates, one on the one syde of the way and the other on the other side, and ouer these gates and betwene these gates were made.iii.great towers embattailed and bauted with lopes Lucanes lyke Masonry, curiously wrought, and in the middle tower was a clothe of estate, vnder whiche sat one representyng the Emperor, and in the third tower representyng the kyng. And Charlemayne hauyng.ii.swordes gaue to the Emperor the sworde of Justice, and to the kyng the sworde of triumphant victory, & before xx hym sat the Pope to whom he gaue the croune of thorne & thre nayles, About this pagiant were sette all the armes of the electors of thempyre and these verses in a table.

Carolo Christigenum decus et quem scripta loquntur
A magno ductum Carolo habere genus
Tuque Henrice pia virtutis laude refulgens
Doctrina in genio religione fide
Vos pretor consul sanctus cum plebe senatus
Vectos huc fausto sydere gestit ouans

This Pagiant was made by the Esterlynges.

xxx From Gracious strete where the Esterlinges stode in good order, the two princes came to Leden halle wher ouerthwart the great strete that leadeth to Bishoppes gate was erected a goodly Pagiant wonderfull curiously wrought, it was.xxviii.fote broade and.lxxx.of length, at the fote of the pagiant sat Jhon duke of Lancastre called Jhon of Gaunte sonne to kyng Edward the third. This duke sat in a rote and out of the rote sprang many braunches curiously wrought with leaues whiche by pollicie dropped swete water, and on euery braunche satte a kyng and a quene or some other noble parsonage descended of the sayd duke to the nomber of.lv.images, and on the toppe stode the Emperor, the kyng of xl England and the Quene, as thre in the.vi.degree from the sayd Duke. This pagiant was made at the cost of the Italyans & was much praised. Frō thence they passed to the Conduite in Cornehill where the strete was enclosed frō side to side with.ii.gates to open & shitte, and ouer the gates wer arches with towers embattailed set with vanes and scutchions of the armes of the Emperor & the kyng, and ouer the arches were

two towers, the one full of Trompettes and the other full of Shalmes and shagbuttes whiche played continually: Betwene these two towers was a place, vnder a riche clothe of estate sat kyng Arthur at a rounde table & was serued with .x. kynges, Dukes and erles all bearyng Targettes of their armes, and when the Emperor and the kyng were comnyng thether a Poet sayd.

Laudant magnanimos vrbis inclita Roma Catones
Cantant Hannibalem punica regna suum
Gentis erat Solime rex ingens gloria Dauid.
Gentis Alexander gloria prima sue
Illustrat fortes Arthur fama Britannos
Illustras gentem Cæsar & ipse tuam
Cui deus imperium victor precor hoste secundet
Regnet vt in terris pacis amica quies

When this was sayd, they came to the Stockes where was a quadrant stage where on was an Herber full of Roses, Lylies & all other flowers curiously wrought, and byrdes, beastes and all other thynges of pleasure. And aboute the Herber was made the water full of Fyshe, and about it was the Elementes, the Planettes and Starres in their places and euery thyng moued, and in a type in the toppe was made the Trinitie with the Angels singyng, and the Trinitie blessed the kyng & the Emperor, and vnder his feete, was written, behold the louer of peace and concorde. And so they passed through the Poultry to the great Cõduite in Chepe, where was made on the right hand of the sayd Conduite (as they passed) in maner quadrant with fower towers, at euery corner one with goodly types, betwene euery tower was a gallery, whiche galeries were hanged with clothes of golde and siluer within, & so couered ouer. The forefrontes of euery gallery were hanged with white & grene Sarcenet wrethed and with great knottes of golde, let doune in maner of a valence before the gallery, and vnder the sayd galleries were Targettes and schutchions of the Emperors and kynges armes & deuyses. In the fower towers were fower fayre ladyes for the cardinall vertues so richely sene that it was great pleasure to behold, euery vertue hauyng a signe and token of her propertie. In the galleries sat chyldren mixed with men and women singyng and playyng on instrumẽtes melodiously, of the whiche sort one child sayd these verses folowyng.

Quanto amplexetur populus te Cæsar amore
Testantur varijs gaudia mixta sonis
Aera, tube, Litui, cantus cithare calamisq;
Consona te resonant organa disparibus
Vnum te celebrant, te vnum sic cuncta salutant
O decus, O rerum gloria Cæsar aue.

When they came to the stãdard there was made a mightie buildyng of tymber w̃ towers set in cables forced with arches buttãd & al abilimentes embossed, & the lynterelles inhaunsed with pillers quadrant & the vautes in orbes with crobbes depẽdyng & mõsters bearyng vp the pillers

pillers and in the toppe was a louer swelling, in the toppe wherof was a bã-
ner of the armes of Spayne and Engeland and all the pagiant full of
scutchions of armes of the.ii.princes. At the fote of this pagiant sat
Alphons kyng of Spayne richely appatelled, and out of his brest a
braunche of whiche sprang many kynges, quenes and princes whiche
satte and were liuely persones richely apparelled euery one with a scut-
chion of armes shewyng their mariages, and in the highest braũce satte
the Emperor, the kyng and iust.v.and.viii.degrees from thesayd kyng
of Spayne, to whom the sayd kyng Alphons sayd these verses.

x Carole qui fulges sceptro & diademate sacro
Tuq; Henrice simul stemmata iuncta gerens
Alter germanis, lux alter clara britannis
Miscens Hispano sanguine vterque genus
Viuite felices quot vixit secula Nestor
Viuite cumane tempora fatidice

After this pagiant seen & the verses sayd, they came to the litle Con-
duite in Chepe where was buylded a place lyke heauen curiously paint-
ted with cloudes, erbes, starres & the Jerarchies of angels, in the top of
this pagiant was a great type & out of this type sodainly issued out of a
xx cloude a fayre Lady richely apparelled, & then all the mynstrels whiche
wer in the pagiant played and the angels sang, and sodainly agayne
she was assumpted into the cloud whiche was very curiously done, and
aboute this pagiant stode the Apostles wherof one sayd these verses.

Ob quorum aduentum tocies gens ipsa britanna
Supplex dijs superis vota preterq; dedit
Quos etas omnis, pueri, iuuenesq;, senesq;
Optariunt oculis sepe videre suis
Venistis tandem auspicio Christi Marieq;
Pacis coniuncti federe perpetuo.
xxx Hereos saluete pij, saluete beati
Exhilarant nostros minima vestra lares

Yet you must not forget for all the pagiantes how the Citezens well
apparelled stode within tailes sette on the left side of the stretes and the
clergie on the right side in riche copes, which sensed the princes as they
passed and all the stretes were richely hanged with clothes of golde, sil-
uer, veluet and Arras, and in euery house almooste Mynstrelsy, and in
euery strete were these two verses writen in letters of gold.

Carolus, Henricus, viuant defensor vterq;
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie

xl Whiche verses wer also writen in other tables in golden letters as
ensueth.

Long prosperitie
To Charles and Henry Princes moste puissant.
The one of fayth
The other of the Churche Chosen defendant.

When they were paſt the lytle Conduite they came to the Weſt ende of Poules churche and there they alighted, & there was a Canapie redy vnder whiche they two ſtoode and were receiued by the Archebyſhop of Caũtoꝛbury and.xxi.pꝛelates in pontificalles and ſo they offered at the high aulter and returned to hoꝛſebacke and came to the Blacke Friers where the Emperoꝛ was lodged in great royaltie: All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Bꝛydewell, out of the whiche was made a Gallery to the Emperoꝛs lodgyng, whiche gallery was very long, and that gallery and all other galleries there wer hanged with Arras. The kynges palayce was ſo richely adoꝛned of all thynges that my witte is to dull to deſcꝛiue theim oꝛ the riches of the hangynges oꝛ the ſumptuous buildyng and giltyng of chambers.

On ſaterday the kyng & the Emperoꝛ playd at tennice at the Bayne agaynſt the pꝛinces of Oꝛenge and the Marques of Bꝛandenboꝛow, & on the Pꝛinces ſyde ſtopped the Erle of Deuonſhyꝛe and the loꝛde Edmond on the other ſyde, and they departed euen handes on bothe ſydes after.xi.games fully played.

On Whitſonday the.viii.day of June themperoꝛ and the kyng with great honoꝛ both apparelled in cloth of ſiluer reyſed, gounes and cotes and all their apparell white except their bonettes, roade to the Churche of ſaint Paule & there heard high Maſſe whiche was ſong by the Cardinall which had his trauers & cupboꝛde, and befoꝛe Maſſe.ii. Barons gaue him water & after the Goſpell.ii.Erles, and at the laſt lauatory.ii. Dukes whiche pꝛide the Spanyardes ſoꝛe diſdayned. When Maſſe was done they returned to Bꝛydewell where the Emperoꝛ was highly feaſted. Theſame ſonday at afternoone the two pꝛinces went by water to Weſtminſter and roade to the churche, and in ridyng all the ſanctuary menne cryed mercye and pardon, they were ſo haſtye and pꝛeſed ſo nere that the ſergeauntes at armes could ſcaſe kepe theim from touchyng the Emperoꝛ and the kyng: The Cardinall gaue them a gentle anſwere whiche contented theim foꝛ a tyme. They wer receyued with Pꝛoceſſion into the Abbey & heard euenſong & beheld kyng Henry the ſeuenthes chapel & then went into Weſtminſter halle, at the largeneſſe wheroꝛ the Emperoꝛ muche meruayled, then they turned to Bꝛydewell and there ſupped.

On Mõday they dyned in Southwarke with the duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and roade to the Manoꝛ of Richemond to their lodgyng and the next day to Hampton court, where they had great chere and from thence on thurſday to Wyndſoꝛe wher he hunted Fryday and Saterday and on Sonday at night in the great halle was a diſguiſyng oꝛ play, theffect of it was that there was a pꝛoud hoꝛſe which would not be tamed noꝛ bꝛideled, but amitie ſent pꝛudence & policie which tamed him, & foꝛce & puyſſaũce bꝛideled him. This hoꝛſe was mẽt by the Frẽche kyng, & amitie by the kyng of Englãd & themperoꝛ, & the other

other prisoners were their counsail & power, after this play ended was a sumptuous Maske of.xii.men and.xii.women, the men had on garmentes of clothes of golde and siluer lose layde on crimosyn Satten, knit with pointes of golde, bonettes, whoddes, buskins, all of golde, The ladies were in thesame suite whiche was very riche to behold, and when thei had daunced, then came in a costly banket and a voidy of spices, and so departed to their lodgyng.

Monday, tewsday, and wednesday the princes and their counsail sat moste parte in counsail, and on Corpus Christi day, they with great triumph rode to the collage of Wyndsore where the Emperor ware his Mantle of the Garter and satte in his owne stall, and gaue to the Herauldes.CC.crounes: that day bothe the princes receiued the Sacrament, and after Masse bothe sware to kepe the promyses & leagues eche to other, for the which amitie great ioy was made on both parties, & after that Masse was ended thei went to dynet, where was great feasting.

On fryday they departed out of Wyndsore, & by easy iorneys came to Wynchester the.xxii.day of June, & in the way thether, the Emperor hunted the Hart. Before the Emperor was come to Wynchester, therle of Surray Admyrall of Englād with all the kynges Nauy was come to Hampton, and with him the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, syr Gyles Capell, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Richard Jernyngham, Fraunces Bryan, Anthony Browne, Jhon Russell, of whiche many were of the kynges preuy chāber: These with many more departed from Hampton with.xxx.shippes well manned & ordinaunced in the ende of June, noisyng that they should onely skoure the seas for sauegard of the Emperor and his Naupe: But they had priuy instruccions to go to another place as you shall heare after.

All this while was the warre on the parties of Picardy hotte, and the capitaine of Bullain called Fayet wrote euer mockyng letters to the garison of Calice, and sayd: yf the garison of Calayce would issue out, he would mete with theim halfe way with.iiii.M.men Wherupon sir Edward Guldforde Marshall of Calayce, whom the capitaine of Bullain called the fyrebrand, because it was his badge, sette furth out of Calayce the.xi.day of June with.xii.C.men and went out of Calayce and sent a pursiuant to the capitayn of Bullain certifyng hym that he was commyng with his fyerbrand, and bad hym kepe promise. This officer declared the message to hym, but he came not: Furth matched sir Edward til he came to Marguison and taryed to see whether the captayn of Bullayne would come or no, and when he sawe he came not, he set fyer in the toune, and the light horsemen forrayed the beastes and pillage, and brent byllages all about, whiche was wel perceiued in the countrey a farre of, and to warde night all the crew came home with good pillage, & on the morow sir Edwarde Guldford deliuered a prisoner franke and free, on condicion he should tell the capitaine of Bullain that he had bene at Marguison with his fyerbrand, whiche truely

did his message, for the whiche the capitaine brake hys head: all the castels and fortresses in the Englishe pale were well manned and vitailed and lacked no artillerie, so that the Frenchemen could do theym no harme.

When the Emperor and the kyng laye at Byshops Walthan they ioyntly sent letters of defiaunce to the Duke of Lorraine, as alye and confederate with the Frenche kyng. The fyrst day of July the Emperors nauy sailed before Hampton, which wer. C. lxxx. goodly shippes. When the Emperors shippes were come, he tooke leaue of the kyng and had great gyftes geuen him and muche money lent to him, & so the vi. day of July he toke his shippe, so with all his Nauy he made sayle towarde Spayne where he arriued in sauetie the. x. day after. x

The kyng about this very tyme sent to the citie of London to borow xx. M. poũdes, whiche sore chaked the citizens, but the somme was promised, and for the payment the Mayer sent for noue but for men of substaunce. Howbeit the craftes solde muche of their plate. This summe was payed, and the kyng sent his letter promtsyng payment of thesame and so did the Cardinall. The poore men were contented with this payment and sayd, let the riche churles pay, for they may well. Lyke loane was practised through al the realme, and priuy seales deliuered for the xx repayment of thesame.

This season the. xxi day of Maye was the citie of Geane gotten by the Emperors capitain called Octauiano de Columna, whiche had with hym. iiii. M. and. iiii. C. Spaniardes. b. M. Italyans, and. iiii. M. Lanceknightes: & in the citie was taken Porter de Nauarro the Frenche kynges familiar capitaine and all the lordes of Geane whiche fauored the Frenche kyng were taken prisoners or slayne, & especially one Octauiano Faragoso, whiche ruled there for the Frenche kyng, was euil punished: The spoyle of the citie that the souldiers had, was. iiii. M. dukates beside the pillage, whiche was a great thyng. xxx

Now let vs returne to the lorde Admyrall of Englande whiche departed frõ Hampton as you haue heard, and so with his Nauy sayled and skouted the seas, and at last came on the costes of Brytaigne, and commaunded the wysest Masters and Marrtners to boy the heauen of Worles, whiche was done, and so the next night all the fleete came to the hauen of Worles in safetie & moored their shippes together. Then all men were commaunded to harnes and to auaunce their standardes, & all souldiers to geue their attendance on their capitaines, and then the lorde Admyrall appointed and caused. xiiii. pieces of ordinaunce called Faucons to be brought to land and drawẽ furth with strength of men. xl Then when all menne that should go forwarde were landed, the lorde Admyral with banner displayed tooke lande on the Estside of the hauen the fyrst day of Julye, and with hym a fayre band of souldiers, as the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, sir Richard Wyngfelde, sir Richard Jernyngham, sir Wyllyam Barantine, sir Adrian Fortkew, sir Edwarde Donne, sir Edwarde Chamberlayne, Fraunces Bryan,

Richarde

Richard Cornewall,sir Anthony poynes,sir Henry Sherborne,and the vice Admyrall,sir Willyam Fitzwilliyam,sir Edmond Bray,sir Gyles Capel,sir Willyam Pyrton, sir Jhon Cornewalles,sir Jhon Wallop, sir Edward Echyngham,sir Willyam Sidnay,Anthony Broune,Gyles Huse,Thomas Hoze,Jhon Russell,Edward Bray, Henry Owen, Georze Cobham,Thomas Dwdayle, Thomas Louell, Robert Jernyngham,Anthony Kneuit, sir Jhon Tremaile, and the Master of the kynges ordinaunce,sir Willyam Skeuyngton, and Jhon Fabian serteant at armes,by whom this enterprise was chefly moued as was re-
x ported, with many other gentlemen and souldiers, to the nombre of viii.M. The lorde Admyrall and sir Richard Wyngfeld brought these men in good order of battaill,& caused Christopher Morres the master gunner to see all thinges redy prepared,& then about.viii.of the clocke the sayd fyrst day they marched towarde Moyles in good orde of battail with banners displayed. The alarme rose in the countrey and came to the toune of Moyles wherby the gentlemen of the countrey shewed themselfes pryckyng,but when they heard the Gunes they fledde as though they neuer vied warre. They of Moyles armed theimselfes & went to the walles and shut the gates and laide ordinaunce where was
xx moste ieopardie. The Englishemen had gone fiue long myle and were now come to the subberbes of the toune: then the Englishemen archers shot,and the Brytons them defended:then the Admyrall commaunded the toune to be assauted,then the lord Fitz Water and the Baron Curson quartered the toune on all sides: The Englishemen shot with long bowes,and the Brytons with crosse bowes,whiche defended themselfes manfully. Before the port Mornet where is a Meason de dieu, At this gate gaue the assaut sir Richard Wyngfelde,Nycholas Carew, Fraũces Bryan, sir Jhon Wallop and all their bendes hauyng with theim thre pieces of ordinaunce called Faucons, whiche the master Gunner
xxx of tymes shot, but the Britons had set the gate full of hacbusshes, then the gunner sayd,haue at the wicket,and in the smoke of the gunnes let vs entre the gate,the gentlemen assented, then the sayd sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke ranne to the gate the sayd Christopher and the other forenamed gentlemen,and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicked open & entred,and the gentlemen folowed,the Brytons defended themselfes,but thei were put backe or slaine,then was the great gate opened and then entered the souldiers that were on the other side of the toune When the Brytons on the walles sawe the towne gotten, some fled at
xl the posterne and some by another way,the best way that they could.

Therle of Surray with bãner displayed toke the market place. Then the souldiers fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of marchauntes,for the toune of Moyles was very riche, and specially of lynnen clothe, the gentlemen suffered the souldiers to do what they would. When the souldiershad taken their pleasure of the toune as muche for attrueth or more then they could beare away,

 The

The lorde Admirall cõmaunded the trumpettes to blow, & cõmaunded all men to set fyer in al places of the toune (the holy places onely except) the fayre market place was set on fyer, & the subburbes brent ardantly. Wo herfore all men were commaunded to their standardes, and aboute vi. of the clocke the army retreted, and as they passed they brent the villages and places. And when night approched they drewe together and all that night lay on land abiding their enemies. And the next day with honor they tooke their shippes, and when all menne were shipped and fewe or none missed. The lorde admyrall commaunded .xvi. or .xvii. shippes small and great lyng in the hauen to be brent. Then they sayled furth and came to ancker before saint Polle de Lyon, then he commaunded that the foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned to enter into an harborow for shippes called pympoll or pympole, which was sone done, the boates entred the place and some landed, but then the Brytons were to strong, and so they tooke their boates and bet the Bryttons on the shore, and the Brytons shotte great ordinaunce at the Englishmen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishen Brent a shippe of .CC. and many small vessels. When tyme came the whole flete sayled into the haue of Brest and with barkes and rowe barges entred the haue and toke land, and some Englishme did so muche that they set fyer in houses nere the castle. And euen as thenglishemen sayled by the coost, the Brytons them askryed and fortefied the landyng places, yet dayly the Englishemen kyrmished with the Brytons and came safely to their shippes againe: with this warre was all the duchy of Brytaigne sore troubled.

When the lorde Admirall had wonne the toune of Morles as you haue heard: He called to him certaine squyers whom for their hardines and noble courage he made knightes, fyrst sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Anthony Broune, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Thomas More, sir Gyles Huse, sir Jhon Russell, sir Jhon Raynsford, sir George Cobham, sir Jhõ Cornwalles, sir Edward Rigley and diuers other. And after he wrote letters to the kyng of his good spede: In the whiche he muche praised all the gentlemen and souldiers for their hardynes. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the kyng that he should retreyte, and so he came withall his fleete vnder the Isle of Wyght to a place called the Kow, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the xxi. daye of Julye to the kyng, of whom he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on Mounday the .xxiii. day of July the kyng and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sat in counsayle to determine what should be done. After this the kyng dyned with the Cardinall the .xxiii. day of Julye, where he reherssed that he had knowlege that the Admyrall of Britaine was in Morles with a .C. horsemen and a .C. crosbowes, and yet he fedde, and the kyng muche cõmended the lorde Admyral for his payne and hardynes, and praysed theim of hys garde, and specially fiftie, whiche left pylferyng

and

and neuer went from the lorde capitaine.

On the third day of July while this enterprise was done at Mozles, certaine Frenchemen to the nomber of.CCC.horsemen came nere to the castle of Guysnes and kept theim selfe in a close couert and so appered viii.or.x.horsemen and came nere Guysnes: out of the Castle came.viii. Englishe archers and issued out of the gate and fell with the Frenche horsemen in skyrmishe: to the Frenchemennes, reskue came.iii.men of armes and skyrmished with the archers whiche were a fote. Then out of Guysnes issued.xii.dimilances all Welshemen and ranne boldely to
x the Frenchemen in reskue of the fotemen, Then the whole bend of Frenchemen issued out & set on the Welshemen, the fotemen shotte while arrowes lasted and were faine to fight with swordes, the Welchmen kept themselfes together and entred into the bend of Frenchemen and brake their speres and then fought so with swordes that they made away, so that they escaped from the bend of.CCC.horsemen, and of the Frenche men were slayne.iii.men and.v.horse, the fotemen were ouerpressed and solde their liues dere, for the Frenchemen slew them al and would take none prisoner, they were so angry with the kyllyng of their horse.

Also the.xxv.day of July sir Wyllyam Sandes treasorer of Caleys
xx and sir Edward Guildforde Marshal, with banners spred, issued out of Caleys with.xiiii.C.menne and went into the Frenche pale lokyng for Mounsire Foyat whiche was a great mocker and a coward: But when he appeared not they went to Whitsand baye and set it on fyer, and the people fled to the churche whiche was fortified and stode at defence, the body of the churche was wonne and then they toke the steple and some yelded themselfes, but the remnãt by counsail of a priest mainteined so long that the Steple was fyred and then the priest cried succour, but it was to late and so the Frenche people was fayne to lepe the Steple & diuers perished, & they that were saued wer led to Caleys as prisoners.
xxx Farther the.xxiii.daye of thesame moneth Thwaites a capitaine of an Englishe shippe tooke land besyde Bulleyn, and went vp thre myle into the countrey to a toune called Newe Castle and forrayed all the countrey and in his returne set fyer on the toune & brent a great part therof maugre the Bullenoys, and with his bowes and men whiche only was vi.score, he put backe.lxxx.Haugbusches and.CCC.men of warre of the countrey and so came to their shippe with all the botie and lost no mã, notwithstandyng they were sore folowed to their shippe.

On the.vi.day of July the Cardynall satte in the starre chamber at Westminster where he sayd, my Lordes it is reason that you should
xl know the honorable enterprise done by the lorde Admiral and his compaigny in Brytaigne whiche hath dispoyled and destroyed the great toune of Mozles in Brytaigne with all the villages and countrey

adioynong

adioynyng to thesame, whiche is in the Frenche dominion, whiche mischiefe had neuer risen yf Fraunces the Frenche kyng had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should neuer retayne the Swyches from the Emperor, nor that he shall not inuade any of the Emperors landes or dominions, whiche he hath done, for he hath inuaded the countrey of Henaude and Cambrises and taken Heding and Fountraby with many other iniuryes. For when the kyng sent me and other to his great costes the last yere to Caleys to treate a vnitie and peace betwene theim, all our saiynges were by the Frenche kyng turned into a mocquery. Also contrary to hys promyse he hath suffered Duke Jhon of Albany to entre the realme of Scotland to the great perill of the yong kyng, Nephieu to our soueraigne lorde, and also entendeth to mary the Quene of Scottes contrary to the kynges honor. The sayd Frenche king also witholdeth the kinges dueties and his sisters dower: wherfore of necessitie the kyng is entered into warre, for no prince wyll suffre the wrong that the French kyng offereth hym as an vntrue and forsworne prince, wherfore for your owne welth yoū must now ayde your prince, trustyng to punyshe and chastice hym to your great honor and fame.

xx Then by commaundement wer all Frenchemen and Scottes imprisoned and the goodes seazed, and all suche as were denizens were commaunded to shewe their letters patentes, & suche as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchemen and Scottes that had maryed Englishe women, the wifes and childzen had halfe the goodes deliuered vnto them, and euery denizen to fynde suertie for hys good abearyng, and all the other yf they would be bayled to fynde suerties for their trueth and allegeaunce or els to be kept in pryson, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye.

xxx The kyng nowe beyng entered into the warres thought not to slepe and let the Frenche kyng alone, wherfore by his letters he commaūded certain persones with their powers to come to Lōdon in August. They that wer appointed came accordyngly, euery man with suche a nomber as to him was appointed, and when they had mustered at London before the kynges Commissioners they were nere.xii.M.menne with the Poyners, and they were sent to the lorde Admyral whiche lay at Douer with.iiii.M.men, but because haruest was not done, the vitayle at Caleys was to litle for so great an armye, wherfore they lay in Kent at tounes there a good space, whiche made vytaile dere there.

xl In this sommer the lorde Rosse and the lorde Dacres of the North whiche were appointed to kepe the borders agaynst Scotland did so valiantly that they burned the good toune of Kelsy and.lxxx.billages and ouerthrew.xviii.towers of stone with all their Barnkyns or Bulwerkes.

The

The kyng also in this moneth was credibly enformed that the duke of Albany prepared an army royall of Scottes and Frenchemen to inuade England. Wherfore the kyng appointed the Erle of Shrewsbury his lorde Steward to be his Lyeutenaunt generall against the sayd Duke and his inuasions, whiche directed his letters to the shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford Shropshyre and al other beyond Trent that all menne should be in readynes.

The.xx.daye of August the Cardynall sent for the Maior, Aldermen and the moste substantialleste commoners of the Citie of London, where he declared to theim that the kyng had appoynted commissioners through the whole realme of England for to lwere euery manne of what value he is in mouables, the more to be in readynes for the defence of this realme. And the kyng for the loue he beareth you would haue syt with you hymselfe, but for certayne other affayres in hys warres to be doone he is letted, and so hath appoynted me your Commissioner. Wherfore in conuenient tyme certifye me the nomber of all suche as be worth one hundreth pounds and vpwarde, to the intent I may sweare theim of their values: for fyrst the kyng asketh of you your louyng heartes and due obeysaunce, the whiche shall appeare by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken he desyreth onely the tenth part of goodes and landes whiche is the least reasonable thyng that you can ayde your prince with. I thynke euery one of you wyll offer no lesse, as for the spiritualtie euery manne is in the shyres sworne and shall and wyll gladly pay the fowerth part to the kyng and lyue on the iii.partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you wyll not grudge, therfore name me the menne of substaunce and for the meaner sorte, meaner Commissioners shall be appoynted. Syr sayd a marchaunt yf it may please you, how shal this tenth part to the king be deliuered? In money plate or Jucls sayd the Cardinall at a value. O my lorde sayd the Aldermen it is not two monethes sithe the kyng had of the Citie.xx.thousand pound in ready money in loane, whereby the Citie is very bare of money, for Goddes sake remembre this, that riche marchauntes in ware be bare of money: Well sayd the Cardynall, this must be done and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes and named suche as they iudged to be of that value, whiche came before the Cardinall and moste humbly besought hym that they myght not be sworne for the true value of their substaunce, for the true valuation to theim was vnknowen and many honest mennes credence was better then his substaunce, and therfore they doubted the peril of periury. Well sayde the Cardinall sythe you dread the cryme of periurye, it is a tygne of grace, and therefore I will for you borowe of the kyng a lytle. Make you your billes of your owne value lykely

likely to repoꝛt youꝛ fame,and then moꝛe buſynes nedeth not, foꝛ you ſee what two coſtly armyes the kyng hath ready againſt bothe Fraunce and Scotland,therfoꝛe nowe ſhewe youꝛ ſelfes lyke louyng ſubiectes, foꝛ you be able enough. And I dare ſweare the ſubſtance of London is no leſſe woꝛth then two Myllions of golde. Then ſayd the citezens we woulde to God that it were ſo,and the citie is ſoꝛe appaired by the great occupiyng of ſtraungers. Well ſayd the Cardinall it ſhalbe redꝛeſſed if I lyue : But on Saterday next I ſhall appoynt one to receyue youꝛ bylles,and he that is of credence moꝛe then of ſubſtance let hym reſoꝛte to me and I will be ſecrete and good to hym. Thus the Citezens de- x
parted in great agony ſaiyng, that at the laſt loane ſome lent the fifth part and nowe to haue the tenth part was to muche. And here note well that the.x.thouſand pounds that was lent was not taken as the.xx.of euery mannes ſubſtaũce,but it ſhould be allowed as part of the.x.part, and this valuacion ſhoulde perfoꝛme vp the whole.x.part. Great was the mournyng of the common people as it is euer in ſuche caſes of pay-
mentes. But in the ende one doctoꝛ Tonnys a ſecretary to the Cardinal came to the Chapiter houſe of Paules,and to him the citezens bꝛought in their bylles and on their honeſtie they were receiued, whiche dales afterwarde turned them to diſpleaſure. xx

The ſpiritualtie made ſuite to the loꝛde Cardinall that no tempoꝛall men ſhould ſit to exampne them, to be made pꝛiuy to their poſſeſſions & goodes: wherfoꝛe biſchoppes and Abbottes were appoynted commiſſio-
ners to take the value of their ſubſtaunce.

In this ſeaſon was great plentie of vitaile ſent to Caleys, and to the loꝛde Admyꝛal were ſent Tentes and Pauilions ſome of.lxx.lodgyn-
ges foꝛ hym and other noble men.

The Friday beyng the.xxii.day of Auguſt certain Welſhemen were lodged at a pooꝛe billage named Cauſe, becauſe in Caleys was beꝛye naꝛow lodgyng,and theſame night.CCCC.Frenchmen paſſed by Ca- xxx
leys hauẽ foꝛ lacke of good watche and came into theſame billage and ſet fyer in the houſe where the Welſhemen lay whiche ranne awaye na-
ked into the Mariſhe and ſaued themſelfes,but their hoꝛſes wer taken. This chaunce happened foꝛ lacke of good watche.

When the loꝛde Admyꝛall had bꝛought all his menne out of the ſhippes and that all the ſouldioꝛs were come out of Englande and the oꝛdinaunce ſet on land,then came into Caleys hauen.xxiii.ſhippes out of Spayne from the Emperoꝛ whiche ſet on land.CCC. Spanyardes whiche were ſent to ſerue the loꝛde Admyꝛall and vnder hym they were put. When all thinges were ready,the loꝛde Admyꝛall ſet in oꝛder his xl
battels and foꝛ the foꝛwarde he appoynted ſir Robert Ratcleffe, loꝛde Fitzwater foꝛ Capitayne, and with hym diuers knightes and gentle-
men whiche capitaine kept his men in very good oꝛder.

After

After that battail folowed the ordinaunce, artilerie and other trusses with vitail and neceſſaries, and for the capitaine of the horſemen was appointed ſyr Edward Gylford, by whō the currers and vewers of the countrey were appointed. The myddle warde ledde the lorde Admyrall himſelfe, and in his compaignie the lord Edmond Haward his brother, with many worſhipfull knightes ſquiers and tall yomen: The laſt battail was ledde by twoo valiaunt knightes of the Garter ſyr Wyllyam Sandes and ſyr Richard Wyngfelde, and with theim was ſir Richard Jernyngham with many other. In good order of battaill they paſſed
r ouer Newnam bridge the.xxx.dai of Auguſt to a place called Calkewel and their lodged betwene the Wyndmyl and the marriſhe.

The ſame day came to the lorde Admyrall a certain nombre of wilde perſones, as menne out of ſeruice and apprentiſes that rann from theyr Maſters and other ydle perſons, and him deſired that they might be retained in the kynges wages, to whom he anſwered, that the kyng had appointed the nombre of ſuche as ſhould haue wages, which was fully complete, and aduiſed theim to returne into Englande and not to loyter there. Then ſayd a tall yoman, my lord here be many good felowes that with your fauor would ieopard to get or loſe, for their mynde is to be
rr reuenged on the Frenchemen enemies to the kyng and his realme. Good felowe ſayd the lorde Admirall, theyr myndes be good, but if for lacke of conduite they ſhould be caſt awaye, it were a loſſe to the kynge and a great corage to the Frenchemen. Then al the compaignie cried, let vs go in the name of God and ſainct George: Then after counſaill taken he gaue them a Penon of ſainct George and bad them aduenture (of whiche they were called aduenturers) and farther bad theim that yf they got any botie they ſhould euer bryng it to tharmy, and they ſhould be payde to the vttermoſt, and then he gaue them money and cōmaunded them weapons and ſo the ſayd.xxxi.daye the ſayd aduenturers.iiii.
rr C.in nombre and mo, ſette forward before the hoſt, but how thei did, you ſhall heare afterwarde.

Monday the fyrſt day of September the armye remoued towarde Guiſnes, which day was very hote & drunke lacked, and water was not nere, ſo that ſome died for faintnes, & this night they laye at Guyſnes.

Tewſday the ſecond day of September the armye paſſed towarde Arde: And in the golden Valay where the kyng of Englande and the Frenche kyng met two yeres before, there met with tharmy of England two capitaines of the Burgonions, the one called therle of Egremond the Seneſchal of Henaude, and the lorde of Bauers Admyral of Flaū-
rl ders with.v.C.horſemen, like men of warre. The lord Admiral in gentle maner receiued theſe two capitaines and their compaignie & ſo they ioyned theimſelfes to the Engliſhe armye, and the ſame day they tooke lodgyng at Arde ſouth from the toune, where they were wel vitailed, & there lay wedniſday all day, and the Burgonyons lay vnder the caſtle of Mountorrey. The next day they remoued to the vale of Lyekes, and there encāped themſelfes, Sir George Cobham theſame day with.ii.M

 men

men,by the Admiralles cõmaũdement came to thee toune of Selloys & set fyer in the toune,& whẽ the toune was on fyer he assauted the castle. They within made resistence,but it auailed not,for the walles were entred & the souldiers taken,and the castle set on fyre,& with gunpouder ouerthrew the walles:thẽ with hast he remoued to a town called Brune bridge and set it on fyer and also brente a toune called Senkerke,and also the tounes of Botyngham and Wanstier & so returned to the lord Admirall whiche gaue him greate thankes, The Frenchemen appered in plumpes,but yet they durst not reskewe theyr tounes.

On saterday the lord Admirall remoued with the whole army too a ground beside saynt Nerbyns and there lay all Sonday beyng the.vii. day of Septembre,wher he sent diuers compaignies out,which forranged the coũtreyes & brent many villages as farre as thei might trauail the lord Admirall caused the toune of Narbyn to be brent,& tooke thee castle and rased it and vtterly destroyed it.

On Monday the.viii.day, he remoued to Dauerne and brente al the tounes as he passed,and lying there he brente the toune of Dauerne and cast doune the castle of Columberge & the Castle Rew,but the churches of Dauerne and a house of Nonnes,wer saued by his cõmaundement. Thesame day was brente sainte Matic de Boys and all the countreye twelue myle about was of light fyer,the people fledde and lefte tounes and Castelles full of wyne,corne,and all other necessaries, so that in Dauerne the Englishemen found greate plenty,whiche or they went away they set a fyer.

The.ix.day of Septembre the whole armye came before the toune of Boyardes in which was a Churche more liker a Castle then a Church, for it was depe ditched with drawe bridges and with Bulwarkes,fortefied and lopes very warlike. The Admirall beholdyng it sayd, thys is like no house of prayer.Then he commaunded his people to enter the dyches and plucke doune the drawe bridges,and set fyer in the churche and with gunpouder ouerthrewe it,and brent the toune and all the villages adiacent to thesame,the people cried and fledde.well was he that might saue him selfe.

The.x.day thei came to the toune of Vaus,which was ny the toune called Fauconberge and there a company of Frenchemen were askried, for out of a wood they shewed them selues.but thei taried not long,but without profer of encounter thei departed. Wherfore thee whole armye toke their campe & there lay till the xiii.day whiche was saterdai,euery daye sendyng plumpes out to set fyer in the countrey,and on that daye they toke the way to Frynge or Frynges, and ther brent the towne and destroyed the castle which was very strong.

The Sonday beyng the.xiiii.day,the lorde Admirall with his compaigny in great raine and yll wether passed by hilles and baleys verye painefully,and with greate labor came to a toune called Blamow, and there taried monday all day and there al day counsailed the capitaines both

bothe of England and Flaũders or Burgon what was best to be done.

On tewsday in the morynyng came a trumpet from the Castle of Hedyng and desired to speake wyth the capitaine, whiche incontinent sent for hym: my lorde capitaine sayd the trumpet, the capitaine of Hedyng desireth you to come thither and see the place, and on the walles he wyll bring you good lucke, and he prayeth you not to hurt the dere in hys parke, and for any other hurt you can do hym he careth not: well sayde the lorde Admyrall, I wyll send hym answere by my trumpet. Incontinent he called a trumpet and bad hym go to Hedyng to Mounsire de Bees and to say to him that he would come to the castle of Hedyng, and if he slay any of my menne with his artillerie, let him trust me, that if I gette the castle I shall saue neither man, woman, nor childe. So wyth that message the trumpet departed & declared it to Mounsire de Bees, whiche sayd that it was spoken of noble corage, and so the trumpet returned, and thesame day the campe was remoued and the whole armye came about the castle of Hedyng, at whiche tyme the toune of Hedynge was sore infecte with pestilence, wherefore a generall commaundement was geuen that no man should once come into the toune, howbeit some of the Burgonyans did and set fyre in the houses.

Message fro Hedyng.

The answere

Hedyng besieged.

When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was very light for the wayes were so depe and the grounde so wet that the greate ordinaunce could not be caried. Thys thing was well debated by the lord Admirall and the capitaines. After they had been there.xi. dayes, fyrst they considered that the castle could not be obtained wyth out great ordinaunce, whych in no wyse could then be caried, and also if they wyth the light ordinaunce shotyng should spend all their pouder and not get the castle then in theim might be reckened great foly, and also they should bee in great ieopardie to passe wythout ordinaunce, and further the plage began sore in the armye, wherefore they determined to leaue the siege and returne. But whyle they lay at ỹ toune they bet doune tosses, galleries, chymnies, and suche other thynges as the light ordinaunce would bete doune, whyche sore defaced the beautie of the castle. They also destroied all the dere in the Parke, whyche were falowe dere and left none for the capitaine. The Englishemen were clerely determined to haue assauted the castle if the Burgonions would haue done thesame: But they refused, whyche seyng the Englishmen left the assaut alone: For though the Englishemen had gotten it, it should haue been deliuered to the Emperours vse by the treatie, for he claymed it as his inheritaunce, whyche caused the Englishemen to leaue the assaut.

The cause why the castle was not assauted.

The siege raised.

And so the.xrii. daye of September they rered the siege and set theim selfes in good order of battaill and passed styl onwarde til they came to Dorlans and brent the toune, and rased the castle, and frõ thence came to the good toune of Darrier and brent and spoyled thesame. Thus he brent all the way as he passed: and euer the wether was worse, and men fell sicke wherfore the Burgonions and the Spaniardes returned into

Flaunders aboue Betwyn.

The lord Admyral sawe that it was no time to kepe the felde, tutned backward in good order of battaill and came to Calaice the.xvi.daye of October. And while he lay at Calayce he sent out syr Willyā Sandes, syr Myrice Barkeley, syr William Fitzwillam wyth.iii.M.men, whiche brent Marguyson whyche was newly edified and fortefied, they brent also the toune of sainct Johnes Rhode & Temple toune, & many villages. At this voiage wer taken many prisoners xiii.M, shepe, xiiii. C. great cattel as Oxen & Kyen.xiii.C. hogges, and.vi.C. Mares and Horses, wyth this great botie this crew returned to Calayce in safetie.

Then ỹ lord Admyral sent syr Jhon Walop wyth.ix.C, men to saint Omers to lye there and at Guysnes, Hammes, and at Warke, & at Oy he left another nombre and left capitaines to ouerse them & all the soudiers had a monethes wages payed them & so returned into Englande. The aduenturers taried still and gat many good prayes, and brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothyng: they were muche drad of all the common people, for of them they had great prayes, and dayly learned feates of warre whiche made them the bolder.

When the lorde Admirall had set all thynges in an order on that syde the sea, he toke shippe & with the Nauy came into the riuer of Thames & so to the kynge, of whom he was wellcommed and not vnworthy.

In this season were banished out of Southwarke.xii.Scottes whiche had dwelt there a long season & wer conueied frō parishe to parishe by the constable like men ỹ had abiured the realme, & on their vttermost garment a white crosse before & another behynd them. Thus were they conueyed through London Northwarde till they came to Scotlande.

While the lorde Admiral was this in Fraunce destroiyng the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewsbury lorde George Talbot & Stewarde of the kynges houshold prepared by the kynges commaundment a great army toward Scotland: for the kynge was enformed that Duke Jhon of Albany (whiche in ỹ Parliament of Scotland was made lord gouernor of the realme and of the yong kyng duryng hys nonage) had raised a mightie & puissaunt host of Scottes to the nomber of.lxxx.M. men as after was well knowen, whiche were warlike appointed, & that he wyth.v.C. Frenchemen with handgunnes and other great artillerie was cōmyng forward to inuade the west Marches of England adioynyng toward Scotlande. Wherefore the kyng sent worde to therle of Shrewsbury, which with all diligēce lyke a noble capitaine set forward towarde Yorke, & wrote to therles of Northumberland, Westmerland and Darby, to the lorde Dacres, Lumley, Clyfford, Scrope, Latemer, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers, & to al other gentlemen to be ready within.viii. houres warnyng with all their powers: and so in iorniyng, he wyth his power whiche was great, came to the citie of Yorke abidyng the ordinaunce, and the lordes and all other thynges necessary in suche a case.

In the meane season the Scottes were come nigh to the citie of Carleyle

leyle & lodged them nigh the water of Eske not farre from Sulway sandes, & there made their abode. Therle of Westmerland, the lord Datres, the lorde Roos, the lord Mountaigle, with the knightes of Lancashere, Westmerland and Cumberland were ready with .xxviii. M. men to haue geuen them battaill.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not come into Englād without battaill, the lordes of Scotland drew to counsail, and amongest all one wyseman said, my lordes, hether be we come by the cōmaundement of my lorde Gouernor the duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should know: you al remēber that the last warre was to the realme of Scotland muche preiudiciall: For kyng James the. iiij. brought the realme of Scotland to the best that euer it was: and by his warre it was brought to the worst almost that may be, for by that warre was he & his nobilitie slain, whiche Scotland sore lamenteth: Wherfore by myne aduice let vs go to the duke & know of him the cause. Thē thei al came to ỹ dukes court, & therle of Arrayn an auncient man spake for thē al & saied, my lord Gouernor, by your will & cōmaundemēt here is assēbled almost all the nobilitie of Scotland w̄ their power vpō a pretence to entre into Englād, my lordes here would know the cause & quarel why this warre is begō, if it might please your goodnes, it should wel satisfie their mindes.

Thes prygs of a Scottish Erle.

The duke studied a good while & sayd: this questiō would haue bene demāūded or now: For wel you know that I for ỹ very loue that I bere to the realme of Scotlād of the which I haue my name, honor & lynage. I haue passed the seas out of ỹ noble realme of Fraūce into this realme of Scotlād. One great cause to bryng you to a vnitie when you were in deuision: By reason of which deuision your realme was likely to be conquered & destroied. Also the Frenche kyng by my suites & intercessiō wyl ioyne with you in aide against thenglish nation: & when this warre was determined in the parliament you made me capitain, authorising me to inuade Englād w̄ bāner displaied: then was no questiō demāūded of ỹ right or quarell, and that I haue is by your assent & agrement, & that I will iustifie: But to answer your demaūde, me thinke you haue iust cause to inuade England with fyer, sworde, & bloud, if you be not to forgetfull, & without you wil beare dishonor & reproche for euer: for you know that this realme of Scotland is our inheritaūce as a porcion of ỹ world allotted to our nacion & auncetors whom we succede: Then where may be better warre then to mainteine this our naturall inheritaunce. is not daily sene the great inuasion that thenglishmen on vs make, the greate manslaughters & murders with robberies & spoiles that they do daily? Is not this cause of warre? To defend the cōtrey is the office of a king the honor of noble men & the very seruice of chiualry, and the duty natural of the cominaltie. For I thinke it a iust quarel if we might cōquere ỹ realme of England & anner it to our realme & make a Monarchie: For sith the beginning of our habitacion in this Ile of Britaigne, that nacīō & we haue bene enemies, and vs they haue euer hated, & yet we haue euer withstode thē til at the last battail of Bran, ston where we by chaūce lost

The answere of the duke of Albany.

our soueraigne lord and many noble men, but that was by treason of his lord chãberlain, & yet I thinke we wan ỹ fielde: which murther I thinke all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therfore I would that you should corageously auaũce your self in this quarel to get honor & to be reuẽged

Then a sad man called the president of the coũsaill said, my lord: Fortune of warre is led by him that all ledeth, & he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, & here are the lordes of Englãd redy to encoũtre vs, and surely they will fight, for their power shall encreace daily and ours is at the hyest. And God geue vs the victory as I trust he will, yet haue we not won the field. For redy cõming is ỹ lord talbot erle of Shrewsbury so muche dread in Fraunce as you know wel, with a great puissaunt army, & there is no doubt but the kyng of England wil send or bring another army, if we should chaunce to get the first battail: if we get the.ii. fields, that wil not be without losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realme shalbe weaker. And if we be ouercome, how many shalbe slayne God knoweth: they ỹ sle be worthy to be reputed as traitors to the king and so by wilfulnes & rolishe hardines ỹ realme shalbe in ieopardy to be vndone, & I say, whyle ỹ king is within age, we ought to moue no warre, sith by warre we may bring him to distruccio. Alas said the duke here is al the puissaũce of Scotlãd: if we returne we shal encorage our enemies, and the realme of Scotlãd shall euer be rebuked & defamed. All this cõmunicacion in counsaill was written by one sir Lother priest & Scot & secretary to the quene of Scottes, whiche was a secretary there in ỹ host at that tyme, to a Scottishe priest ỹ dwelt in Lõdon: & farther he wrote that the Scottishe kyng did muche for the Frenche kynges pleasure to draw ỹ lordes of Englãd with their powers toward that partie & to put the kyng of England to charges, so that he should not inuade Fraunce.

After this cõmunicacion the quene of Scottes which doubted the sequele of this matter, sent worde to the duke & him required to coms of a peace with the warden of thenglish Marches, which sent an Herauld to the lord Daker then warden of the west Marches, ỹ lord Daker agreed, & vpõ hostages wer to the duke of Albany into his cãpe, where the quene of Scottes by that tyme was come, & so ther was an abstinẽce of warre taken for a season: and in the meane tyme the duke and the quene promised to send Ambassadours to the kyng of England to conclude a peace: And thus the Scottes returned into their houses. This truce was taken the.xi.day of Septẽber betwene Englãd & Scotlãd this.xiiij.yere of the kyng. Therle of Shrewsbury hearyng of the truce by the lorde Dacres letters returned with al his company, sory that he had not gone forward on the Scottes In this season the commissioners sat for the loane of the x. part of euery mans substaunce in euery shyre. the people were sworne and some auaunsed themselfes more then they were worth of pride, not remembryng what was comyng, and the commissioners did what they could to set the people to the vttermoste, whiche afterwarde tyzned the people to muche heautnes, & by reason of this, great summes of money were leuied, but the moste part were not content, because the loane was so

so sodainly paied. But vnder the value of .v. pound no man lent a peny. The. vii. day of October was. iiii. M. pound paide to the citie of London whiche was lent for a priuate cause about the loane of the. x. part.

In this yere the bakers of London came and tolde the Mayre that corne would be dere, wherupon he and the Aldermen made prouision for xv. C. quarters, and when it was come they would by none, and made the commō people beleue that it was musty, because they would vtter their owne, so that the lorde Cardinall was fayne to proue it; and found the bakers false and commaunded them to bye it.

x The. xv. day of October the kyng lay at Hichyn in Hartford shyre to see his Haukes flye, and by chaunce, there the kynges lodging was on fyer and he in greate feare, but in no ieopardie, and so the kyng came shortly to London and sent for the Mayre and dyuers Comoners and to them gaue thankes for many kyndnes whiche they thought they had well deserued.

The warre thus continuing betwene the Frenche kyng and the kyng of Englande, there was a valiaunt Capitayn Constable of the castle of Hammes vnder the lorde Mountioy called sir Richard Whethyll, the Frenchemen hym so muche hated that they deuised a policie to take him, xx and so on Chrystmas day at night there issued out of Bullain. CC. horsemen and. CCC. fotemen, and somuche they trauayled that all together were come to a place where Hoppes grewe, nere Hammes castell called Catte Hall. When they were come thither, they kept themselfes couert, and in the morning they brake vp the Turne pyke by saint Gertrudes: Then sent they into Hammes Marshe. ix. or. x. footemen to take cattell. In the castle the alarme rang, but the embushement kept theim stil close: The constable perceiued what the alarme ment, and armed hym, and so did his archers, and toke his horse, and thre gentelmen went on foote by him. The Frenchemen of purpose driued the cattell here and there as xxx though it would not be driuen, sir Rychard Whethyll pursued them. When the driuers sawe hym, they droue the cattell into a greate fielde: then were the bushment of horsemen and fotemen betwene hym & saince Gertrudes, and they sodainly brake out on hym, and the thre gentelmen on foote fought valiauntly but thei were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on foote manfully, but he was borne doune with pykes, and sore wounded and so was compelled to yelde hym selfe prisoner: by that tyme were. xxx. archers come out of the castle, and when they sawe the greate nomber of the Frenchemen, then they knewe that their capitain was betrayed and so returned.

xl In this Chrystmas whiche was kept at Eltham, the Cardinall made dyuers reformacions for the kynges housholde, and al they that had no masters were commaunded to auoyde.

The. xvii. day of February syr Jhon Walop knyght lent. ix. auenturers from Guysnes to seke auentures, and they mette with a Gentelmanne called Thomas Palmer whiche went with them. And out of a Castell betwene Bullaine and Margupson called Hadyngham came

out

out. lxxx. Frenchemen with Pykes and Crosbowes, and sette on thesame Palmer whiche hym defended.
Al his cõpany sauyng.xxiii.persons were gone about to seke their pray. These.xxiii.persons him mankully succouzed & after the Frenchmen had slain his hozse and wounded hym, his company slew.iii Frenchemen and toke,xxb on liue whiche were all hurt and so were thenglishemen, foz the Frenchemen fought soze. All these pzisoners were bzought to Guisnes, & the remnant of thaduenturers returned with muche cattell.

The last day of Febzuary.lx. Englishmen archers & bilmen came to a place called saint Anthonies nere to Marguison & entred the houses and x. tell a spoilyng: The Frenchemen were thereof aduertised by a spy, & came on & set on a few Englishmen which were together: then with noise other of thenglishemen appzached, so they were.xl. persones. Then came out a freshe embushment of Frenchemen & set on thenglishemen & so slewe.xi. & toke.xx. pzisoners & the other scaped. About this tyme ỹ duke of Albany sailed out of Scotland into Fraũce, & the French kyng somuch fauozed hym, ỹ as it was shewed to the kyng of Englãd foz truthe, that when the French kyng rode thzough Paris he rode on the one hand & Richard de la Pole a traitoz to Englãd & by parliament attainted on the other hãd, and that the duke had asked of the French kyng.v.M. hozsemen & x.M. xx Almaines, & that he had pzomised the Frẽch kyng if he had those.xv.M men, he would do one of these.iii.thynges, either sley the kyng of Englãd in battaill, oz els take hym pzysoner, oz els dziue hym out of his realme. These were shamefull bzagges of a noble man and very foolishe.

The duke of Albany returned.

Ye haue hard befoze how truce was taken by ỹ duke of Albany & the lozd Dacres foz a season betwene England & Scotlãd & that Ambassadozs should be sent to the king of Englãd, so it was ỹ in October accozdyng to their accustomed doublenes they sent.iii. personages of smal behauoz as it semed, as Ambassadours from Scotlãd: thei were smally regarded and shoztly departed. Their cõmission was to know whether the same tyme oz abstinẽce of watre was by ỹ kyng assẽted to oz not, & other cõmission had they none. Thus they ment craftely as you may perceyue, foz in suche troubelous tyme they may steale vnpunished, whiche they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherfoze the kyng to be sure of them sent foz Henry the.v. erle of Nozthũberland & him made warden of the whole Marches which thankefully accepted thesame, & so departed lozd Warden. But howsoeuer it happened he made suite to the kyng & his cousaill and neuer left, til he was discharged of thesame, & then therle of Surray lozd Admirall of England was made generall warden, & the lozd Marques Dozset was made Warden of thest Marches & Myddill, and the xl lozde Dacres of the west Marches: whiche.iii. lozdes sped them thether the.vi. day of March foz the defence of the bozders. Foz refusyng of this office therle of Nozthũberland was not regarded of his owne tenauntes whiche disdained hym & his bloud, and muche lamented his foly, and al men estemed hym without hart oz loue of honour and chiualry.

Ambassade frõ Scotlãd.

The loane gathered.

The kyng out of hãd sent cõmission to gather the loane, this was called

led the practisyng of the loane, which sore emptied mens purses. In the same moneth were musters taken through the realme & euery mã commaunded to be ready within a dayes warnyng to do the kyng seruice in harnes, whiche caused euery man of honesty to bye harnes and weapon

The lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betwene Englande & Scotland accompanied with sir Willyam Bulmer and sir Arthur Darcy and many other noble men, the second day of Apryl then beyng shere thursday entred into Tyuedale & so .x. myle into Galoway and brent on euery side townes and billages, and the Scottes in great
x nomber shewed themselfes on the hylles & did not approche, & so he all that night taried in the Scotishe ground, and on good Friday returned wyth their botie whyche was .iiii. M. head of nete into Englande, when they had brent Grymslay, Bowhouse, Dufforde mylles, Ackeforthe, Crowlyng, Nowes maner, Widder Crowlyng, Warbottel, Low Bog, Seffoyth Maner, Wyddyl rigge, Prymsed, Broket, Shawes Hatuel, wide open Haught & other tounes & billages, & yet lost not many men,

The.xb. daye of Apryll beganne a Parlyament at the blacke Fryers in Londõ, & that day the Masse of the holy ghost was song, all the lordes beyng present in their Parliament robes. And when Masse was
xx finished the kynge came into the Parliament chamber and there satte doune in the seate royall or throne, and at his fete on the right side satte the Cardynal of Yorke & the Archebishop of Cantorbury, & at the table behind stode doctor Tũstal bishop of Lõdon, which made to the whole Parliament an eloquent Oracion, declaryng to the people the office of a kynge. Fyrst he muste be a man of iudgement accordyng to the saiyng of the Prophet Dauid Deus iudicium tuum regi da &c. Also he muste be a man of great learnyng accordyng to the saiyng of the Prophete Erudimini qui iudicatis terram. Accordyng to whiche saiynges he sayde that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgment, of great learnyng, & great
xxx experience, whiche accordyng to hys princely dutie forgat not to studye to sette forwarde all thynges whyche might be profitable to his people and realme, least ther might be layde to hys charge ỹ saiyng of Seneca Es rex et non habes tempus esse rex: Art thou a kyng and hast no tyme to be a kyng: whiche is asmuch to say, as art thou a kyng and doest nothyng profitable to thy people: Art thou a kyng & seest the people haue an insufficient lawe: Art thou a kyng and wilt not prouide remedy for the mischiefe of thy people: These thynges haue moued the kynges highnes to call this hys high court of Parliament both for the remedy of mischiefes whiche be in the common law, as recoueries, forain vou-
xl chers and corrupt trials. And for makyng & orderyng of new estatutes which may be to the high auauncement of the cõmon wealth, wherfore he willeth the commons to repayre to the common house and there to elect them a speaker, or theyr common mouth, and to certifie the lorde Chauncellour of thesame, whyche should thereof make report to the kynges moste noble grace, whyche should declare hys pleasure when he would haue hym presented before hys persone. Thys was the

The oration of doctor Tũstall Bishoppe of London

cause

cause of the Parlyament he sayd, but surely of these thynges no worde was spoken in the whole Parlyament, and in effect no good acte made except the graunt of a greate subsidie were one, but accordyng to thys instruccion the commons departed to the common house and chose for their speaker sir Thomas Moore knight & presented hym the saterday after in the Parlyament chamber, where he accordyng to the old vsage disabled hymselfe both in wit, learnyng, and discrecion, to speake before the kyng, & brought in for his purpose how one Phormio desired Hannibali to come to his readyng, whyche thereto assented, and when Hannyball was come, he began to reade, de re militare, that is of Chiualrie, when Hannyball perceiued hym, he called hym arrogant foole, because he would presume to teache hym whych was master of Chiualrie, in the feates of warre. So the speaker sayde, if he should speake before the kyng of learnyng and orderyng of a common welth and such other like the kyng beyng so well learned & of suche prudence & experience might say to hym as Hannyball sayd to Phormio. Wherfore he desired hys grace that the commons might chose another speaker: The Cardinall answered, that the kyng knewe his witte, learnyng & discrecion by long experience in his seruice, wherefore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the moste meetest of al, and so he did admit hym. Then sir Thomas Moore gaue to the kyng hys moste humble thankes, and desired of hym two pecicions: The one, if he should be sent from the commons to the kyng on message & mistake their entent, that he might with the kinges pleasure resort againe to the commons for the knowledge of their true meanyng: The other was, if in communicacion & reasonyng any man in the common house should speake more largely then of dutie he ought to do, that all such offences should be pardoned, and that to be entred of recorde, whiche two petictons were graunted, and so thus began the Parlyament and continued as you shall heare.

The Oration of Sir Thomas Moze.

The Rhodes beeieged.

Because an euil chaunce happened to the great rebuke of al christen princes, I entend briefly to declare thesame miserable chaunce. In the beginnyng of this yere Sulton Solyman Pac called ỹ great Turke which was but the. bui. of the ligne of Ottoman, the first that toke vpõ hym to be a great capitain or ruler. And to whom Sultan Selyme his father had lost thempyres of Constantinople, Trapesonde, Alexandry, & Babylon, with many diuers kyngdomes & realmes: whyche Sultan Solymon the yere before had gotten thee towne of Belgrado beyng the key of Hungary. Because he sawe all ỹ greate princes in Christendome now at discord, thought it moste for his honor & profite to make warre on the Isle of the Rodes and to take thesame, which Isle had been kept by the space of. CC. xtiii, yeres by the brethren or knightes of the order of sainct Johnes of Jerusalẽ. Dyuers thynges moued him to take this enterprice, One was because this Isle stode so that the religious of the same oftentymes toke & destroyed his shippes as they came with golde and other riches fron Egypt Sirie and other Estparties to Constantinople, so that by theim of that Isle he sustayned more hurt then by all

Why ỹ turk coueted the Rhodes.

Christen=

Chzistendome, because the sayd Isle stode in the entry toward Constã-
tinople. Another mocion was because his father when he died charged
hym to assay to take the Rhodes for to be reuenged of the shame that
they had done to hys graundfather Mahomet the great Turke which
was with dishonor beten from the siege of the Rhodes. But the greatest
occasion of all was the exhortacion of a great counsailer of the religion
called Andrewe Admiral borne in Portyngale, whiche knew the whole
estate & in what case the toune stode in: The cause why this Andrew A-
myral bare malice to his religion, was because after the death of Frier
Fabrica de Laretto lord maister of their religion, he was not elected to
that honor, but one Philip de Vylliers de Lisle Adam of Fraunce was
named to be lord Master, wherfore the said Andrew prouoked the Tur
ke to come to the Rhodes.

The great Turke seyng so great an occasion offered & desiryng honor,
& also knowing the fortresse of ỹ Rhodes to lacke munitions (for surely
the brethren of the sayd order wer both of suche wealth & pride and also
liued after suche an vngracious & vngodly fashion, ỹ they toke neither
hede of their vow & solempne profession, nor also did forese the thynge to
come, so that the greate welth of them & their euil liuyng blinded them,
so that they thought ỹ Turke durst not ones attẽpt to set on their gar-
rison, & so they beyng eleuate in this point of pride, left their toune vn-
furnished and so wer sodainly surprised as you shall heare) wherfore ỹ
sayd Turke couertly puided for.iii.C saile, in ỹ whiche he caried all his
artilery & al other thinges necessary: in the which armye wer.lx.M.my-
ners & pyoners prepared for the only intent to digge and myne. All the
rest of the army of the Turke came by lãd to a place called Fysco, which
stãdeth so directly against ỹ Rhodes that a fyer may be seen frõ the one
side to the other, frõ whiche place the Turke sent letters to ỹ abouena-
med Philip de Vylliers lorde Master of the sayd religion signifiyng to
him that he would haue ỹ sayd Isle for great damage ỹ they had done
to him & his people, and if they would yeld to hym the sayd Isle, he pro-
mised on his faith and by Mahomet his fyrst prophet, thei should haue
no damage nor hurt by hym, & that thei that would depart should go in
safetie, & they that would tary & serue him should haue good wages and
if they refused thys to do, he swore that he would subuert the walles of
their fortresse and destroy them all and make them slaues, which letter
was dated at Constantinople the first dai of June. The said Lord Mas-
ter and his compaignie were greatly abashed at this letter, but yet lyke
hardy gentlemen they intended to defende them, and made all the pre-
parations that they could do in so short a space, and wrote to al princes
christen of their nede & distres. But the Turke like a wyly serpent know-
yng the great deuision amongest the christen princes, so that he knewe
that they could sende no succours to the Rhodes, sent .CC.M. Turkes
whiche arriued in the Isle of the Rhodes on Mydsomer dai, which was
the feastfull daye of the Rhodians in honor of Saint Jhon baptiste

whiche sodain commyng sore abashed the Rhodyans beyng but. vi. C. knightes and.v.M.other mete to beare armes: yet of noble courage and trusting in God,they determined to defende the enemies of God,and the xxviii.day of July the Turke arriued there in his awne persone,whiche muche encouraged his people.

When the Turke was arriued, he bent his ordinaunce towarde the toune and did no great harme,when he sawe that the walles were of that defence that ordinaunce did litle harme, he caused all his Pyoners to
The moũtes. cast yearth,one banke ouer an other still tyl they came within a bowshot of the wall, and although that many of the pyoners were slain with or- x
dinaunce of the toune, they neuer ceased tyll they had made a banke of yearth hyghet by.x.foote then the wall of the toune,and there they layde their ordinaunce, so that no persone durst styrre on the walles or Bulworkes, and thus with mountaines of yearth was the toune enuironed and behynd the mountaynes lay the Bashcaux and chief captaines of the Turke whiche were euer ready to take their aduauntage, and dayly they shot into the toune and bet doune houses and slewe the people in the streates,for they vpon this mount myght easely see into the toune.
The Mynes. Besyde this, the Turke caused so many mynes to bee made in diuers places, that they within were not able to make countermynes for lacke xx
of people, insomuche as weimen were set a worke to dygge and cary, by reason wherof a greate part of the walles were ouerthrowen,and if they within had not made countermynes the toune had bene gotten within a short space.

Also the Turkes in September gaue to the Rhodyans foure greate
The assautes assautes lyke valiaunt warriers, but the Christen men within, so valiantly defended them,that at euery assaute they lost at the lest.iu.M.men. and at the fourth assaute they lost.x.M.Turkes and more.

The greate Turke seyng the losse of his men at the assautes, sent for Monstaffa Bashaw,through whose counsail he toke on him this enter- xxx
prise and much blamed hym that he had made hym beleue that he might haue the toune within.xu.dayes or in a moneth at the most,wherefore in that furie he would haue put hym to death, if the other Bashawes had not entreated for him:but in conclusiõ the Turke determined clerely to rayse his siege and to departe,and so had done if that same night syr Andrew Amyrall that you heard of before and a Jewe beyng within the Rhodes had not written letters and shot them out on quarelles into the Turkes army. By whiche letters the Turke knewe the necessitie of the toune and feblenes of the people, whyche caused hym to chaunge his
Treson espi- purpose. But this treason was espyed, and the traytors taken and xl
ed. put to terrible execucion. And the Turke caused so many Mynes to bee made, that although some tooke none effecte, yet by some he ouerthrewe bothe Bulwarkes, walles and towers, so that he myght entre into the toune:and so on sainct Andrewes euen he caused a greate assaute to bee geuen, whiche was very fierce, but yet the Christen men so valiauntly

defended

defended them, that they slewe thre thousande Turkes and mo, and kept them from enteryng that date, but the Citezens of the Rhodes after this assaulte, came to the lorde Master, and prated hym to haue compassion of them, their wiues and children, and shewed him that if the toune were taken by assault, (as it was like to be) that thei al should be cruelly murdered, the lorde Master muche regarded his honour, and comforted the people with faire wordes, but by chaunce about thesame tyme, the great Turke sent a letter into the Rhodes, willyng theim to deliuer the toune, and they all should haue their lyues and goodes, and they that would
x tary, should tary in quiet, & thei that would depart should sauely depart.

When this letter was knowen, then the people cried out on the lorde Master, to take the offre, wherfore he callyng all his counsaill together seyng that it was not possible to kepe the toune longer, both for lacke of artilary and bytayle, and also because his nomber was so minished, that scace he had souldiers to kepe the walles, wherefore he by greate aduice determined to take the Turkes offer, and so sent to hym twoo of his religion, for the farther conclusion and assurannce of thesame, whiche well entertained them, and had wrytynges sealed of all thynges that they desired, to which two knightes, Aymeche Basshaw swate by his faith that
xx there was slayn at the siege. lxiiii. thousande Turkes, and. xl. thousande dedde of mortalitie and mo. The peldyng by of the Rhodes.

And so on Christmas date, the great Turke hymselfe entered into the Rhodes, and toke possession therof, and the lorde Master and all his religion, the first date of January tooke shyp and sailed to Candy, and so in conclusion came to Rome, and there declared his chaunce and aduenture. Thus was the toune and the isle of the Rhodes, taken by the great Turke, whiche was a great succour to all christian men, resortyng into the East partes of the world, whiche chaunce was muche lamented thorowe all Christendom, and much blame put in all Princes, because they
xxx sent no succoure nor aide to the Isle.

And this yere the byshoppe of Durefme died, and the kyng gaue the byshoprike to the Cardinall, and he resigned the byshoprike of Bathe, to doctor Jhon Clerke master of the Rolles, and he made sir Henry Marney his vicechamberleyn lorde Priuie Seale, & after created hym lord Marney. In the ende of this yere, doctor Blithe byshop of Chester, was attached for treason, but he acquite hymselfe. And about this season, the Cardinall of Yorke beyng Legate, proued testamentes, and dyd call before hym, all the executors and administrators. of euery Dioces within the realme, so that the bishoppes and ordinaries, did proue no great wil-
xl les in their dioces, except he were compounded with, not to their litle dysauauntage. Also by his power Legantine he gaue by prouencions, all benefices belongyng to spirituall persones, by the whiche doyng, he not onely had the hatred of the spiritualtie, but also he ran into the daunger of the Premunire, whiche he sore after repented, as it shall appere in the xxi. yere of this kyng.

¶ The.xv.yere.

The xv. yere. The Cardinalles ozacio.

THe Parliament beyng begon, as you haue hard befoze re-
herſed, the Cardinall accompaigned with diuerſe lozdes,
aſwell of the Spiritualtie, as of the tempozaltie, came the
xxix. daie of Apzill into the Common houſe, where he elo-
quently declared to the commons, how the Frenche kyng
Fraunces the firſt, called the moſte Chriſtened kyng had ſo often tymes
bzoken pzomiſe with the kyng of England, and his welbeloued nephew
Charles the Emperoz, that the kyng of his honoz, could no lõger ſuffre.
Foz firſt he declared, that the metyng of theſaied twoo pzynces at Guiſ- x
nes, theſaid Frenche kyng was ſwozne, to kepe all the articles contened
in the triparttie league, made betwene him, the Emperour, and the kyng
of Englande, ſithe the whiche tyme, he hath made warre on themperozs
dominions, by Robert de la Marche his capitain. He alſo hath with hol-
den the tributes and other paumentes, whiche he ſhould paie to the kyng
of Englande, foz redemption of Tozney and Tirwin, and not with this
content, hathe not alonely robbed and ſpoyled the kynges ſubiectes, but
alſo hath ſent Jhon duke of Albany into Scotland, to make warre and
to inuade this realme, wherfoze the king of neceſſitie was dziuẽ to warre
and defence, whiche in nowiſe could be maintened, without great ſomes xx
of money, and he thought no leſſe then. viii. C. M. pounde to be reiſed of
the fifth part of euery mans goodes and landes, that is to ſaie. iiii. S. of
euery pounde, foz he ſaied that the yere folowing, the kyng and the Em-
perour ſhould make ſuche warre in Fraunce, as hath not bene ſene.

Thedemaũde

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhoztyng the Com-
mons to aide their pzince, in tyme of neceſſitie, he departed out of the cõ-
mon houſe. The mozow after, ſir Thomas Moze beyng ſpeker, declared
all the Cardinalles ozacion again to the commons, and enfozced his de-
maund ſtrongly, ſaiyng: that of duetie men ought not to deny to pay. iiii
S. of the pound. But foz all that, it was denied and pzoued manifeſtly, x xx
if the fifth part of ſubſtaunce of the realme, were but. viii. C. M. pounde
and if men ſhould paie to the kyng, the fifth part of their goodes, in mo-
ney oz plate, it was pzoued, that there was not ſo much money out of the
kynges handes, in al the realme, foz the fifth part of euery mans goodes,
is not in money noz plate: Foz although fiue men were well monied, v.
thouſand were not ſo, the gentelman, hath not the fifth part of the value
of coyne: The Marchaunt that is ryche of Sylke, Wolle, Tynne, Clo-
the, and ſuche Marchaundiſe, hath not the fift parte in money, the huſ-
bande man is ryche in coyne and cattel, yet he lacketh of that ſome. Lyke-
wyſe biteilers and all other artificers, be ryche in houſholde ſtuffe, and xl
not in money: And then conſequently, if all the money were bzought to
the kynges handes then men muſt barter clothe foz vitaile, and bzead
foz cheſe, and ſo one thyng foz another: then conſider that after this ba-
luacion, the kyng hath had by the waie of loane. ii. S. of the pound whiche
is foure hundzed. M. pound, & now to haue. iiii. S. of the pound which a-
mounteth

mounteth in the whole. xii. C. M. l. whiche first and last is. vi. s. of the. l. whiche is almost the third part of euery mans good, whiche in coyne can not be had within this realme, for the proofe wherof was alleged, that if there were in Englande, but. xv. M. parishes, and euery parishe should geue a. C. marke, that were but. xv. C. M. marke, whiche is but. x. C. M. l. and how many parishes be in England one with another able to spare a C. markes, out of cities and tounes: and where it is written, that in England there be. xl. M. parishe churches, it was proued that there were not xiii. M. parishe churches at this daie. Then accompt the whole some can
x not amounte aboue. x. C. M. l. and the kyng demaundeth. viii. C. M. and he according to this valuacion, hath had. iiii. C. M. pounde, therfore it was thought, the some was impossible to be leuied, & if all the coyne were in the kynges handes, how should men liue: Also the kyng had of ỹ spiritualt men the last yere. iiii. s. of the pounde.

After long reasonyng there were certain appoynted, to declare the impossibilitie of this demaunde to the Cardinall, whiche according to their commission, declared to hym substancially the pouertie and skarcenes of the Realme: All whiche reasons and demonstracions, he litle regarded, and then thesaied persons, moste mekely beseched his grace, to moue the
xi kynges highnes, to bee content with a more easier some, to the whiche he curtisly aunswered, that he would rather haue his tongue, plucked out of his hedde with a paire of pinsons, then to moue the kyng, to take any lesse some: with whiche aunswere they almoste dismaied, came and made report to the common house, where euery daie was reasonyng, but nothyng concluded.

Wherfore the Cardinall came again to the common house, and desyred to be reasoned withal, to whom it was aunswered, that the fashion of the nether house was, to heare and not to reason, but emong themselfes. Then he shewed the realme to be of great ryches, firste, because the kyn-
xxx ges customes were greater now, then they were before tyme: also he alleged sumpteous buildynges, plate, riche apatel, of men, women, children, and seruauntes, fatte feastes, and delicate dishes, whiche thynges were all tokens of greate aboundaunce: with whiche repetyng of mens substaũce, as though he had repined or disdained, that any man should fare well, or be well clothed, but hymself, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was proued, that honest apparell of the commodities of this Realme, aboundaunce of plate, and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall.

After long debating, the Commons concluded to graunte. ii. s. of the
xl pound, of euery mannes landes or goodes, that was worth. xx. pounde, or might dispende. xx. pound, to be taken for the kyng, and so vpwarde of euery. xx. s. twoo. s. and from. xl. s. to. xx. pounde, of euery. xx. s. xii. d. and vnder. xl. s. of euery hed, xvi yeres and vpwarde. iiii. d. to bee paied in twoo yeres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therwith was sore discontent, and saied, that the lordes had graunted. iiii. s.

of the pound, whiche was proued vntrue, for in dede they had graunted nothyng, but harkened all vpon the commons.

Then a knight called sir Jhon Huse of Lincolneshire, saied, to please the Cardinall somwhat, let vs gentlemen of fiftie pound lande and vpwardes, geue to the kyng of out landes. xii. d. of the pounde, to be paied in thre yere: with whiche motion diuerse gentlemen were sore discontent. And when the question was asked, ten or. xii. of the gentelmen sayed yea, and when the naie should be asked, the commons saied nothyng, for they would not condempne, nor let the gētelmen to charge themselfes, and so by. x. or. xii. persones the gentlemen were burdened, with. xii. d. more then other, for the whiche graunt, sir Jhon Huse had muche euill will.

After this graūt made the. xxi. daie of Maie, because of Whitsontide, the parliament was proroged to the tenth daie of June: Duryng which prorogacion, the common people saied to the Burgesses, Sirs, we heare saie you will graunt. iiii. s. of the pound, we aduise you to do so that you maie go home, with many euill wordes and threatenynges.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his power legātine, dissolued the Conuocacion at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and called hym and all the clergie, to his conuocacio to Westminster, whiche was neuer sene before in England, wherof master Skeltō a mery Poet wrote. *Gentle Paule laie doune thy sweарde: For Peter of westminster hath shauen thy beard.*

When the parliament was begonne again, the landed menne of fiftie pounde and vpward, seyng that they were charged, with. xii. d. of euery pounde of their landes, moued, that all suche as were worth fiftie pound in goodes and vpward, should paie also. xii. d. of the pounde, in the. iiii. yere. At the whiche motion was muche reasonyng, & at the last the. xxvii. daie of June, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was, whether the yea or nay were moste, then was the house deuided, and all the commons seuered themselfes, from the knightes of the sheres, so that one yea part remained onely the knightes of the shire, and the cōmons stifly affirmed that the mocioners of this demaunde, were enemies to the realme. At the last the Speaker called theim all together, and after long perswadyng, and priuie laborying of frendes, it was agreed that. xii. d. of the pounde should be pated the fourth yere, of fiftie pounde in goodes.

After this the parliamēt the. xxi. daie of July, was adiorned to Westminster, and there continued till the. xiii. daie of August, and that daie at ix. of the clocke in the night dissolued. Duryng the tyme of this Parliament the. xxvii. daie of Aprill, was Sir Arthur Plantagenet, bastarde sonne to kyng Edward the fourth, at Bridewell created viscount Lisle, in the right of his wife, wh che was wife to Edmond Dudley behedded.

In this season was true worde brought, that on Christmas daie laste past, the strong toune of the Rhodes was deliuered, to the great Turke called Sultan Soliman, with the whole Iland, to the greate hurt of all Christian nacions: the causes of the losse, was the euill liuyng of the brethren or knightes, and negligēce of prouision for the defence, and the

enuy

enule and treason emong themselfes, as it is written and repoꝛted.

This yere Cristierne kyng of Denmarke with his wife, which was sis-
ster to the Emperour Charles, and his thꝛe childꝛen, with. xvuj. shyppes
arriued in Flaunders, cleane banished out of his realmes and domini-
ons, by his vncle Frederick Duke of Holst, & his awne subiectes, foꝛ his
crueltie as is written. Which Cristierne with his wife was well enter-
tained of the Duches of Sauoy, and a pencion assigned to hym to lyue
on, in Brabant and Hollande. Duryng the tyme of his there soiꝛnyng,
he made muche suite to come into Englande, to see and speake with the
kyng, whiche request was to hym graunted, and so he and his Quene,
with foure gentlewomen, and a trayne of fourty persones, pooꝛe and e-
uill apparelled, landed at Douer the. xv. daie of June, where he was no-
bely receiued, by the erle of Deuonshire, and the byshoppes of Excester, The kyng of Denmarkes commyng ins to Englande.
and Rochester, and diuerse knightes and Esquiers, and so bꝛought to
Grenewyche: where the kyng and the Quene, standyng vnder their clo-
thes of estate, receiued in the greate hall of Grenewyche, kyng Cristierne
and Quene Isabell his wife. And he dined with the kyng, and she with
the Quene, both set vnder the clothe of estate, and were sumpteously ser-
ued, of all dilicate viandes.

And when he had soiouꝛned there a season, euery daie feasted at the
Court, he was conueighed to London, and lodged at Bathe place, where
he hearyng of the watche in London, on sainct Peters euen, desired to se
it, and so was accompaigned with the duke of Suffolk, the erles of Ox-
foꝛd, Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other loꝛdes and ladies, and bꝛought
into the kynges hed in Chepe, where the cytie of London made to hym
and his wife a costly banket. And when he had sene the watche, he saied,
I would to God I had so many Archers, Pikes, and halberders, as I
sawe this night, then I trust I would punishe suche, as haue wꝛongful-
ly dispossessed me, of my realme and countrey. And after he had solaced
hymself in London, he resoꝛted to the kyng, of whom he had many great
giftes, and likewise had his wife of the Quene her aunte, and so tooke
their leaue, and were conueighed to Douer. And when he had bene in
Englande. xxii. daies, he toke shippyng, & sailed again into Flaunders,
pꝛaisyng muche the kyng of Englande and his court.

Duryng all this season, and session of the parliament, the warre was
fierce, bothe betwene Englande and Fraunce, and England and Scot-
lande, in so muche that eche parte, did asmuche as in theim laie, to hurte
the other. Foꝛ on the boꝛders of Scotlande, laie the valiaunt Earle of
Surrey, greate Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Doꝛset, and
his thꝛe bꝛethꝛen, Sir Willyam Compton, and sir Willyam Kyngston,
with diuerse other Knightes and Esquiers, sent to theim by the kyng,
whiche dayly inuaded the realme of Scotlande, and thꝛewe doune the
Castle of Wedoꝛberne, the castle of West Nesgate, the Castle of Blak-
kater, the tower of Wackewalles, the Tower of Est Nesgate, and many
other, and bꝛent to the nomber of. xxxvii. villages, and haried the coun-

trey

trey from the Este Marches to the West, and neuer had skirmische: but they often times shewed themselfes in plumpes, waiting their auantage howbeit in all this iourney, were fewe Englishemen lost. Wherfore the Lordes perceiuing, that the Scottes entended not to make any armie into Englande, fortified the frontiers on euery parte, with men and all thynges necessary for defence, for stealyng or other small rodes. After all whiche thynges set in a perfectnes, they returned toward the kyng, and came to the ende of the parliament.

A ship sonken with stone in Calice hauen.

In this season, the Frenchemen hauyng a greate desier, to haue the kynges toune of Calice, deuised first to destroy the hauen, by the which they supposed, that Calice might haue been lightly gotten, for faulte of reskewe. Whereupon thei laded an old ship of. iiii. C. tonne, with great Cane stone, in the port of Depe, whiche ship had no mast, but came with a foresaile, as though the mast had bene cut, and cast ouer the bord in the sea in a tempest. And when she came before Calice, euery man that sawe her, thought she had bene wether driuen, and lost her mast by tẽpest, and so aboute. x. of the clocke at night the. xxiii. date of May, thesaied shippe came before Calice hauen, as though she would entre for harborow, and so was enteryng and missed the chanell, & turned to the sandes, towarde Rise banke, and the Frenchemen supposing, that they had bene in the very chanell, launched out their boate, and sodainly set the shippe on fire, and lepte into their boate, and so skaped by the shore. When thei of Calice sawe the fire, they were sore troubled, and at the last when the water was gone, they perceiued the ship consumed, and the goodly Cane stone lyng whole.

Wherfore the lorde Barnes deputie of Calice, the lorde Barkley leuetenaunt of the castle, the lorde Sandes threasorer of Calice, and other commaunded all the labourers that might be gotten, to breake the remnaunt of the ship, and to cary away the stone, and so thesaied stone was brought to Calice: wherupon thesaied Capitaines sent a letter, to the capitayn of Bulleine, by Calice pursiuant at armes, desiryng hym to geue thankes, to Monsire Lodowyke capitayn of Depe, for the sendyng of so fayre a ship, and goodly stone to Calice, whiche stone thesaied lordes sent worde, they had receiued into the toune of Calice, and that it did the muche profite, for the fortificacion of thesaied Toune, desyryng hym to sende more, and they would receiue it on thesame price. To the whiche letter, the capitain of Bulleine aunswered, I haue nothyng lost, nor they haue nothyng gotten of me, tell hym that hath lost, with whiche aunswer the pursiuant departed. Wherupon thenglishemen beyng greued, there issued out of Calice an hundred light men of warre, called auenturers, & al came nere Bulleine, and obteined a greate botte, wherof the garrison of Bulleyn being aduertysed, issued out and folowed the Englishemen, and sharpely them encountered. The Englyshemen shot so, that the Frenchmen whiche were fiue hundred, lighted and fought sore, so that as it appered euidently, that there were dedde on the ground. xlvi. Frenchemen,

and

and.xxii.Englishemen,and the Frenchemen toke.xx.Englishemen pzisoners, the residue of the Englishemen kept them together, and so came to Calice,the capitain of this enterpzise was one Lathebery.

The lozde Sandes thzesozer of Calice, entendyng to be reuenged on the Frenchemen, called the counsaill of Calice to hym, and declared to them how that the Frenchemen, and in especiall Monsire de Becs capitain of Bullein,daily imagened to destroye the Englishe pale, and that they on the Englishe part,had nothyng done yet against them: wherfoze he aduised them all to do some act,and he hymself would be pzesent, and
x foꝛmoste man,and their leder and capitain. Whereupon it was concluded and commaunded, that euery man should bee in a readines, at the soundyng of a trompet,vpon whiche warnyng,thesaied lozdes Sandes the.ix.daie of July early in the moznyng, sent furth twoo hundzed lyght hozses,thzough the Englishe pale,to stoppe the people from goyng, the one towarde the other, least his enterpzyse should be askried, and so the people were kept in all that daie, and in the euenyng aboute seuen of the clocke,he hymself with a capitain called Gutot, Thomas Palmer,Ripton,Raufe Bzoke and other, set fozward with light ozdinaunce and bitaile, and embattailed themselfes in good arraie, and marched towarde
xi Sandifelde by a.xi.of the clocke, and there refreshed themselfes, and in good ozdze,thei came to the water of Sclaukes,not farre from Bullein, whiche was the tenth daie of July.

When they were askried Alarme, was tong all the countrey, and the capitain of Bullein sent furth.lxx.menne of Armes, and foure hundzed footemen with mozice pikes,crosebowes, and hande gunnes, whereto capitain Guyot was sent with hys bend of hozsemen,to aide thenglyshe footemen, whiche were farre behynde, and Capitain Ripton, was appointed to fyght with the Frenchemen,and Sir Thomas Palmer, and Raufe Bzoke,with the remnaunt of the hozsemen stode foz a stale.Then
xii capitain Ripton pzofered fozwarde with the Speres of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on valiauntly,then began a soze skirmishe, the Frēchemen bothe hozsemen and footemen, defended the passage at the water of Sclaukes, whiche is but a gut made by foze of lande water, but after long fyght,the Englyshemen gat ouer the water by pure foze, and toke the Frenchemens standerd, and a gentelman,whiche was a man of Armes of Bullein,called Charles de Maruiell,and euer sir Thomas Palmer and Raufe Bzoke, stode & aided where necessitie was moste. Thus this skirmishe continued, from foure of the Clocke in the mozning, tyll
xi.of the clocke,befoze None,and euer the Frenchemen encreased, but at
xi the last they retreited themselfes toward Bullein, in whiche returne diuerse of thē were slain. Dz the skirmishe was ended, came the lozd Sandes with the fotemen, with his spere on his thigh, and his helme on hys hed,and greatly encouzaged his compaignie: duryng whiche conflict,diuerse of Picardy had gathered them together,and had taken the church of Odirsaell,whiche was well fozteried,and a strong place: whereof the

Lorde Sandes beyng aduertised, he marched thetherward, and in the waie burned all that might be brent, and sent an officer of Armes, to the that kept the churche of Odirsaell, to yeld the churche to hym, whych to hym aunswered, that they would stande at defence: then he commaunded an assault, which quickly was done, and the Frenchemen defended themselfes, with hand gonnes, crosebowes, and pikes, so that the Englishmen could not entre. Then the lorde Sandes commaunded a curtall, whiche he had with hym, to be shotte to the churche, and perced it through: Then they within sawe that their defence could not hold, yelded theselfes body and goodes. Out of the Churche came. lxxii. Frenchemen, whiche were taken as prisoners, and all the goodes whiche they had caried into the churche were taken for a botie. Thus by one of the clocke, the.xi. daie of July, was the churche of Odirsaell taken.

In this while also, had the Frenchemen manned the steple of Odyngham, whiche was a very strong tower, muche like a castle, to whome the lorde Sandes sent an officer of armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortresse, to whom they aunswered, that they were Frenchemen, and to hym they would none yeld, and if he came tyether, they would withstand hym: wherupon he and his armie marched thether ward, & about foure of the clocke at after none, he assaulted the steple, and the Frenchemen the themselfes valiauntly defended, but sodainly by a chaunce vnknowen, the steple was a fire, and the Frenchemen fled doune to the quire, then the Englishemen lightly entered the body of the churche, & assaulted the Frenchemen, whiche cried mercie and yelded theimselfes, and at twelue of the clocke at midnight the assault ended, and there were yelded out of the churche fortie prisoners.

After whiche tyme the Lorde Sandes encamped hymselfe, and made good watche for feare of enemies, & in the mornyng called to hym all the prestes, whiche were in bothe the churches, and stode at defence, and said to them that they ought not to be men of warre, and notwithstanding he had theim as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he released the, admonishyng the, that if euer after they wer taken at defence, they should be hanged on the next galowes: after whiche motion done, he deliuered them frely.

About. viii. of the clocke in the morning, he marched forward in good ordre of battaill, and came to the Castle of Hardyngham, the whiche he brent and spoyled, and so the. xi. daie of July, he and his cõpaignie whiche passed not. xii. C. men, of whiche he had lost but onely. xii. returned to Calice with greate store of bestiall ond pillage.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of. xviii. M. men, towardes the parties of Flaunders, whiche secretly enterprysed ta take yl a place called Newdike, whiche is a strong passage, betwene Fraunce and Flaunders, kept by the Flemynges, wherof they beyng aduertised, arreised a greate power of. xiii. M. and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchemen. vi. C. then the Frenche men reculed, and seuered theimselfes: some went to Mount Ozry, and some to sainct Omers and some

brent

brent the subbarbes, they within Mount Dzry defended themselfes, and hurte the capitain of Bulleine, called Monsire de Bees, & slew his hozse: wherfoze the Frenchmen went thence, and brent a billage called Arkus: thus was all the frountiers full of Frenchemen, in somuche that in the monethe of Auguste, they bette into the toune of Guisnes, the scouters & the scoute watche, whereof began Alarme, and the Frenchemen whiche were many in nõbze, a lighted as though they would geue assaut maintenant, and fiersly pzoffered toward the diche, but when the ozdinaunce began once to shote, it was no nede to bid theim go. Then the Englishemen cozagiously folowed the chace, but sodainly out came an embushement of Frenchemen, and toke twoo Englishemen, and thus all the armie of Fraunce, remoued to Gyngate beside Tyzwyn.

The Frenche kyng seing the kyng of England, daily moze and moze encozaged to make warre on him and his dominiõs, and that the Scottes did nothyng to his pleasure, foz lacke of the Duke Jhon of Albany, whom the Scottes called their gouernoz. He therfoze caused great pzeparaciõ to be made, on all parties foz men, shippes, harnes, and artilery, foz the sendyng of the duke Jhon of Albany into Scotlande, which duke of a greate pzesumpcion pzomised to the Frenche kyng, to dziue the
xx kyng of Englande out of his realme, whiche pzomise was not kept.

The kyng of Englande, hearyng that the Duke of Albany, should passe into Englande, to make warre on his realme thought to haue hym met on the seas, and therfoze he pzepared, a flete of tal and stroõg shippes mete to encounter with thesaied Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that iourney, sir Willyam Fitzwilliam, and with hym sir Fraunces Bzian, sir Anthony Pounez, Seriant Rot, Jhon Hopton, Willyam Gonstone, Anthony Kniuet, Thomas West & other, whiche with greate diligence, laie in waite to mete with thesaid duke of Albany, and as they sailed on the Frenche coast, they determined to lande, to doo some harme
xxx to Trey Pozt, and as they houered there, thei were espied: then the capitain of the toune fired the beakes, sent foz aide of al the fozteresses about and strengthed and manned the toune very warlike. This notwithstandyng, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam and other capitaines, left not their enterpzice, and so the.xxiii. date of August beyng Sondaye, at seuen of the clocke in the mozning, they toke lande in the hauen of Treypozt, at whõ the Frenchemen shot out ozdinaunce, quarelles and stones, the Englysh men in the botes shot likewise, and encozaged by their capitaines, assauted the Frenchemen in their bulwerkes, the Frenchemen then valiauntly defended, and thenglische capitaines as men without fere, theim assailed
xl and yet the nomber was nothyng egall, foz the Englishemen were but vii.C. men, & the Frenchemen.vi.M. Foz the well fightyng of the Frẽchmen, their bulwerkes were taken, and their ozdinaunce sezed, and all that were about, fled to the toune of Treipozt, and euer thenglishmẽ folowed shotyng arowes at them, and sleyng them, in whiche skirmische Seriant Rotte had his bowe in his hande striken with a Gonne, Then the captaines

taines cried sainct George, to the gates of Treyppoyt, then euery man auaunced forward, and as they were goyng, Cristopher Moyres maister Gonner, espied a pece of a Waste, whiche he caused to bee taken vp, and then Anthony Kneuet, and Fraunces Neudigate with their men, ranne with thesaied maste to the gate, but the gate was so strong, that it could not be broken: and also at euery loupe laie a pece of ordinaunce, whiche continually shot at the Englishemen, whiche caused theim to leaue the gate, and then they sette fyre in the subbarbes, whiche was a fayre strete, and all was brent, and while the subbarbes brent, the Englishmen went to the hauen, and would haue had out the shippes, but water lacked, x wherfore they set fyre on theim, and brent there seuen faire shyppes beside other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the gates, and muche murder on bothe sides, for the Frenchemen in flyng from their bulwerkes to the toune, lost. lxxx. persones, and many were hurte with arrowes. The men of the countrey came thether stil, in somuche as the nomber became very great, whiche sir Willyam Fitz Willyam perceiuing, caused his trompet to blowe a retrete, and with suche prysoners, pillage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten, they returned to their boates, and the capitaines sent their souldiers before, the Frenchemen perceiuing the Englishemen returned, issued out and founde on lande, Fraunces Neudigate, xx Thomas Wagham, Seriant Rotte, and other Capitaines to the nomber of twelue, and ran hastely toward theim in great nomber, which perceiuing that, bended themselfes to sell their liues dere: sir Willyam Fitz William perceiuing the great ieoperdy that they were in, turned hys boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, and with muche paine saued these gentelmen, and theim toke into boates, not withstanding a great nomber of Frenchemen, which were in the water to let him: and thus the whole armie returned to their shippes, after they had bene v. houres on land, and brought with them. xxbii. peces of faire ordinaũce, whiche were in the bulwarkes, and lost of their men not fully. xx. per- xxx sones, and then euery capitaine toke his awne ship, and coasted the seas, euer lokyng for the duke of Albany, but hard no tidynges of hym.

Iorney of the duke of Suffolke.

In the Parliamẽt (as you haue hard) it was cõcluded, that the kyng of necessitie, muste nedes make strong warre on the realme of Fraunce, wherfore the noble Charles duke of Suffolke, was appoynted as Capitain generall, to passe with an armie royall into Fraunce, in the ende of August, whiche with all diligence, prepared all thynges necessary, for suche a royal enterpryce, and for the furniture of this armie, there were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on hym, the Lorde Montacute, and syr Arthur Pole his brother, the lorde Herbert sonne to the erle of Wor- xl cester, the lorde Ferreis, the lorde Marney, the lorde Sandes, the lorde Barkeley, the lorde Powes, and Baron Curson, and of knightes, sir Richarde Wyngfelde, Chauncellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, Sir Jhon Veer, sir Edward Neuell, sir Willyam Kyngston, syr Richard Weston, sir Andrew Wynsore, sir Robert Wyngfeld, sir Anthony Wyngfeld, sir

Edward

Edward Guyldforde, sir Edward Gryuell, sir Edward Chamberlein, sir Thomas Luce, syr Euerard Dighby, syr Adrian Foscew, syr Willyam Skeuington master of the ordinaūce, sir Thomas Cheiney, sir Richard Cornwell, syr Willaim Cortney, sir Willyam Sidney, sir Henry Owen al these lordes and knightes, with many other knightes and corageous Esquiers, & actiue gentlemen, came accordyng to the kynges commaundemēt at last, with all their people and retinue to Douer, wher thei mustered at seuerall times, as thei passed to the sea, and so the nombre takē, that is to saie, of dimy Lances .vi. C. of archers on horsebacke twoo. C. x of Archers on foote three. M. of bill men fiue. M. of pioners and labo- rers .ii. M. vi. C. and when the viewe was taken on the other side of the sea, there were adioyned to this nomber. xvii. C. whiche might be spared out of the fortresses, and crewes of Hams, Guysnes, and Calice, so that al the army wer. xiii. M. and an. C. well harnesed, and appareled for the warre, the pioners onely excepte: but the duke himself arriued at Calice the. xxiiii. of August, with his retinue and counsaill, abiding the armye, and caused all thynges, as vitaill and other, to be prepared for the same.

Muche commonyng was in Englande, whether this army should go because that no man, except a fewe, knew the secretnes: some said to Bul xx lein, some to Paris, and so euery man iudged, accordyng to his awne opinion, as the common vse is.

In this season, because the mortalitie was greate in Calice, the duke of suffolk caused his armie to be lodged in tentes and pauilions, vpon the faire grene beside sainct Peters Churche, for their more healthe, and he accompaigned with diuerse noble men, the. viii. daye of September rode to Graueling, & thether came to hym Cristerne kyng of Denmark and the lorde Isilsten, capitain generall of Flaunders, whiche amiably entertcigned thesaied duke, and after they had secretly commoned of diuerse matters, concernyng diuerse armies to inuade Fraunce, in sondry xx places, the duke toke leaue of the kyng and other, and came to Calice.

Arriot at Calyce.

While the armie laie without Calice, they daily came into the toune, and so it happened that a symple felow cut a purse, as he made to bie apples, whiche incontinent was taken, and brought to the Maiors house to ward whiche thyng diuers Welshemen perceiuyng, and not knowe- yng what apperteigned to Justice, ranne in greate compaignies to the Maiors house, and would haue broken the house, the Officers of the toune entreated, and Welshemen more and more approched, the nom- bre of the Welshemen were so greate, that the watche of Calice strake Alarme. Then the Lorde deputie and the Lorde Sandes, did all that in xl theim laye, to bryng theim to conformitie, but thei wer so rude that thei nothyng them regarded, the prestes brought furthe the blessed Sacra- ment, whiche also was not regarded, Wherfore the Lorde Ferreis was straightly commaunded to appese their rage, for with him thei came the ther, whiche with greate pain and entreatie theim appesed: and then all the Welshemen were commaunded to the felde, and to depart the toune

The Sacra- ment.

and

& so wer all other capitaines, & after diuerse of ỹ hed rioters wer apꝛehẽ-
ded & soꝛe punished foꝛ exãple. And when al thynges necessary were pꝛe-
pared, the duke issued out of Calice & toke the feld, & oꝛdeined his Mar-
shall, & capitain of the vantgard the loꝛd Sandes, capitain of his right
wyng sir William Kyngston, and capitain of his lefte wing, sir Guerard
Dighby, sir Edward Guyldfoꝛd Marshal of Calice, was capitain of all
the hoꝛsmẽ, sir Richard Wingfeld, capitain of the rereward: then ỹ duke
with all his army, as capitain of the middle ward, with stãderdes, baners
and penons, displaied, marched foꝛward in good oꝛdꝛe of battail & came
to a place called Kalkewel, and there lodged the.xix. day of September. &
In whiche place diuerse souldiers, of Cariers and vp lande men, whiche
were vnmete to the warre, (foꝛ euery thyng to theim was pain) fell sycke
and diseased, wheꝛfoꝛe the duke gaue them leaue by paspoꝛt to returne.

And on the.xxii. day of September, he toke vp his campe and came to
Hamswell, and there pitched his fielde, he thus lyng in abode foꝛ the ar-
mie of Flaũders, which pꝛomised to ioyne with hym, which as then were
not come to. S. Omers. He entending not to lye still idely, sent Claren-
seux kyng of armes, to somon the castle called Bel castle, to yelde to him,
oꝛ els he would destroie it with fire and swoꝛde, the officer of armes dyd
his message accoꝛdingly, to whom the capitain answered, that he would
deliuer no castle to the duke, and if the duke came thether, he should no-
thyng get, foꝛ he said he was sure of suche rescues, that should not be to
the dukes auantage: whiche with this answer returned toward the duke
and in the way he met the loꝛde Sandes, & the loꝛd Ferreis, in array of
battail, with.v.C. hoꝛsmen, & .i.M. fotemen, to whom he rehersed the an-
swer, then said ỹ loꝛdes we must cõpell him, if otherwise he wil not. Then
the maister of thoꝛdinance was cõmaunded to pꝛepare foꝛ a batrie, which
was done, & thether came.v.c. hoꝛsemen of Burgonions, & .v.C. fotemen,
then thoꝛdinance with great difficultie was bꝛought nere the castle, & all
though it wer night the gonnes cesed not & bet the place soꝛe, they within
defended the best that they might, & when the day begã to spꝛing, the loꝛ-
des caused to blow to thassault, which hearyng the capitain of the castle
said to his cõpanions, ỹ they were not able to abide thassault, & that their
succoꝛs failed them, wheꝛfoꝛe of necessitie they muste delyuer the castle,
wherto they agreed, and so he yelded the castle, his lyfe onely saued, and
all other at the mercie of the duke, whiche pardoned theim, and toke thẽ
as pꝛisoners, and deliuered the castle to sir Willyam Skeuyngtõ, whi-
che was shoꝛtly rased doune to the ground, the.xxvii. day of September.

Mondaie beyng the.xxviii. day of September, there was a pꝛoclama-
cion made in tharmy, how that Fraunces duke of Burbon, & Constable
of Fraunce, was become frend to the kyng of Englande, & enemy to the
Frẽche kyng, & was swoꝛne to the kyng of England, & had in his wages
foꝛ the kyng of England.x.M. Almaines to inuade Fraũce, oꝛ to let the
Frenche kynges purposes, & foꝛ this intent to him was sent money in no
litle some, but the common people said, that neuer was Frencheman true
to England, howbeit he was true as long as he liued.

To make this proclamacion more apparunt, you must vnderstande that in this season the Frenche kyng was ruled by his mother the Cõtesse of Angulesme and the Admyrall of Fraunce called lorde Bonyuet, whiche as was reported and sayd, loued the sayd lady as his paramor: of whiche all the court of Fraunce spake muche, These two persones so ruled the kyng, that what they sayd was done, and no iudgement nor sẽtence passed in the Parliament at Parys without their assent, so that nothing was done without them, at whiche thing the nobles of Fraũce sore disdained and especially the lorde Fraunces duke of Burbon and
x Constable of Fraunce whiche hauing a suite for therledome of Montpelyer could not be heard speake nor his counsail neither. At the last he beyng sore displeased with this vnkynd and vntust handlyng, came to the French kyng besechyng hym of iustice & fauor, whiche flateryng hym sayd, that al that was in his power to do he would gladly accomplish, & other answer had he none, & to encreace his grudge & more, the Frenche kynges mother made a title to the whole Duchy of Burbon & Auerne, and the Admyrall & she so entised the kyng that he sayd openly that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as poore as the meanest gentleman in Fraunce, whiche wordes reported to hym caused hym to
xx hate mortally the Frenche kyng and his mother, and so in displeasure departed into his owne countrey. The kyng of England beyng hereof aduertised, sent to the Duke of Burbon a knight of his Chamber called sir Jhon Russell a man well languaged, whiche wisely and couertly so behaued hymself, that he came to the duke to Molyns and knew all his entent how he would forsake his kyng, and serue the kyng of Englãd & the Emperor agaynst the Frenche kyng, and therupon tooke his othe. The Frenche kyng not mistrustyng the allegiance of the duke of Burbon sent to the Duke to prepare hym to go into Italye, for he had prepared a great army to passe the mountaines agaynst the duke of Mylxxx laine, in which army he had. vi. M. men of armes, and. xv. M. fotemen The duke hearyng hereof fained himselfe sicke, and the Frenche kyng passyng by Molyns visited & cõforted him: to whõ the duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his power, and caused an horselitter to be caried emptie, iii. dayes amongest a certayn of his souldiers as though he were there, but he himselfe fled secretly into the Countye of Burgoyne pertainyng to the Emperor, where he retained. x. M. Almaines to inuade Fraunce assone as the Frenche kyng was passed the mountaines.

When the Frenche kyng heard of this, he sent the Admyrall into Ixi taly with his army, & sent his great Master to seaze al the dukes lãdes. Of all these doynges sir Jhon Russell brought true worde, for he was present with the Duke, and also sawe the Frenche armye, and returned vnespied, wherfore he deserued & had of the kyng and his coũsaill great thankes. Whereupon the kyng caused the proclamacion to be made in the army, that they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should

not trouble them. For what with the warres of Italy and for the duke of Burbons power thei might do what they lust and be vnfought with-al which so proued after. Whiche tidynges muche encoraged thenglishe souldiers.

After this proclacion, there wer tidynges brought to the army for a truethe, that one Hierome Vicount, a great familiar frēde with the duke of Myllayne entised by the the French kyng, had almost slaine Fraūces duke of Myllain with a dagger behynd at his backe, with the whiche doyng the Frenche kyng aboue all persones fained himselfe to be moste displeased. The morowe beyng the.xxix. daye of September the duke with his whole armi remoued to Arde and there lodged, and the last dai of September he remoued to a village called Alrke, and from thence the first day of October he came to a village betwen Tyrwin and saint Omers called Esqwerdes or Cordes, wher the duke lay and encamped himselfe abidyng his enemies.

Nowe must I returne to tell you what was done bewene Englande and Scotland this same season. Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was thus inuadyng the realme of Fraunce. The Scottes thinkyng the war turned into Fraunce, and that nothyng should be attempted against them, began to robbe and spoyle on the Marches of England, whereof the kyng hearyng sent againe thither the valiant erle of Surray treasorer and Admyrall of England, whiche in all hast sped hym to the west Marches and sent for an army of.vi.M. men, & with banner displayed entred by the dry Marches betyng doune castles & fortresses on euery side. And although the Scottes be men of high corage, yet they seyng the wise conduict of the noble erle of Surray and his chosen company, durst not onis encounter with him, and so he passed quietly through the dales, tyll he came to the strong toune of Jedworthe, in whiche lay a great garrison of Scottishmen whiche did al the hurt they could to the Englishmen, and hardely in great nomber skyrmished with thenglishemen, so that on both partes diuers wer slaine, but in the ende the Abbay, Castle, and toune of Jedworth were brent and all rased a sonder in the open sight of the Scottes. And after this he would not returne but encamped hymself in the Scottishe ground abidyng battil, and lay there from the.xvii. day of September to the.xxv. day. Duryng whiche tyme he sent the lorde Daker of Gylderland to a strong hold of Doncar called Fernhurst, the whiche castle stode very euill to come to, for the wayes wer hylly, stony, and full of marishes, and the Scottes had bent their ordinaunce that way: yet for all that the Englishemen so fiersly set on that they gat the castle, notwithandyng that the Scottes fought valiauntly, and many of theim were taken, as Dan Car the lorde, the lorde of Gradon and diuers other whiche was there taken, and so the lorde Daker returned with his prisoners, and then he was ordained to kepe the watche that night whiche set his watches & his wardes surely. In the night sodainly. CCC. good geldynges brake out of a pasture,

whiche

whiche were in custodie of the sayd lord Dacres campe,and as beastes wodde and sauage ranne enraged, and notwithstandyng that men dyd asmuche as they might to stoppe them,yet they ranne as thought they were in array of batayll,whereof the noyse in the night was so great, that the armye souned alarme,the hoyse styll in array ranne to the cãpe where the erle lay and bare doune many persones in their waye, and so sodaunly ranne away whether it was vnknowen:the lorde Dacres men sayd that the deuil was sene amongest them:and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

x When the Erle of Surray departed from the borders in August as you haue heard heretofore: The Scottes wrote to the duke of Albany of all their affaires, whiche was commyng into Scotland. But when he heard that the Nauy of England lay in wayte to fight with him, he durst not auenture,but sate styll: And when he heard there was no capitaines of name on the borders of England toward Scotland, he deuised by policie that all his shippes should be remoued to the hauen of Brest,and sayd himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would not saile into Scotlãd that yere. So tãne the boyce al the coastes of Normandy and Britayne,and so passed tyll the ende of September.

xi The kyng of England was enformed by suche as knew none other, that the Duke of Albany had broken his iorney, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherfore the kyng of England in the middest of September caused his shippes to be layde vp in his hauẽ tyl the next spryng: The duke of Albany beyng therof aduertised boldy then tooke his shippes and shipped his people,and with.lxxii.sayle in sight passed by the West partes of England and coasted Wales, & so with great labor landed at Kyrcowbre in the West parte of Scotland with all his people the.xxi.day of Septẽber whiche were in nomber.iii.M. or there about,and with him was the traytor Richard Delapole.

xii When it was knowen in Scotland that the lorde Gouernor was landed,muche gladnes there was amongest the people. Then the duke was highly receyued and his people wel cherished,and then beganne a Parliament. The kyng of England hearyng that the duke of Albany was landed in Scotlande and was vnfought withall, was not a litle displeased, and suspected that suche as enformed hym that the Duke would not passe that yere,had deceyued him,but there was no remedye: Wherfore he made prouisions and put all thynges in a readynes,yf he would attempt any thyng agaynst hym and his realme.

xiii The Duke of Albany Gouernor of Scotland beyng in the Parliament of the realme,with great eloquence declared to them the loue and fauor that Frãces the Frenche kyng bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch that he beyng aduertised of the great murders, slaughters & burnynges done by the Englishemen, thought that he suffred no lesse hurt and damage then they did,accomptyng him self one of their membres,and them likewise the membres of him and his realme,and for the reuenging of thesame,he to be partener as their member, & for the more

credite he shewed the Frenche kynges fauorable letter, affirmyng his declaracion. When the letters wer red there start vp a Baron of Scotland called the lorde Forbos, whiche sayd: the realme of Scotland for the loue of Fraunce suffereth great paine as daily doth appere, for our nobles be slayn or taken, our comunalte murdered, our lãdes ouertũne, our houses & forteresses brent & rased, the profites of our owne lãdes we lese: which misschief we nede not to haue had, but for the loue of Fraũce, & what helpeth Fraunce? A farre frend is not sone fet: A mightie neighbor may be a cruel enemy. I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbyd sayd the duke of Albany that Scotland euer should seke a new frende or prefer their amitie, to the destroyers of their coũtrey and nation, but you my lordes of Scotlãd are sufficient of your selfe to maintain your lãdes, libertie, & fredome against your comon enemyes thenglischemen. And therfore now let vs together reuenge the hurtes done to vs & our countrey: And I on myne honor shal go with you, and therfore I haue brought with me bothe treasure, men, and artillerie into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so do that all Christendome shall speake of our noble cõquest. To the dukes request all the court of Parliamẽt agreed and then wer commissions sent through Scotland & crves made that al xx men shuld assemble at Doglas dale with vitaile for .xxviii. daies. The Scotes in al hast prepared, so that the lordes wer come to the place appointed the .xxviii. day of October, with vitaile, gunnes, & all other artillerie, and so came by easy iorneys to the ryuer of Twede on a ground beside Hume castle, & from thence came to Cawdestrene & there lodged.

All this doyng the kyng of England knewe well, wherfore with all diligẽce he caused to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trẽt wherof there were .xii. M. berying cotes of armes with their power and strength, whiche all wer cõmaunded to resort to the erle of Surray with spede. The noble Marques Dorset Thomas was appoynted to xxx kepe Berwicke with .vi. M. mẽ, lest the Scottes therto would lay siege.

The duke of Albany whiche lay on the frontiers hearing of the Erle of Surreyes preparyng, sent to him an Herauld promisyng him of hys honor to geue him battaill, and yf he tooke him in battail he would put him to curteous raunsome & his body to be safe: To whom the erle answered, that muche he thanked the duke of his offer, and that he would abide battail, promising him that he would geue him battail if he durst abide: & yf that the sayd duke were taken prisoner by hym or his menne he would strike af his head & send it to the kyng of England his Master, and bad that he should trust to none other, at whiche answere the xl duke of Albany and the Scottes toke great dispite.

The erle of Surray beyng at Alnwyke, to him came therles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lorde Clyfford, the lorde Dacres, the lorde Lumley, the lorde Ogle, the lorde Darcy, and many noble knightes, Squiers and yomen, to the nomber of .xl. M. And from the kynges court was sent to be at the batail sir Nicholas Carew Master

of

of the horse, sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Edwarde Baynton and diuers o-
ther. All this armye laye on the borders abidyng the Scottes cõmyng
into Englande, whiche lay styll in Scotland and did nothyng till the
last day of October beyng Saterday. The night before the Scottes
had sent ouer the water into England.iii.or.iiii.M.men, to lay siege to
a lytle castle called the Castle of Warke, whiche stãdeth nere the borders
the great ordinaũce of Scotland sore bet the castle, and Dan Car and
the Frenchemen whiche came out of Fraunce with the duke of Albany
gaue to the castle a strong assaut: within the castle was sir Williã Lyle
x with a.C.persones, but the Scottes were so many in nomber, that they
got the vttermoste warde called the Barnkyns where the beastes and
barnes were, whiche seyng, the capitaine sent in all hast to the Erle of
Surrey aduertisyng him of their distres, whiche in all hast assembled
his capitaines to reskue the castle, therby hopyng that Duke Jhon of
Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scottes lay
styll about the castle cõtinually shotyng ordinaunce Sonday & Mon-
day the fyrst and second day of Nouembet, and then the Scottes thin-
kyng the place assautable, coragiously set on the castle and by strength
entred the secõd warde. Sir Willyã Lyle perceiuyng that the Scottes
had gotten the false brayes and that nothyng remained but only the in-
ner warde or dõgeon, sayd to his company, sirs for our honor & mãhod
let vs issue and fight with the proude Scottes and stately Frenchmen,
for more shall our honor be to dye in fight, then to be murthered with
gunnes, to the whiche his company that were left agreed: for of his.C.
men he had lost almost.xl.at the other assautes. Then they issued out
boldly and shot coragiously as men that shot for a bauntage, and with
shotyng and fightyng they draue their enemies clene out of the place &
slew of them and chiefly of the Frenchmen.CCC.whiche lay there dead
in sight when the Erle came thither, beside suche as dyed of woundes &
xxx were drouned. Then the Scottes remoued their ordinaunce, in great
hast ouer the water, & by that tyme was the Erle of Surrey come with
v.M.men on horsbacke & all his great army folowed & was very sory
that his enemies were gone, & muche praysed sir Willyam Lyle for his
valiauntnes.

When the Duke of albany & the lordes of Scotland knew that the
erle of Surrey approched with his puissant army, they thought it not
conuenient to ieoparde all the nobilitie of Scotlande in one felde, con-
sideryng their chaunce.x.yeres before, and therfore they cõcluded to re-
turne, and so on the sayd secõd day of Nouember in the night the duke
xl with all his armye retreated more for his suertie then honor.

The horsemen of Scotland kept the fordes that no mã should passe
to greue the fotemen as they returned, and when all the baggages wer
gone they cast them selfes in a plumpe and returned.

When the day appeared, then the Englishmen might plainly see the
Scottes how they fled fiftie mennes thickenes, many a lusty English-

man would faine haue folowed them on horsbacke, and so would therle of Surray with all his heart, but his cõmission was only to defend the realme and not to inuade Scotland, whiche thing hym sore displeased. Thus brake vp the great army of Scotland to the great rebuke of the duke of Albany & the nobles of Scotland whiche.u.yere together had made bragges & assembles and durst not abide battaile. The Scottes made much braggs that they had beaten doune the walles of Warke castle, but they spake nothyng of their men that they left there, nor how cowardly they returned & would not abide. After this returne quene Margaret of Scotland & mother to the yong kyng, sent to her brother x the kyng of England for an abstinence of warre to be takẽ betwene the realme of England and Scotland, to thentent that some way might be taken, that an amitie might be had betwene them: whiche request to her was graunted, and so the great armye of England was dissolued and the Erle of Surrey returned to the coast.

Apresent sent by the Emperor to ỹ kyng

In this season the Emperor Charles sent to the kyng of Englãd.ii. xx Mules trapped in crimosyn veluet curiously enbrodered, al ỹ buckles, stiroppes & all suche other garnishynges were siluer & gilt of meruatlous cõnyng worke. He sent also.xi. Genettes ful goodly to behold trapped with russet veluet richely wrought, and.iiii.speres, & .ii. Iauelynes xx of straunge tymber & worke richely garnished, and.v.brace of greyhoũdes: and to the quene he sent two Mules with riche trappers and high chayers after the Spanishe fashion, all these presentes wer thankefully receiued both of the kyng and quene.

Now let vs returne to the Duke of Suffolke whiche lay at Corbes or Esquerdes the.xx.day of September & thither came to him ỹ army of Flaunders, wherof was capitaine the lorde of Isilsteyne whiche had with him of Spaniardes, Almaines, Cleues and other.iii.M. fotemen and.v.C. horsemen well appareled for the warres in all pointes.

The duke of Suffolke beyng thus furnished passed forward in wete xxx wether makyng bridges & wayes, euer lokyng for battel, & on the.xvii. day of October he sent the lorde Sandes Marshall of his armye, and with him.iii.M. men to a good toune called Anker whiche accompanied with diuers knightes and gentlemen in good order of battail marched towarde the toune. The Frenchemen perceiuyng the Englishmen cõmyng toward their toune, fled out as fast as they might, and left the toune desolate: then entred the Englishmen and had there a great botie and toke the castle called Bone gard and therin put a garrison of Englishemen, whereof was capitaine the lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorset to conduict vitailers to the armye, whiche nowe xl was farre from any succours of the Englishe part. In this toune was an abby of Monkes whiche receiued humbly the lordes and nobles of England whiche to theim did no hurt nor dammage, and then they returned to the duke.

After this, the.xix.daye, the Duke with his armye passed to a village

called

called Quede:and there, after long coũsaillyng it was determined that the whole army shoulde passe to a strong toune and wel fortefied called Bray, whiche toune was well ordinaunced and had in it.xvi.C.men of warre, the capitaine therof was called Adrian, and for succours to the toune were come Mounsire Pontdormy, the Vicount Larnerdain, the Vicount Turraine, Moũsire Applyngcort, & Mounsire Dãpney, with v.C.horsemen, so that in the toune beside the inhabitauntes were.ii.M. good men. This toune standeth on the riuer of Some.xxiiii.Englishe myle from Arras, and.xiiii.myles aboue Ampas: This toune was well
x diched and strengthned on euery syde.

The.xx.day of this moneth the Duke cõmaunded al his great ordinaũce to be brought by.iiii.of the clock in the morning before the toune of Bray, they that had the charge therof so manfully acquited thẽ that notwithstãding al the damage that their enemies could do, brought the ordinaunce before the toune at the houre appointed. Thẽ eche part shotdredfully at other, but the Englishe gũners shot so well, that the walles of the toune were beaten doune & raised with the ordinaunce, insomuche that by.ix.of the clocke the toune was made assautable. Then the duke caused to blow to thassaut. Then the Englishmẽ & Flemynges & Bur-
xx gontons lept furth quickely, and notwithstandyng that the diches wer depe, yet they so corageiously entered by the good comfort of the lorde Sãdes & other noble men that they gat the diches. The Frenchemẽ perceiuyng that the toune should be gotten, hastely made traynes of gunpouder from strete to strete and house to house, saiyng that the Englishmen after their entry into the toune would fal to pillage, & thẽ sodainly sodain fyer should destroy them. This was the prouision of the Frẽchmen: by this tyme the Englishmen wer enteryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stode yet at defence with pikes, crosbowes, handgunnes, & halbardes, but they were to weke, for on all partes entred thenglishmen
xxx and sodainly the Frenchmen fledde and the Englishemen folowed and killed and slew in euery part.

Nowe you must vnderstand that this toune of Bray standeth on the riuer of Some whiche is there diuided in diuers braunches & betwene euery braũche is a marishe groũd, where on the farside of the toune was fortefied a Bulwarke ful of ordinaũce to kepe the passage ouer the water, & the Frenchmen had losed the plankes of the bridge nere a myle aboue Bray, & the horsmen of Fraũce passed by a myll which was to the Frẽchfotemẽ a great ayd, for thei stode & kept the passage til the fotemẽ wer come ouer the bridge, & then they plucked away the planckes of the
xl bridge, so that nomã shuld folow, but euer thenglishmen folowed & cast plãkes on the bridge & passed ouer the bridge, in whiche passyng diuers wer drouned, but with great trauail al men passed, horsmẽ & fotemen, & fiersly assauted the Bulwarke and toke it with all the ordinaunce, & in it was taken capitaine Adrian and capitaine Ulterlew. The Englishe

 horsemen

horsmen folowed the Frenchemen & diuers of them wer slaine and take, sir Robert Iernyngham brake a spere on the lorde Pountdormy. The lorde Leonard Gray did valiantly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchemen issued out of the toune, they forgatte not to lay a matche to the traine of gunnepouder whiche they had made, whiche in short space set the toune al on fyer, so that when thenglishmen returned again, al was on fyer, so that there they had litle profite but wyne, whiche to them did great pleasure. This was the toune of Bray taken and destroyed the.xx.day of October.

The duke conslideryng that litle succours were for him and his souldiers in the toune of Bray because the sayd toune was consumed with fyer, he therfore cõmaunded the bridges to be wel repayred for to passe ouer the great riuer of Some into the realme of Fraũce: and when the passage was sure, the lord Sandes the.xxi.day of October in the mornyng was prest to passe ouer with the bawarde. Then some gentlemen sayd that they would passe no farther forward, & diuers souldiers were on thesame opinion. It was asked why they should feare, and they answered that if they were past ouer the riuer, they were past all succours and vitail, none could be brought to them. By reason of this noyse the souldiers stayed, which the lord Sandes perceiuing, sayd to the Welshmen which wer euil willyng to passe the riuer: sirs sayd he, behold what I do, and with that he toke a banner of saincte George & sayd, as many as loue the kyng of England & be true to hym and to the croune, folow me, and then he and sir Wylliam Kyngston set forward and passed the water, whiche there tunneth in thre streames, then all other persones corragiously folowed, and the ordinaunce and vitailes.

After the forewarde folowed the duke and al his battail: At this tyme the army was sore minished by reason many wer diseased and from the host departed, so the host was not of that strength that it was at the settyng out of Calayce. When thenglishemem were passed, then folowed the Burgonions in good order, and so that night this army came to a toune called Kappe and there encamped theimselfes, all the inhabitauntes were fled bothe out of the toune and Castle: there thenglishemen found.C.tonne of wyne, & other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker knowing that the duke was passed the riuer of Some, rased the toune & castle, & came & ioyned with the dukes army at Kappe.

There the duke caused proclamacions to be made in the armye that all the people of Fraunce that would vitaile the armye of Englande should be well entreated & haue their vitailes well payed for, and safe goyng and cõmyng, by the whiche proclamacion the host was well vitailed, for the people of the countrey resorted with al thinges necessarie.

The Duke thus lyng at Cap sent to the toune of Roy to yeld theim to the kyng of England. The toune perceiuyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armye of the Duke, assented to deliuer the toune to the Duke. This was a strong toune well walled, dyched

and

and ordinaunced but not manned, the Duke sent thither sir Richard Cornwall and other with.iiii.C.men to receiue the toune, whiche went thither in good array and had the toune to theim deliuered and then they sette the banner of sainct George in the highest part of the toune, and full well this garrison kept the toune of Roy til the duke came thither with his whole armye.

The Duke & his armye the.xxb.day of thesayd moneth remoued to a vilage called Lyhome, & had there great pillage: for this toune was muche haunted of marchauntes and there kept great markettes. The
x next day he remoued to Dauenker, and the.xxvii.day he remoued and came before the strōg toune of Mountdedier, where for defēce of warre lacked neither diches, walles, nor bulwarkes: The horsemen of the Englishe army rode about the toune to vew it, at whom the capitaines caused diuers pieces to be losed whiche shewed well their strength. The duke sent an officer of armes to somon the capitain to deliuer the toune: the officer departed, & with him a trumpet whiche blew before the gate, but no person would answere, because they would haue no Sommons made to them: the officer of armes returned and made report. Then the Dukes skyrrers made profer afore the toune, out of the whiche issued
xx a great compainie of horsemen and skyrmished with the Dukes horsemen and fought valiantly, but at the last.xl.of the horsemen were taken, with whiche the lorde Roche Baron captaine of the toune was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintaine the toune agaynst the whole armye. Then the Duke of Suffolke pytched his felde and layd his siege rounde about the toune of Mountdedier and kept good watche and watde on euery side: whiche thing the lorde Roche Baron perceiuyng comforted his menne of warre and bad them not be afrayd but to be of good corage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothyng. When the Duke had thus planted his siege, he considered
xxx that he was farre from reskew, and that lyng still and nothyng doyng was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the toune of Moundedier were two thousand footemen, and one thousand horsemen, wherfore he sent for all the lordes and capitaines of his army and muche praised their hardynes and sayd that the noble corrage that he sawe in theim did muche auaunce hym to sette forwarde in all thynges, the prayse whetof should be to them and not to him, and therfore nowe he encoraged them againe to continue still in their valiaunt doyng, for with Goddes grace he entended to bend his ordinaunce the
xl next mornyng before the toune, to the whiche all the lordes agreed and praysed muche the dukes corage and forwardnes.

Then was sir Willyam Skeuyngton knight, Maister of the ordinaunce cōmaunded to prepare for the battery, whiche with all diligēce made trenches, and prepared all thinges mete for the purpose. In this season sir Jhon Wallop knight had with him almost a.M.proper men and hardy, hauyng litle wages or none whiche liued alonely on their auenture, wherfore of some they were called aduenturers, of some they

were

were called kreekars. These men wer light, hardy, and politike, and by their manhod and hardines had robbed many tounes, taken many prisoners, with great bōties, & daily brought to the army Horses, Mares vitaile, cloth, corne, & other necessaries whiche might not be missed. Of this company the Frenchemen and especially they of villages & passēgers wer sore afrayde, for they were neuer ydle but doyng some thyng in one part or other. The lorde Pountdormy, or Pountreny hearyng Mountdedyer was besieged, called to him diuers great lordes & capitaines to the nomber of .v. C. menne of armes and dimilaunces, and a great nomber of fotemen, entendyng to bryng gunnepouder and other x
necessaries to the toune of Mountdedier: & as they wer thither cōmyng by night, Thomas Palmer, capitain of the skout watche of thenglishe army them askried and skyrmished with them although they wer more in nomber: manfully fought the Frenchemen, but for all that they were compelled to flee backe, and then Englishmen theim folowed and slewe diuers, and two speres were broken on the brother of the lorde Pountdorny, but by the swyftnes of his horse he saued himselfe, and in this chase were .C. prisoners taken whiche muche reioysed the Englishmen.

When the Master of the ordinaunce had all thinges ready, at the houre of .iiii. of the clocke in the mornyng he discharged the ordynaunce xx
continually in suche fashion, that by .vii. of the clocke the .xxviii. day of October the walles were made lowe & the toune assautable. All whiche while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the toune tyll the walles & toune were beaten doune. The capitaine of the toune perceiuyng this, called to him al the capitaines, declaryng to them that their toune was in .iii. houres made assautable, and that surely the Englishmen would assaute the toune whiche should be to their cōfusion, wherfore he asked their aduise what was best to be done, al they answered, do as you will: Then he went into a tower & caused a trompet to blowe and set furth a banner of truce. Then the duke commaunded the ordinaunce to cease. xxx
Then sir Willyā Skeuyngton came to the walles & demaunded what they would, & the lord Roche Baron sayd, that if it pleased the duke for the loue of the kyng of England & his honor, to graūt to him & thother gentlemen that wer there, lycence to depart with life, bagge & baggage, they would deliuer the toune of Mountdedier. Then sir Willyā Skeuyngton made report to the duke whiche therto consented, saiyng: they be men of warre, their riches is not great. Then the lorde Sandes and diuers other wer appointed to receiue the toune, & so they entred & set their stādardes on the top of the gates, & toke the keyes of all the strong houses, towers, and Bulwarkes. The Frenchemen were readye to de- xl
part with trussages and cariages, with Crosbowes, Pykes, & Handgunnes, with whiche doyng the lorde Sandes and the Englishemen which wer within the toune wer not content, & sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this point was muche alteracīō and the Frenchemen were stayed, but the lorde Roche Baron gaue many fayre wordes and passed forwarde with a red standard, with a whitte

crosse

crosse before him, that seyng sir Thomas Palmer, ranne to the stãdard and plucked it in pieces. Then sayd the Lord Roche Baron that it was vngẽtly done: To whom he answered that he should beare no standard there lyke a conqueror. Then after longe disputacion the Frenchemen sayd, that it was promised theim that they should haue their weapons and baggage, and so vpon that they were suffered to depart. The fotemen likewyse had a standard before theim which was rent by sir Robert Iernyngham. The nomber whyche departed truely accompted, were twoo thousand footemen, fiue hundreth horsemen and odde well and
x warlike appointed, and they left muche baggage behynd them because they sawe the Englishemen so fast come into the toune, they wer in feare of losse of all.

When the Frenchemen wer departed, the duke with his whole army entred the toune and there the Englishemen founde fine fetherbeddes, napery, couetinges, and muche houshold stuffe, and especially of wyne greate plentie, and there the armye rested till the laste day of October, and then were all the gates of the toune rased and throwen doune, and all the Bulwarkes likewyse. Then the duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken and so remoued to the toune of Roye, where he and all hys
xx armye rested for a while: wherof they were glad, for they had trauailed sore, and the weather was wette and colde. On the feast of all sainctes called Alhallon Daye, thee Duke in thee chiefe Churche of Roy made knightes thee Lorde Harbart, the Lorde Powes, Oliuer Manners, Arthur Poole, Richard Sandes, Robert Iernyngham, Robert Salisbury, Edmonde Beningfelde, Richard, Corbet, Thomas Wentewoorthe William Stoxton, Water Mantel, George Warran, Edwarde Seymour after erle of Hartfoord, and now Duke of Somerset, and moofte worthy Gouernor of the kinges maiesties persone and Protector of all his realmes, dominios and subiectes.

xxx The morow after, the army remoued to a place called Neele, there the Burgonions beganne to ware wery, and so dyd thee Englishemen, for euery day was foule wether and raine bothe daie and night. Wherfore diuerse compaignies fell to grudgyng saying, now you may see that by our remouing we shall bee ledde from place to place all this wynter, whiche is to thee vtter losse of our liues: for daylye wee see that our company dyeth no smal nombre, (and trueth it was that some dyed but not many) thei saied farther, the Burgonions haue the greate gaine and do least for it, for they haue wagons and cary their booties to theyr countrey: whiche is nere hand, and we go before and fight, and wee haue
xl no meanes to conuey any thing into our cõtrey for lacke of carryage, and so we bete the bushe and they take the byrdes. This grudge was ceassed by gentle woordes for a tyme.

In these torneys was cõmonly spokẽ that the duke of Burbon with his .x. M. Almaines would haue inuaded Fraunce and soo ioyned wyth this army, but ẏ truth was contrary, for he turned his host another way

and

and went into Prouince and layde siege to Marcelles, wherof the duke beyng aduertised, not a litle mused, and also seyng his menne daily fall sicke, was sory, and yet he so comforted theim that euery man was glad to folowe his wyll and entent.

On the.vi.day of Nouember the lorde Sandes beyng capitayne of the forewarde, and the duke of the middle ward, and sir Richard Wyngfeld capitaine of the rereward came in order of battaill prest to fight, to a billage called Ueane and there rested for that night, and the morow after the whole army returned agayne ouer the water of Some, & came to a place called Beauffort: At this passage the duke made knightes x
Jhon Dudley, and Robert Utreyght esquiers.

The.viii.day ỹ duke remoued to a place called Mount sainct Martyne a very mete place for an armye, and then was the dukes instructions loked vpō by the capitaines, and they perceiuyng that they hard nothyng of the duke of Burbons commyng, ayde nor counsail, all they thought and determined to send the lorde Sandes in post to the kyng, to declare all the case as it stode & their necessitie, accordyng as he hym selfe knew and saw in all pointes: whiche lorde Sandes tooke great paine and made good diligence toward the kyng, and while he was ridyng, the duke remoued his armye to a place called Vermount & there xx
lodged for a tyme to rest, and the army was well vitailed, but euer the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

A great frost. After the great raynes and wyndes that had fallen, came a feruent frost so sore that many a souldier dyed for coulde, some lost fyngers and some toes, but many lost their nayles of their handes, whiche was to thē a great grefe. The duke all this notwithstandyng remembryng that he came not thither to lye styl, the.xiii.day remoued to a place two myle from the castle of Bowhen and still it freised, insomuche that the master of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheles of his ordinaunce on hardles for sinkyng. In the mornyng the Welshemen xxx
set out a shout and cryed, home, home, the krekers hearyng that, cryed hang, hang. For whiche matter deuysion was like to haue fallen, but by policie it was ceased. Sir Edward Gyldford capitaine of the horsmen vewed the castle of Bowhen or Boghan, whiche euer was thought to be impregnable, but he iudged it might be wonne, for the castle was inuironed with Marryses, so that to no mans iudgement it was possible to wynne it: But nowe he perceiued that the frost was so great and strong that it might be beseaged, & all that night it freised agayne: wherfore he desired the Duke to geue hym leaue to assaute it whiche thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaūce to be set furth ouer the marrish. xl
When they witthin the castle perceiued that the marrishe fayled theim. they were sore dismayed. Then sir Edward Guildeford shot thre great pieces at the castle, and the castilain shot thre pieces agayne. Then as the Englishe gunners wer preparing to the battery, the capitain seyng his castle could not hold, by reason that the marishe failed, and that he

could

coulde defende none assault, deliuered the castle to him the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of Englande, and after a small communication had betwene the sayed sir Edwarde Guylforde and the capitaine, the capitaine with all his retinue departed leuyng behynd the ordinaunce of bombardes, curtawes, & demycourtaux, slinges, cannons, bolgers, & other ordinaūce, there were. lxxvj. pieces, plēnte of pellettes & pouder. The duke of Suffolke perceiuynge that this castle stode on the border of Henaude: Wherfore the more to please ỳ Henawders he made captaine of the same castle of Boghan the Seneschall of Henaude, to the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of England. In this place the army was euill vitailed, because the Frenchemen had stopped the water of Some, that no vitaile should passe ouer the riuer: wherfore the Duke sent to them of Henaude & specially to theim of Valencien to haue ayde of vitaile, which of their litle sent to the army a litle, but yet it dyd them some seruice, and all this while the feruent frost with bitter windes cōtinued, which caused many people to dye: yet still lay the army abidyng the answer of the lord Sandes, whiche as you haue heard rode in post & so muche trauailed that he came to the kyng of England to his castle of Wyndsore and there declared to the kynge his message, whiche was that his people whiche wer in the Frenche ground abode much misery, for the wether was wet, the wayes depe, long nightes and short dayes great iorneys and litle vitaile, which caused the souldiers daily to dye. Also they trusted when they passed the seas accordyng to their instruccions to haue had ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whom sith their departyng they neuer heard worde) wherfore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of youre army haue sent me to your highnes to declare their state & condiciō, their good will to tary, & the euil chaunces which daily happeneth to them by God and not by their enemies. Well sayd the kyng, all this we knewe before your cōmyng: wherfore we haue appointed the lorde Mountioy with. vj. M. men to passe the seas for the relefe of our army, whiche lorde Mountioy is almost in a redynes: For we will in no wise that the army shall breake.

Then the kyng came to Westminster to the Cardinals place & there receiued letters from the duke of Suffolke by sir Robert Jernyngham of the gettyng of the castle of Boghan or Bowen: wherfore incōtinent it was by the kyng and his counsaill determined that the lord Mountioy shoulde make spede, whiche did suche diligence that many of his souldiers were come to Londō well harnissed & weponed redy to passe the seas. Wherfore the kyng sent in all hast sir Robert Jernyngham again to declare to the duke the kinges pleasure and what ayde was cōmyng towarde him. But or sir Robert Jernyngham could come to the duke the armye was remoued from Boghan and brent the toune, & so came to the citie of Valencine in Henaude, & there layde vp their ordinaunce and from thence came to the citie of Tarnay (whiche then was vnder

the Emperor and out of the Frenche kynges handes) and so toke their iorney homeward thorow Flaunders and the army there broken and dispatched. But whē the duke mette with sir Robert Iernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kynges mynde and entēt, he did what he might to retreate the souldiers, whiche could not be, for many Englishemen shipped at Andwarpe, and many at Sluyes, & at Newport and other hauens, and they that were at Calayce were steyed for a tyme, but when the Duke sawe that he coulde not bryng all his army together scarcely the.iiij.part, he then licensed the remnaunt to depart. Of this breakyng vp of the armye were letters sent to the kyng, which incontinent stopped the lorde Mountioy & sent his men into the countrey againe. The Duke & other capitaines hearyng of the kynges displeasure, were sore abashed, & did write to their frendes that they had perfite knowlege that the Duke of Burbon had broken vp his campe for the extremitie of the Wynter, and also shewed that their souldiers dyed, and vitaill failid, whiche caused thē to breke the army, for of truth the souldiers would not abide: with which reasons the kyng was somwhat appeased and so on good hope the duke came to Calayce the.xii. day of December, & there abode long, till their frendes had sued to the kyng for their returne. And when it was graunted and that they were returned, the Duke & the capitaines came not to the kynges presence in a long season, to their great heauynes & displeasure: But at the laste all thinges were takē in good part and they well receiued and in great loue, fauor, and familiaritie with the kyng.

Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was in Fraunce and the Earle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out cōmissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that euery man that was worth.xl.l. should pay the whole subsidie before graunted out of hand & before the dayes of payment. This payment was called an Anticipacion, which is to say, a thing taken or a thing commyng before his time or season: This terme was new to ỹ cominaltie, but they payd wel for their learnyng, for their money was paied out of hand wout delay.

An Anticipacion.

The kynge this yere kept his Christmas solempnely at his castle of Wyndsore and thither came to him the third day of Januarye the erle Pountiuer of the royal bloud of Brytaigne and pretēdyng to be Duke of the same, whiche was nere cosyn to the duke of Burbon & banniched Fraunce. This erle came hastely from the duke of Burbon & was well entertained and feasted of the kyng, and after answere made to him by the kyng, he went to the Cardinal to Hamptō court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd duke into the countrey of Prouince.

In the same season was brought to the court a gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Stewart taken on the sea with diuers letters by one Water Jago a yoman of the kynges, with diuers letters from the duke of Albany to the Frenche kyng, by reason wherof the kyng knew

muche of their counsaill. This Gentleman payed raunsome and was very sone redemed.

The.xix.day of January.vj.fayre shippes of Fraunce well appointed, mette with a shippe of the kynges of England called the Kateryne Galley a shippe of.xl.tonne, the capitain wherof was one Jhon Mariner, with a small company, for many of his company were a lande: But he so encoraged his menne that all feare was set aside, and euer as the Frenchemen approched, they bet them of with arrowes, pykes, & fightyng, & styll this continued frō.iiij. of the clocke in the mornyng tyll.ix. of the clocke, & euer on the coste of England, & the Englishmen dyd the best they could to saue themselfes: For by that tyme she had spent her pouder, arrowes with shotyng, & her bylles with hewyng, & her pykes with kepyng them of from cōmyng aborde, and all the company almost sore hurte, and the capitaine wounded to the death, so that they had no other remedy but to sayle. This chace was perceiued by one called capitain Markam, capitain of the barke of Sandwyche, which manfully called his men together out of Sandwyche hauen & with good wynd came to reskue the Kateryne Galley. The.vj. shippes perceiuyng that, left their chace & made with the Barke of Sandwyche. The capitaine corragiously comforted his men and made the quarters of his ship defensable. The Frenchmē sette on fiersly, and their toppes were higher then the toppe of the Englishe ship. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartes of the Frenche shippes: the Englishmen shot fiersly agayne and when the Frenchemen profered to enter, the Englishmen bet them of with bylles. The Frenchemen at last with a great gunne bet doune the toppe of the barke & slewe the men in thesame, and lastly thei strake doune his Mast. This conflict continued from.x. of the clocke tyll two at after noone. Then he could make no shift, but to saile: and euer the Englishmen shot arrowes, & while thenglishmen had any arrowes the Frenchemen durst not enter: But when theyr arrowes were spent, the Frenchemen came aborde all at ones & entred the barke. In thys fight were slaine of Frenchmen out of hand.xxvij.and.lxxx.sore hurt, and of the Englishe were slaine.xxiij. What shoulde I saye, the Englishemen fought baliauntly, but they were to weake for.vj.tall shippes. Wherfore they were taken and brought to Depe for a prise, but the Frenchemen sayd they neuer bought prise so dere. After this Jhon Maryner capitaine of the Kateryne galey dyed, and many Frenchemen that wer hurt dyed at Depe, so that neither part wanne greatly.

In the last moneth called December were taken certain traytors in the citie of Couentry, one called Fraunces Philippe scholemaster to ỹ kynges Henrymen, and one Christopher Pykeryng clerk eof ỹ Larder, and one Antony Waynuile gentleman, which by the persuasion of the sayd Fraunces Philip, entended to haue taken the kynges treasure of his subsidie as the Collectors of thesame came towarde London, and then to haue araised men and takē the castle of Kylingworth, and then

An insurrecciō moued at Couentry.

to haue made battaile against the kyng: wherfore the sayd Fraunces, Chrystopher and Anthony wer hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne the xi. day of Februarye, the residue that were taken, were sent to the citie of Couentry & there wer executed. One of the kynges Henxmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon.

The.xvij.day of January there was a Fayer or market at the toune of Marguyson in the French kynges dominions beside Calayce, and for defence of the people and their marchaundise, there wer appointed CC.mē in harnes wel weaponed: The souldiers of Guysnes hearyng of this, departed in the night & came nere to the toune of Marguyson and closly kept themselfes tyll the Market was fayre & at the best, thē the Englishmen which wer.lxx.archers and bylles, set sodainly on the Market, that seyng the Frenchemen stode manfully at their defence w̄ handgunnes and pykes, but the Englishmen shotte so wholy together that they draue the Frenchmen out of the toune, and would for succors haue taken the Churche, but the Englishemen were betwene theim & the Churche, so that thei had none other remedye but to flee and many Frenchmen were slaine. Capitain Jhon de Pound, and capitain Jhon de Babage and diuers other were taken prisoners, and diuers marchauntes that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenchemennes wagons to Guysnes and on Englishman slaine but diuers were sore hurt.

The fyrst day of February the valiant knight sir Robert Jernyngh̄ and with him fifty demylaūces of the garrison of Calayce skoured the countrey to Odirsael & there toke a.C.hedde of beastes, by that doyng an askry rose through the countrey, wherby the Frenchmen gathered together to the nomber of.xij.score, and or Sir Robert & his company came to Houndyngbrige they were beset round about, so that of necessitie thei must fight, the Frenchmē set on with handgunnes, crosbowes and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encountre, but the Englishemen as menne desperate (because of the momber) fought so fiersly that they caused the Frenchmen to geue backe and slewe many of them and toke.xiij.prisoners, & in the chace they toke.vij.more which made vp.xx. Then the sayd sir Robert returned with his botie & prisoners and lost noman, but almoste all were hurt.

The.x.day of Marche the kyng hauyng a newe harnes made of his owne deuise and fashiō, suche as no armorer before that tyme had seen, thought to assaye thesame at the tilte, and appointed a Justes to serue him. On fote were appointed the lorde Marques Dorset & the Earle of Surrey, the kyng came to the one ende of the tylt, and the Duke of Suffolke to the other: then a gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the kyng is come to the tyltes ende. I see him not sayd the Duke on my fayth, for my head piece taketh frō me my sight: with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the kyng had his spere deliuered him by the Lorde

the ieoperdy that ỹ kynge was in at a Justes.

Marques

Marques, the viser of his headpece beyng vp and not doune nor fastened, so that his face was clene naked. Then the gentleman sayd to the duke, sir the kyng commeth, then the duke set forward and charged his spere, and the kyng likewise vnaduisedly set toward ỹ duke: the people perceiuyng the kinges face bare, cryed hold, hold, the duke neither saw nor heard, and whether the kyng remembred that his viser was vp or no few could tell: Alas what sorow was it to the people when they saw the spleters of the dukes spere strike on the kynges hedpiece: For of a fuertie the duke strake the king on the brow right vnder the defēce of ỹ
x hedpece on the very coyffe scull or bassenetpece where vnto the barbet for power and defence is charneld, to whiche coyffe or bassenet neuer armorer taketh hede, for it is euermore couered with ỹ viser, barbet & volant pece, and so that pece is so defended that it forseth of no charge: But when ỹ spere on that place lighted, it was great ieopardy of death insomuche that the face was bare, for the Dukes spere broke all to shyuers, and bare the kynges viser or barbet so farre backe by the countre bucke that all the kynges headpece was full of spleters. The Armorers for this matter were muche blamed, and so was the lord Marques for the deliuerying of the spere when his face was open, but the kyng sayd
xi that none was to blame but himself, for he entended to haue sayed him selfe and his sight. The duke incontinently vnarmed him, and came to the kyng, shewyng hym the closenes of his sight, & sware that he would neuer runne against the kyng more: But yf the kynge had been a lytle hurte, the kynges seruauntes woulde haue put the Duke in ieopardy. Then the kynge called his Armorers and put all his peces together & then toke a spere and ranne. vj. courses very well, by the which all men might perceiue that he had no hurt, whiche was great ioy and comfort to all his subiectes there present.

In the ende of Februarye foure Frenche shippes chased the Fysher
xxx botes of Rye to the verye shore, and when the fludde was gone, would haue taken the botes and came a lond with pikes, but the fishers threw stones, and one archer shotte and slewe a Frencheman whiche helde vp a basket and bad shote Englisheman shote, and the Englisheman shot through the basket and slewe him, and so they saued their botes, and when the fludde came, the Frenchemen sette vp their sailes, and as thei were passyng, the Englishemen of warre mette with theim and tooke two of the sayd shippes, and the other two fled.

In this yere the kynge sent the Lorde Morlay sir Wyllyam Hosy knight and doctor Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando archduke of
xl Austrice and brother to the Emperour Charles with the order of the Garter which in the toune of Norryngberge receiued the same, where then were all the princes of Germanye assembled at a counsell or Dyet, against the bysshoppe of Rome, against whom the Germaynes put a. C. greues

The.xiij.day of Apryll one Capitain Bzeerton one of the capitaines of the auenturers at Guysnes with.xvj.tall men came to a village called Waste and there toke a bootie of beastes, by whiche takynge an alkry rose, and by chaunce certain of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abzode and by the cry of the people came where the Englishmen were, the Frenchmē wer.CC.hozsmen and with great cryes enuironed the Englishemen about, so that the Englishemen coulde make no defence. Then capitain Bzearton called to the capitain of the Frenchemen and sayd, sir I am a gētleman & this enterpzice was myne, I haue bzought these good felowes to this ieopardy, wherfoze we yelde vs al pzisoners to you, and so thei deliuered their weapons, the capitain was a gentleman and gently them receiued, then to the men of warre dzewe all the peisantz oz chozles of the countrey nye hand to the nōber of.vij.oz.viij. score, whiche desired to bye ỹ Englishmē that wer takē, the Frenchmen were content and toke money, then the Englishmen were deliuered to the vplandishe people, and the men of warre rode away.

Capitaine Bzearton murdered.

When the menne of warre wer departed the rybaudes with pykes, iauelyne, and knyues, fell on the Englishemen whiche had no weapon and them slewe all.xvij.and cutte them in pieces the moste shamefully that euer was sene.

When knowlege thereof was bzought to the capitain of Guisnes sir Jhon Gage, he sent foz the auenturers willyng theim to reuenge their capitaines death. So all the aduenturers the.xiiij.day gathered together to the nomber of.xl.archers and pykes, and by good guide the next day in the mozning they came to thesame village of Walt & there toke.xxxvij.pzisoners and moste part were at the murder of Bzearton and his company, & of the.xxxvij.they slew.xxxvj.and so they left one and caried him with them, but oz they departed they set the toune on fyer and spared nothyng, their ire was so great: the menne of warre of Fraunce costed the Englishmen, but they would not medle with them in that rage.

The murder reuenged.

When they came to Guysnes they sware the Frencheman that was left on liue to declare their message to the capitaine of Bullein, whiche was that after that day they would saue neither man, woman noz child that came to their handes foz the great crueltie that the peysantz had done to capitaine Bzearton and his company, with whiche message the Frenchmen were discontēt & sayd that the villaynes deserued to haue vengeaunce foz their crueltie.

In this yere through bookes of Emphimerydes and Pzonosticacions made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were soze affrayd foz the sayd wziters declared that this yere should be suche Eclipses in watery signes, and suche coniunction that by waters & fludes many people shoulde periche. Insomuche that many persones vitailed themselfes and went to high groundes foz feare of dzounyng, and specially

one

one Bolton which was Prior of saint Bartholomewes in Smythfeld builded him an house vpō Harow of the hill, only for feare of this flud, and thether he went & made prouision for all thinges necessarye within him, for the space of two monethes: But the faythfull people put their trust and confidence onely in God. And this raine was by the wryters pronosticate to be in Februarye, wherfore when it began to raine in Februarye the people wer much afrayd, & some sayd now it beginneth, but many wisemen whiche thought that the worlde coulde not be drouned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their truste in him onely, but because thei thought that some great raines might fall by enclinacions of the starres, and that water milles might stande styll and not grinde, they prouided for meale, and yet God be thanked ther was not a faiter season in many yeres, & at the last the Astronomers for their excuse said that in their computacion they had mistaken and miscounted in their nomber an hundreth yeres. Bolton prior of sainct Bartholomewes

The Emperor Charles which also was enemy to the French kyng, seyng the great army that the kyng of England his confederate had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honorable to make warre also on that part of Fraūce that ioyneth to Spain, & in especially he imagined how to recouer the toune of Fountraby, whiche the Frenchmen before that tyme had gotten: wherfore he assembled a great puissaunce and made capitain the lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castyle, which with great diligence came before the toune of Fountraby whyche was strongly fortefied and the capitain therof was a Nauerois: but when the capitaine and his compaigny sawe the toune besieged with suche a puissaunce, and also that the sea was so narowly kept that they coulde not haue vitail nor succour, they determined to geue vp the toune: but yet the capitaine of a high stomacke shotte out his ordinaunce and sent his trompet to the capitain of the Spanyardes to knowe what prisoners he had of his, and for the communicacion thereof he desired abstinence of warre tyll he had communed with the counsail of the Spanish host, whiche to him was graunted. Then was communicacion for fiue dayes and nothyng ended, for the Spanyardes were haute on the one syde, and the Frenchmen proude on the other syde, but on the. vj. daye it was concluded that the toune shoulde be deliuered with ordinaunce and artillery and all the men of warre to depart wyth bagge and baggage, and so the. xxvij. daye of Februarye was the toune of Fountrabye brought againe to the handes of the Emperor, & he that was capitaine of Fountraby was afterwarde restored to his landes in Nauer by the Emperor and became his man.

The bishop of Rome called Pope Clement seyng the great warres that were this yere on all parties and in especial betwene the Emperor

& the kyng of England on the one partie against Fraunces the frēche kyng and his alyes, sent an archebishop of the realme of Naples fyrste to the French kynge, and after to the Emperor, whiche declared to the Frenche kyng the manyfolde mischiefes that ryse by warre, the great stroke of vengeaunce that God will strike for vniuste warre & specially for the death of innocentes and effusion of christen bloude, and shewed farther that the sayd Frenche kyng made daily warre on the Emperor and the kyng of England without cause, but onely because he himselfe would do no right to them nor to their subiectes.

The Frenche kyng after counsaill taken answered, my lord Legate we assure you that we make no warre, but warre is made on vs, & we stande at the defence, notwithstandyng our right is kept from vs both the duchy of Myllain and realme of Naples by the Emperor and the vsurped duke, to the whiche we haue good title, and the kynge of England warreth on vs without cause, notwithstāding that we haue geuē him and many lordes of his coūsaill diuers fayre pentions, not because we be afrayed of him, but because we woulde haue his loue and amitie, & when we perceiued that he toke part with the Emperor our mortall enemy, we withdrewe our penciōs as with right we might, & now with all his power he would conquere our good will, whiche is against reason, and we clayme nothing of him. Well sayed the ambassador, I wyll speake fyrst wyth the Emperor and after with the kyng of England, & then I will declare to you their rightes and demaundes, with whiche the Frenche kyng semed to be content.

Then the sayd ambassadour tooke his leaue and in poste came to the Emperor in Spaine, & there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons, affirmyng that the warre was vniust and without reasonable cause made on the Frenche kyng as the sayd kyng affirmed. Then the Emperor like a noble prince answered, that the warres were neuer of his beginnyng: For the Frenche kynge or he wyst had taken the toune of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to cōquere therealme of Nauerne, & not with this contented, reteyned the Swyches which be the Emperors subiectes and caused them to be enemies to thempyre, and he also with helde the duchy of haut Burgoyne, and the countie of Arthoys with diuers other countrys and seignories belongyng to hym: Wherfore his quarel was alway iust, and because the college of Rome should perceiue the whole cause of his warres, he deliuered to the sayd ambassador a scedule, with whiche he departed, refusynge all gyftes which the Emperor offered him, and came againe to the Frenche kyng and rehersed to him all the Emperors saiyng, but the French kyng him selfe highly excused & sayd that he might not lese that his predecessors left him, and so the byshop of Romes ambassodor toke his leaue & came into England.

After

After this Legate was departed frō the Emperors court, ther came thither an Ambassador from Portyngale, whiche highly behaued him selfe, and when he came to the Emperors speche, he proudly sayd: Sir you that are the greatest prince of Christendome ought aboue all men to do iustice and right, and to do wrong to no man, and where it is well knowen that by the labor, studye, and learnyng in Cosmography and Astronomy of vs only Portingales, the trade to the parties of Inde or Indias were fyrst sought and found, and the fyrst labor in that behalfe was ours and the great innumerable riches whiche was spent for the searchyng and findyng of thesame, was employed & spent by the kyng of Portyngale and his progenitors, by whych trauaill we haue wonne straung lādes, wherby all Christendome is greatly enriched w̄ Juels, stones, and perles and other straung commodities. How can it then be thought iust or righteous that any other persone should take from vs that cōmoditie that we haue so derely bought: Yet most puissant lorde and mightie Emperor, your subiectes daily trauaill thither and wrongfully take away our gayne, whiche neuer labored nor toke pain for the findyng or serching of thesame, wherfore of iustice you muste cōmaunde your subiectes not alonely to leue their trade thitherwarde, but also to make to vs Portyngales a sufficient recompence for the harmes that we haue susteined.

The proposicion of a Portingale.

When the Ambassador had sayed, after a lytle deliberacion the Emperor answered. The very pouertie of your countrey of Portyngale is suche, that of your selfes you be not able to liue, wherfore of necessitie you were driuen to seke liuyng, for landes of princes you were not able to purchase, and lande of lordes you were not able to conquere. Wherfore on the sea you were compelled to seke that whiche was not found: And wher you say that you haue fround lādes, I say those landes foūd you by shipwrekes of the sea beyng cast thereon before you thought of any such ground, & so sought farther for suncours in necessitie, yet they say not that you haue them wōne, but they haue wōne you. And where you would that our subiectes should not repare thither, we ascertaine you that no man shal prohibite our subiectes to saile where they lyst for their auauntage. For our subiectes may be warned no place by them w̄ whom I haue peace and amitie: for he is mine enemy and no frend that letteth my libertie: Well sayd the ambassador, and we wil let your subiectes to passe thither. Nay sayd the Emperor, we wil not trye so farre for I am able to disturbe your doynges nerer hande. But for a suertie you Portyngales be enemies to all Christendome, for to the Indyans you cary nothyng but coyne, whiche is hurt to all countreys, wherefore at this time you may depart, till you be better aduysed. After this answere geuen to the Portyngales, they offered great summes of money to the Emperor to leaue hys trade into the Indyans, but he therto in nowyse woulde agree.

The Emperors answer

The

The.xvi.yere.



N the beginnyng of thys.xvj.yere the kynge lay at hys maner of Newhall in Eſſex, and there kept the feaſte of ſainct George and hearynge that the byſhopp of Romes Ambaſſador was commyng into Englande remoued to hys Manor of Grenewyche where the ſayd Archbiſhop and legate came to hym and was highly entertained, whiche declared wiſely and eloquently the meſſage and entent of hys maſter, whyche was to make a peace and concord betwene the princes of Chriſtendome, and eſpecially betwene the Emperor, the kynge of England and the French kyng, and for that cauſe he had been with the Emperor and alſo with the Frenche kyng, whiche as he ſayd affirmed that without cauſe the kyng of England made on hym warre, conſiderynge that he to thentent to haue the more amitie and fauor of you and your nobles hath liberally geuen to you & theim honorable pencions, whiche by no dutie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of hys benuolence and bountie. Alſo he ſayeth that you clayme his croune, realme, and poſſeſſions, whiche toucheth hym hyghly, and of yours he claymeth nothyng, and therfore he thynketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherfore may it pleaſe your highnes to tell me your mynde and I ſhall it declare to the whole court of Rome God wyllyng and forget nothyng.

Then the kyng called to him his coũſaill & after diuers cõſultacions had, the Ambaſſador was ſent for, & there was ſhewed to him many recordes, prouyng the kynge of England to be inheritor to the realme of Fraũce by bloud & alſo ſo cõfirmed by diuers Charters in the tyme of kyng Charles the.vij. And as cõcernyng ỹ pencion, to him was ſhewed diuers Charters, that it was no pencion of frendſhip but due rent for the duches of Normãdy & Guyan & the countreys of Aniew & Maine which are the kynge of Englandes very enheritaunce. Farthermore there wer ſhewed to him diuers bondes of the ſayd French kynges for the payment for the citie of Turnay & other duties whiche he ought to the kyng of England, all whiche articles to fulfyll, the Frenche kynge hath oftentimes been required by Ambaſſadors, & yet he euer diſſẽbled & would not cõforme hymſelfe to reaſon: of all theſe thinges wer notes written & deliuered to the biſhop of Romes ambaſſador, which toke his leue of the kyng & returned in poſt accompanied but with.iij.perſones. By reaſon of ỹ cõmyng of this Ambaſſador men hoped ỹ peace ſhoulde enſue, but it ſucceded not this yere: for the third day of May the garriſon of Bullein with diuers other in the moſte ſecrete wiſe that could be came to a place within the Engliſhe pale called Sentricas & ſodainly ſtrake vp a dr̃me or drounſlade: the people hearyng this in the night were ſore abaſhed, ſome fled naked & ſome clothed, the moſt part fled to the Churche, and the Frenchemen them folowed & toke.xxj.priſoners

and

and then set fyer on the Churche: By this tyme was all the pale raised which thyng the Frenchmen perceiuyng left their botie and returned in all hast with their prisoners to Bullein.

In this season the lordes of Flaunders lay at the siege before Tyrwyn and were likely to haue taken it by famyne, whereof the Frenche kyng beyng aduertised assembled an armye of.xxij.M. horsemen and fotemen vnder the conduicte of the Duke of Vandosme and the lorde Pountdormy, and the Frenche kyng himselfe came doune to Amyas and there caused it to be noysed that he woulde besege the toune of
x Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke the last yere had left the kyng of Englandes ordinaunce. The kynge of Englande hearyng of this, sayd, that yf the Frenche kynge beseged Valencyen, he in person would go thither for to reskue his ordinaunce. The Lorde Fynes and other lordes of Flaunders whiche lay before Tyrwyn wyth ix.M.menne were aduertised of the Frenche armye, but because of the fame that ỹ host should go to Valencyen, they sent for nomore succors.

When the Frenchmen had all thynges ready, they left the waye to Valencyen and tooke the way directly to Tyrwyn. When the Lordes of Flaunders perceiued that, they were sore abashed & then they knew
xi that they were disceiued, and that they were not able to abyde the puissaunce of the Frenche army. Wherefore they raysed their siege, & put thẽselfes in order of battail on ỹ Southest side of Tyrwyn: the French armye passed forward the.vj.day of May towarde Tyrwyn and made no semblaunce to fight: Howbeit some of theim skyrmished with the horsemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the toune, wherunto they were welcome, and the lordes of Flaunders departed sore displeased but there was no remedy. Then ranne a brute that the French army would lay sege to Guysnes: wherfore the kyng caused men & all other thynges to be put in a readynes for the spedye reskue thereof yf
xii it had so chaunsed. But the Frenchemen toke a better aduice.

In this moneth of May sir Robert Jernyngham capitain of Newnam bridge cõmuned with Christopher Coo, a capitaine of diuers Englishe shippes that kept the sea, whiche then was in Calayce hauen for vitaile and sayd, capitain Coo you know how the Bulleners haue visited nere to Calayce the Englishe pale and haue burned Sentryes. If you will promise to set many of your menne a lande at the hauen of Bullein the.xix.day of Maye, I with as many as I can furnishe wyll mete with you there in baise Bulleine at the tyme and houre betwene vs appointed, to the whiche the said Christopher agreed and faithfully
xiij promysed, and so prepared accordyngly euerye thyng necessarye and so sayled towarde Balleyn, Sir Robert Jernyngham sent worde of this enterprise to sir Willyam Fitzwillyam capitaine of Guysnes to know yf he would ayde any part toward this iorney, whiche sent word that he would be at the same auenture himselfe: then all the gentlemen desired him to be capitaine of that enterprise, which he thankefully and

wyth heart receiued: then all the men of warre and the aduenturers & the Bayly Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together they wer. CCC. horsemen, & of the coũtrey and Marke. iij. C. and of the auenturers. C. lx. and so one & other they were. vij. C. men. All these persones mette at an houre appointed at Sandyngfelde: the night was short so that it was daye or they came nere Bullein all set in good order of battail, but thei were askried before they came nere Bullein, and so it chaunsed that Christopher Coo with his shippes whiche had winde at will was come with his. iiij. shippes before Bullein somwhat before day, the Bulleners that kept the watche him espied, & then & he manned his boates and with men and ordinaunce stretched toward the land, by that tyme was all basse Bullein in harnes ready to defend the Englishmen from londyng, but capitaine Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of Basse Bullein wer on the shore, that seynge the garrison made them ready and bent their ordinaunce. Sir Willyã Fitzwillyam hearyng the gunnes toward the hauenside knewe well ỹ Cristopher Coo was in his bulines, and so encoraged euery man to do well and marched forwarde wh asmuche spede as might be, insomuche that all the Englishemen were on the hylles before Bullein in sondrye plumpes, then issued out the horsmen of Bullein betwene the castle & & Cardons tower, the light horsmen of the Englishe part theim encountred, there was a good fight, the Frenchemen shotte with Crosbowes, and the Englishemen with long bowes, and the great ordinaunce shot terribly, the Englishemen approched the toune walles, this skyrmyshe was fierse & euer the archers ayded the horsemẽ. While the horsemen were thus skyrmishyng, the. viij. score auenturers which were hardy & valiaunt men cast themselfes about & came to basse Bullein, and there they were hardely receiued of the Frenchmẽ, yet notwithstãdyng they lost their barriers and the Englishmẽ entred, there was shotyng on all sides and a strong fight. The Frenchemen cried Bullein, & thenglishe- & & man sainct George Calayce: but at the last the Frenchmen were driuẽ backe and many slayne, & xliij. takẽ prisoners, and so they returned to their capitaine sir Willyam Fitzwillyam. All this while was Christopher Coo on lond on the sea cost and bet ỹ Frenchmen vp to the toune, and when the tide turned he with all his came agayne in safetie to their shippes. The Englishe horsemen after long fightyng tooke thre of the Frenchemen af armes and the other reculed to the toune. By thys tyme by reason of the *Alarme* was all the countrey of Pycardye raysed and muche people resorted to Bullein on all sydes, whyche doyng sir Willyam Fitzwillyam wisely perceiuyng, by the sounde of a trumpette cl brought all his menne together in a plumpe, and then sent them hither & thither to fette his driftes of beastes that were nere in the countrey on euery side, whiche was quickely done, for the aduenturers brought Oxen, Kyne, Horses, and many other pillages, and brent the granges

and

and billages,and so mette together, and wyth their botie returned in sauetie.

The Tewsday folowinge,beyng th laste day of May, sir Wyllyam Fitz William,wyth a.C.and fiftie horsemen,and the auenturers,and a hundred other persones mo,came to a place called Samer de Boys, ỹ sayd captain wisely considered,that in that place the Frenchemen had diuerse times lurked, & taken at auantage the Englishmen,wherefore he laied his horsemen,and his archers on horsebacke in a woodde, in a waite if the Frenchmen folowed the stale: then he sent furth his auen-
x turers,which passed farther,then ỹ captain wold that thei shulde haue done,and sodenly they wer askryed:then on came the Frenchmen, the auenturers sware,that they would not flie,but bent them selfes to defend their enemies,which wer.iij.C.horsemen. The Frenchmẽ knew well their hardines,but yet they called them Crakers, whych by missounding,was commonly called Krekers,for a suretie these men were hardy,and full of pollicie,and very far would ieoperd,the Frenchemen sent about a valey.i.C.of the best horsemen, and.ij.hundred footmen then were ỹ Krekers betwene.ij.bẽdes of the Frẽchmẽ: sir Williã Fitz Wylliam beyng assured of the conduyt of the Frenchmen, much doub-
xx ted the chaunce of the auenturers, wherfore in great hast sent for hys stale of horsemen, that he had left couered: and the Frenchmen ỹ were before the Krekers,came and set on very fast,in hope of their horsemen that were gone about an hil in the valey. The Englyshmen them valiantly defended,then as the horsemen had compassed the hill, the auenturers were come on a plain: then the horsemen that were come to syr Williã Fitz William,set on the French horsemen, ther was a hard and a fierce encounter, for the Frenchmen fought sore, but at length they fled, & in the chace were taken.lvj.horsemen,and.xliij. slain one and other, & many Englishmen sore hurt and diuerse slain,thus the Krekers
xxx scaped a narowe hasard.

In thesame season on the second day of maye,sir Thomas Palmer one of the Captains of the Frontiers,was ridyng to his frend,maister Jerome of Burgon,captain of Turnahan,and wyth him.xx.Englyshe men on lyght horse,and as he roade, he sodainly espyed.xxx.horsmẽ of the garrison of Tirwin and Bullein,thei wer nere together or the Englishmen espyed them:then there was no remedy,but to encounter,sir Thomas Palmer comforted hys compaignye, and then the Frenche men set on wyth great force,and truly they fought long,wythoute one hauing any auauntage of the other, but at last the Frẽchmen began to
x faint, & a lytle wythdrawe themselfes, that perceyuynge the Englyshe men,set to them coragiously,and so they slew thre out of hand,and.vj. men of armes taken prisoners, & eight dymy lances, with whiche pry-soners the Englishmen returned to Guysnes, and kept not their purpose to Turnahan,for all were hurt or wounded.

In June,sir William Fitz William, captain of Guysnes,Sir Jhon

Walop,and sir Jhon Gage,secretly called to them.ix.C.men,of warre such as they trusted,and on Midsomer day,passed the lowe coũtrey of Picardy, vnto the castle of Hardinghã,or Rigsam & they caried wyth them but one pece of ordinaunce called a Curtal, this gonne they bent against the Castle, whych was well furnished with harnes, ordinaũce, and all other artillerie,and thinges nedeful, and the captaine also was a baliant and hardie gentleman. The Englishmen euer shot that pece and remoued it from place to place with great pain, and in conclusyon made a batery of the walles,so that they myght assault it,then ỹ trompet blewe to assault,and the capitain with hys compaignie stode at defence:then syr Jhon Wallop,and sir Jhon Gage wyth the auenturers or krekers entred the diche,& the archers shot at euery loupe arrowes & the Frenchmen likewyse shot quarelles: the Englishemen set vp laders to the walles,but the Frenchmen threw thẽ doune,at this assault was slain a gentlemã called Butler,and.xv. other Englishmen,but for all that,the assault was not lefte,for some climed by pykes,and some amended the ladders,and cryed againe to the assault:but sir Williã Fitz William chiefe capitain of this enterpryse, perceiued ỹ they lacked engynes and other thyngs,for the spedy assault of the castle,and not willing to lose his men without cause,caused them to stay,whyle he and other capitaynes counsayled together,& as they wer concluded once again to attempt the assault,they hearde newes ỹ two thousande horsemen,and two thousande footmen,wer at hãde to fight wyth them,thei then perceiuing that.ix.C.men beyng wery, wer no power to encoũter with foure thousand Frenchmen,they in good ordre returned to ỹ Englyshe fortresses.

Monsire de Bees Capitain of Bullein,well considered al the enterprices,that the Englishmen had done in Picardy and Fraunce, now of late:he determined to requite theim,to hys honor and fame, & for that purpose,sent for the Erle of Damartyne, the lord Pontremie, and the lorde Chastillion,whych concluded to entre into the Englysh pale,and to shewe themselfes before Calice. Wherfore they assembled all the mẽ of armes & souldioures,of the garrysons aboute,& so they wer.viij.C. good horsemen,and wyth pykes,gonnes & crossebowes.viij.C. footemen,and when all thys compaygny was assembled,Monsire de Bees as capitain of this iorney,wyth the other lordes,the fourth day of August w̃ banner displayd,came toward Calice in the eueninge: and the nert day in the morninge,by syre of the Clocke,they came to a village wythin the Englyshe pale,called Bonynghes. Then the Alarme rose through all ỹ English pale,& so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraũce sent out their forriders,to serch & ouerse the coũtrey, & then they layd an embushment of.iij.C.horsemen at thesaid toune of Bonynges and with that bend abode Monsire Pontremie,& Monsire de Bees rode to Kalkewel wyth.iij.C.horsemen,& there taryed wyth them,ỹ earle of Dammartine wyth.iij.fresh horsemen, and all the footmen with bã-

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ner displaid, rode and forraged all the Countrey, of whyche thre hundred speres, thei let one. C. go at large, & kept the residue wyth them.

When the Alarme came to Calice, euery man made to horse & harnes. Then sir Robert Jernynghã wyth. lxxx. horsemen with all spede rode out of Calice to behold the compaignie of the Frenchmen. And he sent furth his lyght horsemen, which met with the skourers of ỹ Frẽch men, and because the Frenchy men semed a few in nombre, the Englyshe forriders proferred toward them, which fled toward Sandiffeld, and the Englyshmen chased after, not beyng of knowelege of the embusshexmentes, that laye at Bonynges and Kalkewel.

When sir Robert Jerninghã saw his light horsemen chace, he folowed after softly, to kepe his horse in brethe. Then sodainly the Frenchmen that were in chace returned, for some of their ayde was nere thẽ. When the Englishmen whych passed not. xvi. horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, thei encountered wyth them mãfully, but to the Frenchmen came still mo and mo, so that the Englyshmen wer constrayned to flie another waye, to the hie lande in great ieoperdy, for the Frenchmẽ them pursued, but by the helpe of the light geldinges, the Englyshmen gat the sea side, or sea sandes beyõd Skales: then wer the Englishmen
xx glad and returned, and fought wyth the Frenchmen hand to hand, for the Frenchmen behinde folowed not the chace, but only twenty horsemen, and wyth pure fyghting the Englyshmen toke one of the Frẽch horsemen, and came with him to Calice, and so were saued.

When sir Robert Jerningham sawe hys men in chace (as you haue hard) & saw that thei were in great ieoperdy, he auaunsed for their rescue all that he might, which was the sauing of the lyght horsemen, for the Frenchmeu left theim, to encountre wyth sir Robert Jernynghã, and so it was that he went so farre forward, that the Frenchmen were betwene him and Calice. And when he saw al the bendes, and embushxxx mentes breake out, he sayd to hys compaignie: sirs, S. George to borowe, lette these Frenche galantes knowe what we Englyshemen be: Sir sayed his compaigny, they shall bye vs dere. Then he marched towarde the hyghe lande: Then approched a great nomber of horsemen of Fraunce, the Englishmen theim valiauntly receiued, and manfullye defended, but euer the Frenchmen came freshe and freshe, so ỹ the Englishmen beyng wery, and oppressed with multitude, wer faine to flye: and in this chace was taken Thomas Cheiney an Archer, whose horse was tiered, and two other archers on horsebacke, one called George Kar & the other Rowlande Atkynson, ỹ thre other of the English pale, sir Robert and the remnaunt, saued themselfs the best that thei could.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen soumed their trõpet and reculed to Bulleyn, and sent worde to Calice, that they would visite thẽ oftener. Sir Robert Jernyngham remembring this chaũce thought to be reuẽged of the same, & so aduising himself, to what place he shonld repaire, he remẽbred that whensoeuer the Englishmen made

any ioyney to Margyson, the Frenchmen would flie ouer the water or creke, to a high ground by boates, and there as it wer in an iſland, ſaue thẽſelfes, becauſe on that ſide thei might euer haue ſuccors, for ỹ creke or water, is beyond the toune frõ Calice. Therfore the ſayd ſir Robert cauſed fyue great boates to be caryed in wagons, and ſo he with other capitaynes of Calice and Guyſnes, to the nombre of .iij. C. fotemẽ with the Krekers, & .lx. horſemen the .xij. day of Auguſt, with bãners diſplayed toke their way to the toune of garriſon, and in the nyght the light horſemen gaue Alarme to the toune of Bullein, and toke two ſouldiers priſoners, and brought with them certain cattaill to their compaignie. x Then thenglichmen marched forward, towarde Margiſon, that ſeing the Frenchmẽ toke their boates in truſt of the water, and paſſed ouer: the Englyſhmen perceiued that, and lanched their Boates, and ſo lyke auenturers entered, and by force paſſed, and ſo mo & mo, til. C.lx. wer paſſed ouer: the countrey began to gather, ſo that the Frenchmen wer thre hundred, which fought with the Engliſhmen, and would haue letted the boates to lãd, but the archers on the other ſide draue thẽ back, and the Englyſhmen ſlew at the firſt encounter .lx. men, and toke fortie priſoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met with newe ſuccors, & then began a new battaill, and the Frenchmen fought hardely, but at thend xx they fled, the moſt poreſt of the people, on the other ſyde of ỹ water fled to the Churche, and abode at their defence, then was there fire ſet in ỹ church, then the Frenchmen lept out of the church, to their deſtruccion for of thre hundred there was ſaued but ſixtie on lyue.

The whole power of Bullein was come doune, nere to ỹ place: but when they perceyued that it was to late, and the Englyſhemen were returned, they came no farther. This was ſir Robert Jarninghã euen with the Frenchmen, and brought a good botie, and many priſoners to Calice, which ſore greued the captain of Bullein.

The Frenchmen perceiuing, that they gat lytle at the Englyſhmẽs xxx handes, thought to take their auauntage of the Flemmynges, wherfore they aſſembled of the garriſons, of Bullein and Tirwin, v. C. fotemẽ, and thre hundred horſemen, and ſo in good ordre marched toward ſainct Omers, and thei ſent to go aforraging .i. C. fotemẽ, and as many horſemen, and the reſt kept themſelfes in a ſtale. Theſe Frenchmen came by Arkus, nighe to ſainct Omers, and forraged all the countrey, ỹ Alarme ſprang all the countrey to Turnahan, the captain of Turnahã ſent worde to ſir William Fitz William, cappytayne of Guiſnes, that the Frenchmen were abroade, whych made anſwere, that if the Frenchmẽ came nere to him, ſurely he would ſpeake with thẽ, with which anſwer xl the cappytain of Turnahã being encoraged, ſent furth. C C. Flẽminges on foote, ſtill the Frenchmẽ marched toward Turnahã, the Flemminges that were ſent from Turnahan, marched toward the waye, wher the Frenchmen ſhould come, thinking that when ỹ captayn of Guiſnes had ſet on them, that then they would haue lyen in ỹ chace at ỹ receipt

Theſayed

The sayd capitain of Guisnes valiantly marched forwarde, wyth a C. horsemen, and.iiij.C. fotemen, entending to mete w̄ the Frēchmen and sodaynly as he was passing forward, word was brought him that the erle of Damarten, with the garrisons of Mustrel and Abuile, to the nomber of.vj.C. horsemen, were comming forward toward Guisnes. This hearyng sir William Fitz Willi̅, sware that the erle shoulde not take paine to come to Guisnes, for he would mete him on the waye: by this meane he left his first enterprice, & marched toward the erle of Damartin. The Frechmen of Tirwyn, beyng therof aduertysed by a spy
x called al the people together, and with their botie came on forward toward Turnahan, & sodainly they askryed the poore Fleminges, which wer sent out of ȳ castle of Turnahan, & whē they perceiued the Frēchmen comming toward them, thei turned their backes, & fled like shepe: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, and slewe the moste part of theim, for fewe escaped.

The capitayn of Guisnes came to a faire grene, fiue mile from Guisnes, and there in good ordre of battayl, tareid for the Erles comminge, whych hearing that the capitain of Guysnes, was redy to receiue him, made his returne backward, without any thing doyng: when the capi-
xx tain knew the trueth of the erles returne, he then with al hast sped him to mete with the Frenchmen, that were comminge to Turnahan, & in the meane way he hard tidinges of the chaunce of the Fleminges, and how the Frenchmen were reculed toward Tyrwyn, whych auenture sore him displeased, but there was no remedy, wherfore he returned to Guysnes again, very sory that the Frenchmen, went away vnfought wythal. The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherfore lett vs now returne, & shew what warres were kept on the frōtiers, betwene Englande and Scotlande, in thys ceason.

The.xxj.day of May beyng Trinite Sondaye, v.C. Scottes in ȳ
xxx morning by seueral fordes, entered into Englande, and laye couertlye by the high waye, to distresse merchauntes and merket men, that shuld passe to Berwike, that day to the fayre: for euery Trinitie sonday, ther is kept a great fayre: whych the Scottes knewe wel, and as they laye thus lurking, thei robbed many merchauntes, and toke rich prisoners, but at the last they wer perceiued, then the Alarme rose, & people begā to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Branxston, & thenglishmen them assailed, which so manfully them defended, that yf the yonge lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one.C. lyght horsemē, ȳ Scottes had gone away with their botie, but then began a sore fight, many wer hurt on both sydes, and som slayn, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace ther were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saued them selfes.

After this the.v.day of July, sir Jhon a Fenwicke, Leonard Mulgraue, & Bastard Heron, & diuerse other, gathered together.ix.C.mē, and entred into Scotland, in the countrey called the March, & robbed

and spoyled al the countrey,and by chaunce thesame season,the Scottes had assembled two thousande men,to inuade Englande, and none of these knew of other, til they by auenture met together: Then begā a strong medley,for the Scottes fought valiauntly a great while,and the Englishmen them hardely assailed,and at the last by fine force, caused theim to leaue the ground and flie,and in the flight wer takē. CC. Scottes,and many slain,of the which prisoners diuerse wer gentlemē sir Raufe of Fanwycke. Leonard Mulgraue,and bastarde Herō,with xxx.other Englyshemen wel horsed, folowed so sarre the chace, ꝯ they were paste rescues of their compaignie,which perceiuing the Scottes ꝛ sodainly returned,and set on the Englishemen, which oppressed wyth multitude,were sone ouercome,and there was taken sir Raufe a Fanwicke,Leonard Mulgraue,and syxe other,and Bastarde Heron, and seuen other slain, the remnaunt by chaunce escaped:the other Englishmen with their two hundred prisoners, returned sauely into Englād: the slaiyng of the Bastard Heron,was more pleasure to the Scottes, then the taking of the two hundred was displeasure,thei hated him so.

The.viij.day of July,the lorde Maxwel of Scotlande, and sir Alexander Iorden,with banners displayd,and Scottes to the nombre of four thousand,entered into England at the Westmarches by Carleile, xx and began to burne on euerye syde: then the Englyshemen assembled on euery syde,and so they were in nombre.ij.M.men, and fiercely set on the Scottes,there was a great fyght,for the space of an houre,at ꝯ last the Englishmen brake the array of the Scottes,and them discomfited,and toke.CCC. Scottes prisoners,the Englishmen that had taken prisoners,went away wꝺ their prisoners: For Sir Alexāder Iorden,and his sonne and diuerse other were taken prysoners, & by their departyng, the compaigny of the Englyshemen was muche mynished.

The Lorde Maxwell beyng a politique man,perceiued that, & sodainly called his people together,and them encoraged,and begā a new xxx skirmysh,and recouered al the prisoners almost, & toke diuerse Englishmen prysoners, this was the chaunce of warre.

After thys iorney,in the Court of Parliament of Scotlande, was much commonyng of the warres,whiche were betwene England and Scotland: some of the nobles sayed, that Fraunce neuer dyd so muche good to Scotlande in.xx.yeres,as Scotlande had lost by Englande, in one yere,for ꝯ loue & cause of Fraūce:wherfore they thought it cōueniēt to make a perpetuall league of amitie, with ꝯ king of Englande, & to leaue the French kinges parte. Other nobles whiche had pencyons in Fraunce,declared the old amitie betwene Fraunce and Scotland, xl and how the French kyng,brought vp many gentlemen of Scotlande in his Courte,geuinge them greate luuynges, whiche the kinge of Englande would not do:thei also alleged the franches,and priuileges that the Scottes haue in Fraunce, & specially they shewed,that yf the king of Scottes shoulde breake with Fraunce, & then if it happened ꝯ kyng

of

of Englande, to inuade Scotlande, whiche beyng wythout aide of any frend, myght wel by the power of England be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, & a truce graunted, til S. Andrewes day.

This yere the first day of Septēber, was doctor Thomas Hanibal Maister of the Rolles, receiued into London, with erles, and bysshops, and diuerse other nobles and gentlemen, as Ambassador from Clemēt bishop of Rome, which brought wyth him a rose of golde, for a token to the kynge: the people as he passed, thought to haue sene the rose, but it
x was not shewed, til he came to the kyng to Wyndsore, on the day of the Natiuitie of our Lady, on which daye, after a solempne masse songe by the Cardinall of Yorke, the saide presente was deliuered to the kynge, whiche was a tre forged with fine golde, and wrought with braūches, leaues & flowers, resemblyng Roses: this tree was set in a pot of gold, whiche had thre fete of antyke fashyon: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in thy vppermost Rose, was a faire Saphier loupe perced, ỹ bignes of an Acorne, the tre was of heyght halfe an English yard, and in breth it was a fote. The sayd Ambassador in deliuering the same Rose, made an oracion, declaryng the good mind, loue & fauor, that the bishop
xi of Rome bare to the kynge, in token whereof he sent hym that present, which the kyng thankefully receyued, and deliuered it to him again, & so he bare it opē before the kyng, from the College to the great chāber, and there deliuered it to the Mayster of the Juell house, and so there ended his legacion.

A Rose brought frō Rome.

Before this time in the moneth of July, lord Archebalde Douglas erle of Anguishe, whych had maried the Quene of Scottes, sister to ỹ kyng of Englande, and was sent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrary to his wyl and pleasure, and from thence hardely escaped, and came to the kyng of Englād, to hys maner of Grene-
xxx wiche, and there besought him of his aide & comfort, to whom the king made a gentle answer. This Erle was not in the fauor of hys wife the Quene of Scottes, wherefore she caused hym to be sent into Fraunce: some said that she loued the duke of Albany, better then hym, but what soeuer the matter was, she wrote to the Frēch king, that yf therle euer came again into Scotlande, that the French kyng should haue no pleasure in Scotlande, that she might let, so that the Erle beyng in Fraūce, was in ieoperdie of his lyfe. Wherfore secretly he fled & came into Englande, as you haue hard, and one day at the Castle of Windsore he de-
clared that in the counsail of Fraunce, when he was there, they happe-
xl ned in communication, to talke of ỹ warres that were then, betwene ỹ Emperor and the French kyng, and betwene the kyng of England and the French kyng: there was a Lorde of the counsayl, that stode vp, and sayd, it were better that one person suffered, rather then al the realme should be dayly in this mischief. Then was it asked, what he meant by hat one persone, he answered, that yf the French Quene, whiche was

lame and vgly were dedde, that then wayes might be founde, that the French kyng should mary themperours sister, and to haue wyth her the Duchy of Millain, and then wyth the money of her mariage, the kyng of England should be payed, and so a peace might be concluded: to this no answer was made, but whether this were true or false, for a truth ỹ Frẽch quene was ded the.xxvj. day July, & was buried at s. Denyse.

The Duke of Burbon this sommer, made sharp war on the Frẽch kynges dominions, and dyd hygh enterprises: wherfore the kynge of Englãd sent his letters, to diuerse lordes and gẽtlemen in this season, the tenor wherof ensueth. Trustie, &c. For as muche as (our lord God be thanked) our army, vnder the leading of our cosin the duke of Burbon, hath not onely entered the realme of Fraunce, gaining and attaynyng many tounes, cities, castles and places, with the whole countrey of Prouince, wythout any resystence, of our auncient enemie the Frẽch kyng, but also goeth dayly marching, and continually doth chace, and dryue before them such men of war, as our sayed enemy hath prepared for his defence, in the resistence of our cosin the Duke of Burbon, & our sayd army. In such wyse that it is thought vndoubtedly, nowe to bee moste conuenient tyme and season, either in our persone (although the yere be somwhat past) or by a liuetenaunt, wyth a puissant army to inuade Fraunce, on the other syde, both for the recouerynig of the croune and to compell our sand enemie, to knowlege his obstinate, wylful, and erronious demeanure, wherefore we wyll and commaunde you, to be redy with such power as you be able to make, vpõ the next Proclamacion to bee made, dated the tenth day of September.

After which letters sent furth, euery man made preparacion accordyngly, and the people murmured and sayed, that it were much better that the kyng should mainteyn his warres, with his owne subiectes, & spende his treasure on them, then to trust the Duke of Burbon, beyng a straungier to spend hys money.

The king beyng at Windsore, to him came sir Anthony Fitz Herbert one of the Justices of the common place, a man of excellent lerning in ỹ law, as appereth by his workes, sir Raufe Egertõ knyght, Doctor Dẽton Deane of Lichsele, whych in the beginning of thys yere, wer sente as Commissioners into Irelande, which so wisely endeuored thẽselfes that thei reformed many iniuries done in the coũtrey, and brought diuerse of the wilde Irishe, by fayre meanes to a submission, and made by the kynges authoritie, the Erle of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the greate Oneele bare the sworde: and the lord Piers Butler, called Erle of Ormound, whych was deputie of Irelande, was by the sayd Commissioners, made hygh threasorer of Ireland. And whẽ they had set al thynges in good ordre, in the moneth of Septẽber they toke shyppyng, and in thesame monethe came to the kinge, which gaue thẽ hys harty thankes, for their good doynges.

In thys moneth the king sent Maister Thomas Magnus Priest, &

Ro-

Roger Ratcliffe Esquier into Scotlande, for the suretie of his nephew the kyng of Scottes, for diuerse lordes of Scotland, wrote to ỹ kinge that they doubted the suretie for their kinge, because ỹ duke of Albany which was heire apparant to the realme of Scotlande, had the kynge in gouernaũce, & also they thought, he beyng a Frenchmã borne, shuld not rule their realme: wherfore thei emõgest thẽselfes, murmured sore in this matter. The Duke hearyng, that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the kynge of Englande, and also that they reppyned & grudged at his doynges, sodainly with al the threasure that he could make,
x departed from Scotlande, and sailed into Fraunce, with which departyng the commõs were nothing sory, and sone after his departing, the Ambassadors of England, were ioyously receyued into Scotland, and there thesayd Ambassadoures taried, till Marche twelue monethe, in which tyme there were many conclusions driuen, betwene the two realmes: now let vs returne to Fraunce.

The.xxiiij. day of September, thre horsemẽ of the garrison of Bullein, whych well knew the hauen of Calice, came at a nepe tide, and passed ouer Calice hauen, by Ryse banke in the nyght, and went behind ỹ Est Wyndmill, and then tooke lande, and wente to a litle byllage called
xx Middilwaye, and passed the Turne Pikes, and entred into a Whelers house and toke the man and the wyfe, and.xx.l. in money sterlyng, and went away clere wythout askrye of perceyuing of the watch of Calice and no man wyst where they were become, til the Trompet of Bullein brought worde, and demaunded the raunsome.

The last day of September, fyfty lyght horsemen of Calice, apperteignyng to sir Robert Jerningham, rode toward Bullein, and passed the water of Margison, & came to the water of Sclakes nere Bullein where sodainly thei encountered.lx. frẽchmen, of the garrison of Bullein, there was shotyng wyth long bowes & crosebowes, on euery side
xxx strong was the fyght, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englyshemen folowed, and toke thre lyght horsemen, and when they perceyued the Alarme on euery side, they put themselfes in array, and with their botie came to Calice.

The same daye sir Thomas Palmer, with.xl. horsemen of Guisnes encountered with ỹ captain Bertrain, leader of the horsemen of therle Dammartin, with.lx. horsemen, there was a strong fyght two houres together, but in the ende the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishemen folowed, and toke.xviij. pysoners, and.xvi. good horse, and wyth thys botie they returned to Guysnes.

xl In this busie season, the auẽturers hearing what the horsemen, on their parties had done, and in especial perceiuyng that thenglish horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned emongest themselfes, what was to be doue, then one of their capitaynes said opẽly: sirs you se how long we haue bene here, and wages we haue none, our liuing riseth on the gaine of our enemies, and syth our beginnynge, we haue had good

chaunce

chaunce in all our enterpzises, God be thanked: nowe the Winter dza-
weth nere, let vs now auenture to get som good botie, to make vs me-
ry with, in ỹ cold wether, & yf you wyl, we shall enterpzyse a thing that
I truste to vs shalbee pzofitable. Then all the compaignie cried furthe
furth. Then wyth a banner of sainct George, they marched toward a
byllage, liyng towarde Mustrel, hauing onely. xxb. light horsemen, to
be their skourers, & they were not fully two hundzed men. This com-
paigny folowing their skourers, went farre on, and had gotten a faire
botie, of Oxen, Kine, & other beastial, and were here at their returne &
by chaunce thesame day, was the erle of Dammartin, and the captayn
of Mustrel, with the power of the duke of Uandosme, goyng towarde
sainct Omers to burne and destroy that coũtrey, and for that purpose
thei had gathered together. xb. C. horsemẽ, and. biij. C. footmen, how
be it, the footmen were a large myle behind the horsemen.

The Frenchmen on horsebacke, espyed the English horsemẽ, which
perceiuing the great nomber fled, and as the said Frenchmẽ marched
forward, they espyed the auenturers on foote, & made toward them:
thenglishmen seing the great nomber of ỹ horsemen, studied to get som
hedge or stronge place to fortifie theim, but there was no suche place in
sight, and also they had no suche tyme so to do, wherefore the captayne
sayed: Good felowes and brethren, we haue of long time bene called a-
uenturers, now is the tyme come of our auenture, the Frenchmẽ wyll
not raũsome vs for nothing, we be emongest thẽ so feared: if any thing
saue our lyues, it must be God, and our hardines, and therfore sayd he
if you se me begin to flie, slaye me out of hande. Then euery man cryed
God mercie, and kneled doune and kissed the earth, and strake handes
eche wyth other, in token not to depart, and then made themselfs prest
to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on euery syde, thenglishmen shot their ar-
rowes, & defended thẽ aswel as they could. The Frenchmẽ perceiuing
that the Englishmen kept them selfs so close, caused diuerse of the horse
men to lyght a fote, and so they dyd, & fought wyth their speres against
the pikes, and shote wyth Crossebowes on euery syde. Alas, the while
for while the Englyshmen had arrowes to shote, they were not brokẽ,
but close wythout peryl, but when their arrowes were spent, the En-
glyshmen fought valiauntly, and slew many Frenchmen that lyghted
on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all
The end of ỹ auenturers. in maner, because there were so many of their compaignie slain & toke
fewe of them prisoners. This was thend of these compaignions, called
the krekers or auenturers, which were as hardie men, as euer serued
prince or captain.

The duke of Burbon, wyth the Marques of Picardy, in ỹ moneth
of October, wyth a great puyssaunce, layed siege to the strong toune of
Marcel in Prouince, and laye there a great space. The Frenche kynge
reised a great armye, and sware that he would reise the siege, whereof

hea rynge

hearynge the Duke of Burgon, sent for the Marques of Piscare, and hys other captains, and declared to them that hys intēt was, to geue ỹ French king battayl: the Marques of Piscare sayed that the Frenche kynges puissaunce was greate, and theirs smal, & sayde: although the Duke of Burbon, whych was a banished mā from hys countrey, had no other remedy to reuenge him, but by battail, yet he sayd, he would not put al the Emperors men, of the whyche he had the guide, in such a hasard, till the remnant of the Emperours power were come. Wel said ỹ Duke of Burbon, then you do not as you haue written, both to the Emperor and to the king of England, whych shalbe a reproche to your honor: Nay sayd the Marques, I wil kepe me from reproche. Then said doctor Richard Pace, Ambassador to the kyng of Englande: my lorde you haue had the king my maisters wages, I woulde be glad to heare what way you woulde take: I wol tel you said the Marques, ỹ Frēch kyng hath a great armie gone into Italy, & he him selfe followeth with another, not to come to fight w̄ vs I dare assure you: but only to take the Duches of Millain vnprouided, whiche shal do him more pleasure then he had slain all vs. Also the Emperor shal lese, more then. x. Marceles be worth, and the French kinges power shalbe more elated, that he wil not set by the Emperor, nor the kyng of England. Therfore my aduise is, to breake vp thys siege, and with all spede to preuent hym in Italy, and yf we be entered the tounes, and put municions in the same, he shal lye a colde in the feldes, and then you shal se what shal become of hym, when hys beastes dye, and his vitail spente. To thys counsail the duke & all the Capytaynes agreed, and so brake vp the siege, and wyth al hast departed into Italy, and fortified all the tounes in the Duchie of Millein and other necessaries.

The French kynge hearinge of this, wyth al hys armye passed the Mountaignies, and Cāped nere to Millain. It chaunced in this monethe of Nouember the. xiij. day aboute the toune of Calice, there fel a great mist, in which mist the Frenchmen came to a village called Kause beside Newnā brydge, & toke. xl. beastes, then ỹ Alarme was brought to Calice, whiche hearing the Marshal of Calice, called to hym sir Robert Jerninghā, & they had with them. i. C. xx. horsemen, and sent syr Anthony Browne, to tel the capitain of Guysnes, what they entended to do, but they taryed not for the company of Guysnes, but marched so far forward, ỹ they came to the water of Sclaukes, which is nere Bullein, & there they set their stale. And in the morninge betime, they sent furth a gentlemā called Richard Lambert, wyth. xx. light horsemē on swyfte geldinges, and they came by Moone light nere Bullein, & then they saw the men of Bullein & other there about, put out their beastes into the feld. Then the Englyshmen wyth great diligence brought all the beastes together, & so began to driue theim together, toward their embushement. Then the Alarme began at Bullein, and the men of war issued out of the toune, & fought wyth thenglyshmen, their horses wer

fresh:

freſh,wherfore they had a great auauntage,but in cõcluſion thre Frẽch menne were ſlayne, and their horſes taken , and ſo the lyght horſemen came wyth their catail,nere to the embuſhment, and the Frenchmẽ fo= lowed,that ſeyng the Englyſhmen that kept the ſtale,came in al haſt & reſcued their light horſemen, and drawe the Frenchemen backẽ,& then made returne to their beaſtes,and as they were returnyng, they had worde brought to them,how that ſyr Wylliam Fytz William captayne of Guiſnes of his retinue , were beſiegyng a pile called the caſtle of Ca= pel,wherefore they ſped them thether in all haſte,and when they were come thether,the captain of Guyſnes them hartelye welcomed,& then they concluded to geue an aſſault to the caſtle, & ſo wyth good courage ſet on,the Frenchmen defended it very valyantly a great whyle,but at the laſt the Englyſhmen gat ouer the diches, & ſcaled the walles,but ỹ Frenchmen ſtyl them defended,till the Engliſhmen had gotten to the higheſt of the dongion,& then was there ſlaiyng a pace. For there wer liij.perſones ſlaine out of hande,in reuenginge the greate obſtinacie of the Frenchmen , and the caſtle was raſed and brent. Then ſir William Fitz William wyth hys boty , and ſir Jhon Wallop Marſhal of Calyce and ſir Jhon Jernyngham returned,he to Guiſnes,and thei to Calice The ſame day. xiiij. Burgonyons and. xiiij. Spanyardes, al horſemen of Guyſnes,came to the Church of Falſke,not farre from Durnam at high Maſſe tyme,and there drew their ſwordes,and ſo much dyd that al the men in the church, to the nomber of fyftie,yelded them ſelfes pri= ſoners,of whiche nõber they toke eyght perſones wyth them, whyche ſhuld be gages for the rẽnant, & with theſe. viij. thei came to Guiſnes.

The. xix. day of Decẽber were receyued into London , lorde Gilbert Keuet Erle of Caſtelles,ſir Robert Cockburne biſhop of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campſkenel, Ambaſſadors from James the fyfth kyng of Scottes,by the byſhop of Lyncolne,the lorde of ſainct Jhones,and di= uerſe other nole men, and wer conueighed to their lodgynges at Tai= lers Haule.

The. xxiij. daye of December , theſayd Ambaſſadors were cõueighed to Grenewiche,accompaignied with theſayd lordes by water,& when they came to the vtter gate , they were receyued of the offycers of the houſe,& ſo paſſed throughe the haule,whych was wel furniſhed w̃ peo= ple,& ſo through the vttermoſt chamber,into the great chamber of pre= ſence,where they were receiued & welcomed,of al the princes & nobles of the realme,and within a ſhort ſpace the king came furth, and ſet him ſelf in a throne of thre ſteppes hyghe,vnder his clothe of eſtate,whyche was very rich,but his apparel was exceding rich,both of goldſmithes worke and perle & ſtone which ỹ Scottes wel auyſed , & then they wi= ſely & hũbly made their obeyſaunce,and the byſhop in good plaine latin made a ſolempne Oracion , in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he,had often times hard the renoune & fame of him and his Courſe,both for the gyftes of grace and nature , whych

were

wer in his persone, yet he saied that his princely countenaūce, his louely fauor, which he hymself did se, did muche surmount the fame & name, which he hath hard of reporte. He declared further, that although fortune had hym fauored, in conqueryng of regions, and vanquishyng of battailes, yet that thyng was not so honorable to him, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, whiche pleaseth bothe God and man, and for that cause he shewed, that kyng James the fifth his nephew, & felowe to the kyng of England, had sent them his Ambassadors, to entreate a peace, so that a conuenient mariage might be made, betwene
x hym & the lady Mary, doughter to the kyng, whiche should be a lincke necessary, to knit together the realme of Scotlande and Englande, in perpetuall loue and amitie.

To whiche Oracion, the bishop of Londō doctor Tunstall answered and saied: that the kyng was at their desire, content to haue peace vpō reasonable condicions, and as touchynge mariage of his daughter, he would so answere theim, that thei should be contented. Then the kyng rose from his place and welcomed theim, and all the honest persones of the train, and after communicacion had, thei tooke their leaue for that tyme, and so toke their barge and came to London.

xx Before the feast of Christmas, the lorde Leonard Grey, and the lord Jhon Grey, brethrē to the Marques Dorcet, sir George Cobhā sonne to the lord Cobham, Willyam Cary, sir Jhon Dudley, Thomas Wiat, Fraunces Pointz, Fraunces Sidney, sir Antony Broune, sir Edward Seimour, Oliuer Manners, Perciual Harte, Sebastian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen Esquires of the kynges housholde, enterprised a chalenge of feactes of armes, against the feast of Christmas, wherefore they sent Windsore herault, on sainct Thomas day before Christmas, into the Quenes great chamber, the kyng being present, which herault had a coate of armes of red silke, beaten with a goodly Castle, of foure
xxx Turrettes siluer, and in euery turret a faire lady, standyng gorgiously appareled: the herault after that the Trumpet had blowē, saied where the kyng our souereigne Lorde, of his bountifull goodnes, hath geuen to foure maidens of his Court, the castle of Loyaltie, to dispose at their pleasure, the saied maidens haue geuen the custodie therof, to a capitain and fiftene gentlemen with hym, whiche capitain sent furth me his Herault called *Chasteau Blanche*, to declare to all kynges and princes, & other gentlemen of noble corage, that the saied capitain wil nere to his Castle raise a Mount, on whiche shall stande an Unicorne, supportyng foure faire shildes.

xl The firste shilde shalbe White, and whosoeuer toucheth that shelde shalbe answered sixe courses at the Tilt, by them of the Castle, with hosting harnes and double peces.

The second shilde, Red, betokenyng the Turnay, & whosoeuer toucheth that shild, shalbe answered tenne strokes at the Turnay, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The third shild yelow, signifiyng the Barriers, and he that toucheth that shilde shalbee answered twelue strokes at the Barriers, wyth the swoꝛde, edge and poynt abated.

The fourth shilde blewe, betokenyng the assaulte, with such wepons as the capitain of the Castle shal occupie, that is, Moꝛrice pike, swoꝛde, target, the poynt and edge abated.

Also thesaied capitain and his compaignie pꝛomise, to defend thesaid Castle against al commers, beeyng gentlemen of name and armes, and the assaulters to deuise, all maner of engynes foꝛ the assaultyng, edge tole, to bꝛeake the house and ground, onely except, & also that no other weapon shalbe vsed, but suche as the patron shalbe sette vp, by thesaied Unicoꝛne, and that no manne medle with fire within oꝛ without, but ỹ matches foꝛ gonnes, and euery pꝛisoner taken on either partie, to paye foꝛ his raũsom. iiij. yeardes of right sattẽ, & euery capitain. xiij. yardes.

Accoꝛdyng to this Pꝛoclamacion was the Mounte, and al thynges deuised sumpteously, with a greate craggy bꝛaunche, on which wer hãged the shildes of the armes of the capitain, and all other of the Castle. Foꝛ this enterpꝛise there was set vp, in the Title yard at Grenewiche a castle square euery waye. xx. foote, & fiftie foote on heigh, very strong and of great timber, well fastened with yꝛon, the embatelmẽtes, loupes and euery place where men shoulde entre, wer set with great rolles, & turned assone as theiwer touched, so ỹ to semynge no man could entre the towers, noꝛ embatilmẽtes. On the Noꝛth and South sides, were two greate diches. xv. foote depe, from the bꝛinke to the botome, & thei were very stepe, and betwene the diche & Castle, was set a pale, whych was rampaired with yearth so stepe & thicke, that it was not likely to begotten. On these diches were twoo dꝛawe bꝛidges, on the West side was a greate rampire oꝛ banke, very stepe without and within, and like to a bamure of a foꝛtresse, by the bamure ỹ diches wer. xxiiij. fote depe

When the strength of this castle was well beholdẽ, many made dangerous to assault it, and some sayd it could not be wonne by spoꝛte, but by ernest. The kyng mynded to haue it assaulted, and deuised engins theꝛfoꝛe, but the Carpenters wer so dull, that thei vnderstode not his entẽt and wꝛought all thyng contrary, and so foꝛ that tyme the assaulte was pꝛolonged, and all the other poyntes of the chalenge held, foꝛ ỹ moꝛow after sainct Jhon the Euangelistes daye in Chꝛistmas, came out of the castle, sixe men of armes of the castle, on hoꝛsebacke armed at al pointes with their speres ready to discharge, & so came to the ende of the Tylt, abidyng al commers. Then sodainly entered into the feld, twoo ladies on twoo palfreis, in great robes of purple damaske leadyng two anciẽt knightes, wyth beardes of siluer, in thesame apparell, and when they came befoꝛe the Quene, thei put vp a bill to her, the effect wherof was, that although youth had left them, and age was come, and would lette theim to do feactes of armes: Yet courage, desire, and good will abode with theim, and bad theim to take vpon them to bꝛeake speres, whiche they

they would gladly do, yf it pleased her to geue them license. When the Quene and the ladies had seen the byll, they praised their corage, and gaue them licence.

Then the knightes threw awaie their robes, & then it was knowen that it was the kyng, and the Duke of Suffolk, whose bardes and bases were gold, embraudered with purple, siluer, and Blacke, very curiously. After them folowed the Erle of Deuonshire, the Lorde Montacute, the Lorde Roos, sir Nicholas Carewe, sir Frances Bryan, Henry Norreis, Anthony Kneuet, and fiue other, euery mā ran eight courses, x in which courses the kyng brake seuen speres. Euery man that day did well, so that the Scottes much praised the men of armes of Englande, but moste of all thei preised and marueiled at the kynges strength, for thei saw his speres wer brokē with more force, thē ỹ other speres wer.

When all the courses wer ronne, the kyng and al the other disarmed them, and went to supper, and after supper the kyng hauyng with him, the Ambassadors of Scotland, came into the Quenes chamber, where after that the Lordes, and diuerse Ladies had daunced, there came in a Maske of .xvj. all appareled in clothe of Golde, riche tynsell & crimosyn veluet, cut, slit, and tied very curiously, their buskins and shoen wer xx gold, cappes and whoddes all gold, riche and not counterfected: of this nomber the kyng and the Duke of Suffolk wer twoo, then the Maskers toke Ladies, & daunsed a greate season, & that doen was brought in wyne and spices, and the straungiers wel cherished, & after that conueighed toward their lodgyng. And as thei went thei asked a gētlemā which accompaignied theim, yf all the warre tyme the kyng & the lordes were so mery, or had suche ioyous pastyme, or kepte suche Royall housholde, or were so well appareled: for in their countrey they sayd, in tyme of warre, was nothyng but wailyng and mournyng, and also thei thought that the realme of Fraunce, is not a realme to sport with, nor xxx Maske with. The gentleman answered, that the kynge & his courte, vsed them still al the warre tyme, as thei dooe now, for thei set not by ỹ French kyng one bene. For the kyng of England maie sit in his chaire and dammage the French kyng, for the Lordes & comminaltie of England, praie for the continuance of warre, for by the warres of Fraunce they wynne, and lese not, at whiche saiyng the Scottes muche mused.

Fridaie the .xxx. day of December, therle of Castels one of the Scottishe Ambassadors toke his leaue, & departed toward Scotlande: for to common with the Counsaill of Scotland, for thynges whiche were not in their commission, and left behynd hym the Bishoppe of Dunkell, xl & the Abbot of Campskenell: some saied tharticle was, that the Scottes should forsake the French kyng, & that the kyng of Scottes should come into Englande, but whatsoeuer it was, euery man knewe it not.

The second daie of January, there was much talkyng of the assault of the Castle, and so after long debate, sir Frances Bryan, and Fraunces Poyntz, enterprised to defende the West braie of the Castle, with Pike

Target,and Swoꝛde, poynt & edge abated, againſt ſir Geoꝛge Cobham Geoꝛge Harbert, Jhon Poyntz,and Willyam Kneuet, and when thei were al armed,the Trumpettes blewe,thē toward the bꝛaie marched the foure genlemen, with pikes and ſwoꝛdes, and cried *harr, harr*, there was foynyng, laſchyng, & ſtrikyng,they within fought mightely and when any without clymed vp the banke, thei within bet thē doune thei within were ſometyme beten doune almoſt:but ſurely thei fought valiantly,and then they ſeaſed foꝛ a while.

Then began the aſſaulte againe, and Geoꝛge Harbert and Willyam Kneuet,helde them twoo within ſo hard,that thei could ſcant put their & heddes ouer the bꝛaye,oꝛ bulwerke. While they two thus ſtill fought, their two felowes,ſir Geoꝛge Cobham, and Jhon Poyntz, with their ſwoꝛdes digged holes in the banke to clyme vp, but oꝛ they had dooen, their twoo compaignions were fought out of bꝛethe,then ſir Fraunces Bꝛian and Frances Poyntz, fought with the other two that digged, & then on came thother two,that had bꝛethed themſelfes, thē fierce was the fight,and Jhon Poyntz gat footyng in the banke aboue, and toke holde of the pale, & fought hande to hande,with Fraunces Poyntz hys bꝛother,and euer Geoꝛge Harbert ſuſtened him,at the banke with his pike,ſir Edwarde Cobham gat the banke, & fought hardely,but at the & laſt he was ouerthꝛowen,but vp he gat again,and coꝛagiouſly gat the pale:they two within fought valiantly,but they wer ouer matched,foꝛ they that fought at ỹ pale without, by aide of their felowes gatte ouer the pale, & then was the battaill ended. I thynke that there was neuer batt aill of pleaſure,better fought then this was.

The next day after was another fight, of foure & eight whyche was ſoꝛe foughten,and at laſt the bꝛaye taken,and when the combates were diſarmed,ſodainly all the younge perſones without, thꝛewe ſtones at them within the caſtle,and they at theim, and many honeſt men whiche thꝛewe not wer hurt,and with muche peyn they without wer apeiſed, & and no man knewe how noꝛ why,this hurlyng began.

The fifth daye of January,all the knightes of the caſtle, came to the barriers to abide all men, thether came the kyng & many other loꝛdes and gentlemen, & that daye by them of the caſtle, were deliuered.lviij. gentlemen, & .lviij. battailes fought valiantly, the kyng himſelf fought coꝛagiouſly, & ſo did all ỹ other. The eight day of Febꝛuary,the gentlemen of the caſtle folowyng their chalenge,came into the felde, ready to anſwere al commers. To this turnay came the kyng,his baſe and bard wer cloth of ſiluer, and blacke veluet ruffed and not plain, & ouer that was a woꝛke of purple veluet,embꝛaudered richely with gold,cutte in & knottes oꝛ foldes faſtened, ſo that it boſſed out & frounced very ſtately to behold. After the kyng came .xix. other richely apparelld, the kyng and Sir Anthony Bꝛoune Turnaied together,and the kyng with his ſwoꝛd,poynt and edge abated,had almoſte cut his poldꝛon,his ſtrokes were ſo greate. Then euery man turnaied as his courſe came, & in any

a swoꝛde was bꝛoken, and many a good stripe geuen, and when euery man had strikē the full nomber of twelue strokes, thei wer seuered and then they disarmed.

In this mone the the Cardinal as legate, by hys power Legantyne, would haue bisited ỹ Friers Obseruauntes, but they in nowise would there in condiscende, wherefoꝛe. xix. of thesame religion, were accursed at Paules Crosse, by one of thesame religion called Frier Foꝛest. *Of this Frier Foꝛest ye shall bere more here after, in the thirti yere of this Kyng.*

The Obseruaunt ffriers would not obeye the Cardinall.

In this season the French kyng was in Italy, with all his nobilitie,
x and to hym was Millain yelded, but because of pestilence he would not entre, but departed & laied siege to the strong toune of Pauia, whereof was capitain a valiāt Spanyard, called Antony de Leua. The frēch kynges mother beyng Regent of Fraunce, perceiuyng that ỹ kyng her soonne, with all his good Capitaines were in Italy, doubted that the kyng of Englande, in the nexte Spꝛyng tyme would inuade Fraunce. Wherfoꝛe she by the aduice of the counsaill of Fraūce, did so much with the kyng of England, that her Stuard of houshold called Jhon Jokin, had a sauecondiit to come into Englande, whiche was kept close in the house of docter Larke, a Pꝛebendary of sainct Steuens, & euery daye
xx pꝛiuely spake with the Cardinal, & so secretly he remained, til the. xviij day of January, at whiche day came to London, the pꝛesident of Roan called Monsire Bꝛynyon, as an Ambassadoꝛ from Frances the French kyng, and was lodged with Jhon Jokyn: this Jhon Jokyn was kept pꝛiuie, because that no man shoulde knowe, that there was any man of Fraunce, here to sollicite any cause foꝛ the frenche kyng, whiche after grewe to greate trouble. Foꝛ he shewed hymself to straungiers, which fauoꝛed the frenche partie, and so at last it was openly knowen, to the kynges counsaill, and almoste to all men: but when the Emperoꝛs Ambassadoꝛ knewe this darke dealyng, he mused not a litle and saied, that
xxx the Cardinal did dꝛiue pꝛiuie dꝛiftes, & that by his meanes onely, Jhon Jokyn was come into England, to entreate a peace in secret maner, oꝛ the kynges frendes might knowe it, and all people saied that Jhon Jokyn was but a caste away of Jeane, and had no liuyng to liue on, but of the lady Regent, and marueiled why he should be kept close, & so much cherished of the Cardinall. Foꝛ this keppyng close of this Jokyn, Englishemen wer rebuked at the Marte in Flaunders, and Bꝛabant. The Emperoꝛs Ambassadoꝛ and the bishop of Romes Ambassadoꝛ also soꝛe murmured, why this Jhon Jokyn should bee kept as a spirite in close, considꝛyng that there was open warre betwene the twoo kynges, &
xl feared that the kynges counsaill should be coꝛrupt. This Jhon Jokyn was muche with the Cardinall, but neuer was seen with the kyng noꝛ his counsaill, but foꝛ all the secretnes, Monsire Pꝛatt themperoꝛs Ambassadour, knewe all the offers that he made foꝛ peace (whiche in deede wer very greate) & how he had offered pencions, to diuerse young men aboute the kyng, of the which some wer very glad, & so the noyse by re-

son of suche offers ran, that a peace was likely to ensue in shorte space.

Monsire Pratt wrote of this matter, in all hast to the Emperor, in ỹ which letters he highly commended the kyng of England, for his stedfastnes; but he sayed some of ỹ kynges counsaill, loued neither the Emperour nor the kyng of England, and wrote to hym farther, all the maner of ỹ secret kepyng of Jhō Jokyn. These letters at last wer brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunce it was not openly knowen, and so he sent for Monsir Pratt, and declared to hym the matter, which answered him, that he was counsailer and Ambassador to the Emperour, and that it was his parte, to assertein ỹ Emperor of euery thyng, that was or might sound prejudicial to his maiestie, but howsoeuer that his answere was taken, he was not fauored with the Cardinall, but he sayed openly, that it was not well ment to the Emperor, to stoppe his packet with letters & to open them, & the Spanyardes saied, that ỹ Emperor sent them not into England to slepe, but to do him seruice. The byshop of Romes Ambassador wrote to his master, that peace was likely to be concluded, betwene Englande and Fraunce, and willed hym to bee the firste frende to the Frenche kynge, rather then the seconde. Of whiche writyng came harme after, as you shall heare. x

In this moneth tidynges came to the kyng, howe the Marques of Piscaire in Italy, had gotten from the Frenche kyng, a castle called the castle. s. Angell, which was a greate fortificacion, of his siege at Pauie. xx

There was in this moneth a Flemyng in Heddyng Castle, whyche came often tymes to sainct Omers, & promised thē yf they would come to Heddyng, he would deliuer the castle. Upon his worde thei of sainct Omers, gathered together seuen hundred footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and poynted with the spie, that the fourthe day of Februarye, thei would come thether, & when the false knaue knewe the day, he told Monsire Pontdormie, Capitain of Heddyng, which incontinent filled the castle with men of warre, and laied bussheméntes on euery side, and had laied the ordinaunce, all on the one side of the Castle, that way that the Flemynges should come. The men of warre of sainct Omers, were cōueighed by their spie, mistrustyng nothyng, to a posterne, which was litle vsed, and when there were as many in, as the Frenchmen thought sufficient, thei let fal the Portcolis: Then Monsire Pontdormie cried, slaie, slaie, then the Flemynges wist that they wer betraied, & put them selfes to fight for their liues, that seyng Monsire Pontdormie, cōmaūded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and fury, that the flame was so greate and fierce, that it brent thesaied Lorde Pontdormie, & .xxvij. of his compaignions all gentlemen, the trayne was so hastely fiered, that thei had no leasure to auoyde. In the fight tenne of ỹ Flemynges wer slain, & thirtie kept thēselfes so hardely together, that their liues were graunted them, & so was taken as prisoners, the remnant that entred kept ouer the castle wal, and so saued themselfes, & tolde newes to their horsmen, which wer without, which hearyng the mischaunce, returned

Treason at Heddyng castle. xxx xl

toward

toward sainct Omers.

Sundaie the fifth day of March, wer receiued into London, Monsire de Beuer lorde of Champhere, Admiral of Flaunders, & the Presi- Ambassadors of Flaūders.
dent of Malynes, called Maister Jhon de la Coos, & Maister Jhon de la Gache, as Ambassadors from the lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor, for causes of the lowe countreis, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Zelande: and on Tewesday thei wer brought to the kyng to Bridwel, whiche nobely theim entertained, & then thei shewed how themperors maiestie, had commaunded theim to obey the kyng of England, as pro-
x tector and gouernor, wherfore thei & all theirs, wer at his cōmaunde-ment, & yf thei had doen other wise, & not obeyed hym as their gouernor, thei asked him mercy, thē the kyng & thei talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadors demaūded thre thinges.

First, thei demaunded the ladie Mary the kynges onely daughter, 1
to be deliuered to theim out of hande, & she to be named Empriss, & to take possession of all the lowe countreis, and to be gouernor of thesame, this article was not agreed to, for causes.

Also that all suche sommes of money, as the kyng should geue with 2
her in mariage, for a dower to be made to her, shoulde be paied incon-
xx tinent, this article was also denied.

Thirdly, that the kyng of England hymself, should passe the sea and 3
make warre in Fraunce, the next Sommer, to this the kynge saied he would take aduisement.

Thursday the.ix. day of Marche, at. viij. of the clocke in the mornyng there came a gentleman in poste, frō the ladye Margaret gouernesse of Flaunders, & brought letters, shewyng how that the.xxiiij. daie of February, the siege of Pauia, where the Frenche kyng had lien long, was raised by force of battaill, and the Frenche kyng hymselfe takē prisoner,
xxx and how by the Duke of Burbon, the Viceroy of Naples called Mygnouale, and the Marques of Piscaire, and other of the Emperors capitaines, the whole power of Fraunce was discomfited, & how the duke of Albany with seuen thousande men, was goyng to Naples, and how the bishop of Rome was become French, against the Emperor, and had sent his cosyn in aide of the Frēch kyng, with a great power. Thesame daie the president of Roan & Jhon Jokyn, wer goyng to ỹ Court (for they had not yet spokē with the kyng) & in Holburne in their way was tidynges brought them, of the takyng of the kyng their Master, and of the losse of the feld, which hearyng this misauenture, returned to their lodgyng sorowfull, and within shorte space, returned to the Regent of
xl Fraūce. It was thought surely that the kyng of England, would haue had peace with the French kyng, yf this chaunce had not happened, for all the people of Englande, grudged against Flaunders, for their euill entreatyng, in the tyme of warre, & also the kynge was displeased with theim, for enhaunsyng his coyne there, which was a cause that money was dayly conueighed out of the Realme, and many other causes ther

were of grudge.

A triūph for the taking of the ffrenche kyng.

Saterdaye the.xj.daie Marche, in the citie of London for these tydynges, wer made greate fiers and triumph, & the Maior and Aldermen road about the citie with Trumpettes, and much wyne was laied in diuerse places of the citie, that euery man might drynke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadours of Rome, of Flaunders, and Uenice, had a greate banket made in a goodly tent, whych pleased theim well, and as thei returned homewarde, all the stretes were full of harnessed men & Cressettes, attendyng on the Constables, whiche they preised muche.

Sonday the.xij. of Marche, the kyng accompaignied with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperor, of Scotland, of Uenice, of Millam and Florence, road in his estate to Paules churche, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, & a.xj. prelates waited on hym in pontificalles, and after Masse was doen, the quere sang *Te deum*, & the mynstrelles plaied on euery side, and when all was doen, the kyng returned to Bride wel, and there kept a solempne dinner. The bishop of Scotland was muche marked this day, for whēsoeuer he came to the Court, before this time his apparell was sumpteous, his whodde was euer beluet or crimosyn Satyn: but after the takyng of the French kyng, he ware onely blacke Chamlet, by whych token men iudged his Frenche harte.

The true report of the takyng of the frēch kyng.

From the.ix.day of Marche to the.xvj.day, the kyng had no moletters, of the maner of battaill of Pauie, and that day he receiued a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a gentleman called Gropayne: when the kyng had redde the letter, he came into the Quenes Chamber, & there the saied Gropayne declared the maner of the siege, & how well it was planted, and how themperors men entered the French campe by force, and threwe doune their bastiles, & fought with the Frenchmen, within their Campe, and tooke their kyng prisoner in the same, & many other whiche was marueil. For when the French kyng entered Italy, he had in his gard.xj.C. men, and of speres furnished twoo.M.iij.C.l. and of light horsemen eight hundred and.xx. and of footemen.lxij.M. and of these the duke of Albany had but eight thousande, so that there remayned with the Frenche kyng.xlix.M.ix.C. and fiftie men, wherof was taken.xiiij.M. and mo, beside the great riches, & the goodly ordinance which were.xij. greate Bombardes of brasse, and.xxiiij. greate Canon peces.xxiiij. double Curtalles, foure double Canon peces, two middle Canon peces, & eight other peces. After the feld was doen, the French kyng was put in the custodie of the Uiceroy of Naples, whiche muche comforted hym, and preised his valiauntnes, and praied hym to be content, for he should haue a gentle ende, thē he desired to write to his mother, whiche was to hym graunted, the very wordes wer these.

" To aduertise you of my infortunate chaunce: Nothyng is left but ỹ
" honor, and the life that is saued, and because some other newes shal re-
" comforte you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the which libe-
" rally hath been graunted to me: besechyng you to regard ỹ extremitie

of

of your selfe, in ensuyng your accustomed wisedome. For I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you recommendyng your litle enfantes, and myne, supplyng you to geue sauecõduite, to passe and returne from Spain, to this berar that goeth toward the Emperor, to know in what wyse I shalbe intreated, & thus right hũbly to your good grace, I haue me recõmended: This subscribed by your humble and obediẽt sonne Frances.

This season the Cardinal beyng in the kynges fauor, obteined licẽce to make a College at Oxforde, and another at Ipswyche, & because he would geue on landes to the sayd Colleges, he obteined of the bishop of Rome, license to suppresse and put doune diuerse Abbayes, Priories, & Monasteries, to the nomber of wherfore sodainly he entered by his Cõmissioners, into the saied houses, and put out the Religious, and tooke all their goodes, moueables, & scarcely gaue to the poore wretches any thyng, except it wer to the heddes of the house, & then he caused therchester to sit, and to finde the houses voyde, as relynquished, & founde the kyng founder, where other men wer founders, & with these landes he endewed with al his Colleges, which he begã so sumpteous and the scholers wer so proude, that euery persone iudged, that thende would not be good, as you shall heare, fiue yeres hereafter.

The Cardynal first begã to suppresse Abbeies.

The Erle of Castelles which was sent into Scotlande, returned into England, the.xix. daie of Marche, but because the French kyng was taken, his commission for the moste part was determined, and so he and all his compaignie toke their leaue of the kyng, & without any reward returned into Scotlande, the fourth daie of Aprill.

The Scottes returned into Scotlande.

In this monethe of Marche, the kyng sent Cutberd Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wyngfeld, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancastre, and Knight of the Gartier, into Spain to the Emperour for greate causes concernynge the takyng of the Frenche kyng, and in especiall for warres to be made on Fraũce, on euery side. For so ỹ kyng of England and his counsaill, were agreed & determined: and thesame moneth the Ambassadors, departed again into Flaunders.

The counsail remembryng that it was determined, that the kyng in proper persone should passe the sea, they cõsidered that aboue all thynges, greate threasure and plentie of money, must nedes be had in a readines: wherefore by the Cardinall were deuised straunge Cõmissions, and sent in the ende of Marche to euery shire, and Commissioners appoynted, which wer the greatest men of euery shire: and priuie instruccions sent to them, to saie and ordre the people, and the tenor was, that the first part of euery mannes substaunce, should without delaie bee payed in money or plate, to ỹ kyng, for the furniture of his warre: wherefore the Cardinall, as chief Commissioner for London, sent for sir Wilyam Bayly knight, then Maior of the citie, and the Aldermen, and diuerse hedde Commyners, and sayd to them in maner folowyng. Your ỹ kynges welbeloued frendes & subiectes, of the citie of London, I must

Cõmissions.

The proposition of the Cardynall.

Declare

declare to you, how the kyng contrary to his awne mynd and will, but compelled of verie force, is determined to entre into a new war, for the more explanacion of the truthe, you shall vnderstande, that after that Fraunces the Frenche kyng that now is, had obteigned the Croune & scepter of the realme of Fraunce, he moste humbly sued to the kyng our Master, for peace, loue, and amitie, promisyng vpon the Euangelistes, to kepe the league then concluded, and also to paie to lady Maryquene dowager of Fraunce, her due pencion and doware, to her graunted by kyng Lewes her husbande. After this he by his Ambassadors, humbly desired the citie of Turnay, which kyng Lewes before tyme had loste: & the kyng which would that the citie of Turnay, shoulde bee no cause of grudge, betwene hym & the Frenche kyng, consented that for certaine sommes of money, it should be deliuered. And farther the more to bynd amitie betwene theim, the kyng was content, that a communicacion of mariage should be had, betwene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the ladie Marie Princes of England, yet for to entreate more loue, familiaritie, and acquaintance, the king to his greate cost and charge passed the sea, and met in persone with the Frenche kyng, thynkyng that by reason of personall sight and actuall communication, that more stable and ferme loue should growe betwene them, thē by writyng, at which time it was & vndoubtedly thought, that there could be no more loue be knit, betwen two persones. There were couenauntes made and swore, & the kyng our Master saied to the French kyng: Brother now that you and I be this knit, I require you to kepe ferme peace, & amitie, with my nephew themperor: and also suffre not Duke Jhon of Albany, to go into Scotlande, for puttyng the young king my nephewe, in ieoperdie of his persone, wherfore if you loue me, in especiall kepe these two articles: if you obserue these articles, and al other couenauntes betwene vs agreed, I assure you there had neuer prince a surer frende, then you shall haue of me. Then the French kyng laied his hand in myne (said the Cardinall) & and sware by the othe of a kyng, he would obserue & kepe fermely, these poyntes with many mo, and after the kynges were departed, and that the Emperoure was come to the kyng to Calice: the French kyng sent Monsir dela Roche baron with letters, declaryng that he was in perfecte league and amitie with the Emperor, and this not withstandyng, he within lesse space then halfe a yere, sent Robert de la Marche, to inuade the Emperors lande, & made warre in Nauerre & other places. The kyng our Master hearyng this, of his mere charitie sent me, and other nobles with a greate trayne to Calice, to knowe by whom ỹ war began, for he promised to be enemie to hym that brake first. To which & place came from the Frenche kyng, his Chanceller, and Monsire de la Palice, and many other noble men. And from the Emperor came his Chanceller, and the lord Cheuers, and there in open counsaill, the Emperors Ambassadors, did shewe the French kynges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced and began the warre: to which poynte

The saiyng of the kyng of England.

The othe of the ffrenche kyng.

the Frenche Ambassadours could not answere. What should I saie, the warre was open on bothe parties, I sent to the French kyng Ambassadors, to entreate peace, but in nowise he would consēt, wherfore I with my compaignie returned. In ỹ meane season (although I doubted nothyng, the Frenche kynges faithe toward our Maister) yet for a more suertie, I obteigned a saueconduit for the English Merchauntes, that thei should go to Burdaux, and vpon suertie of that oure Merchantes passed, yet he contrary to his saueconduit, toke ỹ Merchantes goodes, & put their bodies in prison, whiche the Turke woulde not haue doen.

The kyng sent gentely to him, his herault Clarenseux, desiryng him to redresse all these enormities, and to paie him his sommes of money, due to hym and to the Quene his sister, for her dower, which to do he refused and denied, whiche thynges you knowe, ỹ kyng of his honor might not suffre. Wherfore mightely he hath these three yeres, kept warre cōtinually bothe on lande and sea, and inuaded Fraunce with two armies royall, and bet their tounes, castles, & fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of Somme, and proffered battaill to the Frenchmen, in their awne countrey, and hath brought the countrey, in such penury and wretchednes, that in many yeres it wyll not be recouered.

And the more to hurt & damage the Frenche kyng, the kyng hath in wages the Duke of Burbon, whiche was the greatest strengthe on the Frenche part: by whose power and aide of other, which had great sommes of money, of the kyng our Master, the Frenche kyng in persone is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, before Pauia, and kept as prisoner to the Emperor and the kyng our Master, & that for great reason: for our Master sent sir Gregory de Cassado his Ambassador, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Burbon, & the Marques of Pescaire, with a hundred thousand Crounes, so that thei would fight with the Frenche kyng: For the which money they assented, and so gaue battaill, in the which they slewe. xij. thousand men, and drouned. vij. thousande, and. xiij. thousande taken prisoners, & now sithe God hath geuen vs victory, the kyng remēbryng the saiyng of the Poet that saieth: It is more mastery to vse victorie gotten, then to get, thynketh it necessarie now in all hast, to make an armie royall, and he in person to passe the seas, & to recouer his right inheritance, bothe of the Croune of Fraūce as of Normandie, Guyen, Gascone, Aniowe & Mayne, the writynges whereof cōprehendyng the very title, you maie se here present yf ye list, but I doubt not but you knowe them wel inough. And now I aske you this questiō, wheter that you thynke it cōuenient, that the kyng should passe with an armie or not, for the kyng will do by thauise of his subiectes: to the whych many sayed yea, yea.

Wel saied the Cardinal, thē must he be made able to go like a prince, which cannot without your aides, & for to shewe you what the Archebishoppe of Cantorbury and I, which bee primates of the realme haue doen, we haue geuen of our landes, and al landes apperteignyng to the

The Cardinals demaūd

churche

churche the third parte, and the tempozall lozdes, haue geuē of landes and goodes, the sixt parte, and to ieopard their bodies in pain and trauaill, and now sithe they which shall auēture their lifes, doth prefer the sixt part, what should thei geue which abide at home? For soth I thinke that halfe your substaunce were to litle, not meanyng that the kyng so asketh. For he demaundeth onely no more, of fiftie.l. the sixt part, & so vpon euery.l. aboue fiftie.l. to what some soeuer it amounte to, the sixt part that is.iij.s.iiij.d. of the.l. and from.xx.l. to fiftie pounde, & so vpward.v.s. and.viij.d. of the pounde, & from.xx. pounde to.xx.s.xij.d. of the pounde, and this to be leuied accordyng to the first baluacion, as x appereth by your awne baluacion, whiche is but a small matter, to the thing that is meant. Thē they beyng astonied, at last ỹ one said, my lord sithe the last baluacion, diuerse Merchantes be decaied, by the seas, & suertiship, and other waies, so that baluaciō cannot bee had. Then answered the Cardinal, sers, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for some shall not paie the tenth parte, & some more, it wer better that some should suffre indigence, thē the kyng at this tyme should lacke, and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffill not in this case, for it maie fortune to cost some their heddes. But I will speke to the kyng, to bee good to you, so that yf he go not ouer the sea in persone, then you xx shall haue your money redeliuered, but firste let the money bee gathered, and laie it where you wyll, & yf the kyng nede it not, you maie take it agayn.

The Cardinalles threatenynges.

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior, & hys brethrē and other hedde Cominers, they toke their leaue, & euery day after by the space of fortenight, he sent for a certain nomber of Compyners, and tolde theim like tale, but some spake suche woordes to him, & some goyng from hym, that they were sent to ward.

The saiyng of ỹ clergie.

Now were Commissioners sent to the clergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euery assembly the priestes answexxx red, that thei would pay nothyng, except it wer graunted by Conuocacion, other wise not: for thei saied that neuer kyng of England, did aske any mannes goodes, but by an ordre of the lawe, and this Commission is not by the ordre of the lawe: wherfore they saied, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof, were enemies to the kyng, and to the commō wealthe. This infamie was spoken in preachynges, and euery where.

The grudge of the cōmō people.

When this matter was opened through Englande, howe the great men toke it it was maruel, the poore cursted, ỹ riche repugned, the light wittes railed, but in conclusion, all people cursted the Cardinal, and his coadherentes as subuersor of the Lawes and lybertye of Englande. xl For thei saied, yf men should geue their goodes by a Commission, then wer it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened at Redyng in Barkeshire, that the Cōmissioners satte for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent

to

to the sixt parte: but of their awne mere mynde, for the loue they bare too the kyng, they graunted the twelueth parte, that is xx.d. of the pounde, the commissioners hearing this, sated they would sende to the Cardinal, desiryng hym to be content with this offre, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that sir Richard Weston would beare it, the whiche letter at the request of the gentelmen of the coũtrey, the said sir Richard toke vpõ him to cary, & roade to the Cardinall: whiche therewith was sore greued and said, but because that the lorde Lisle wrote, that the matter was but communed of, and not concluded, it should cost the lorde Lisle his hedde x and his landes should be sould to paie the kyng the values, that by hym and you folyshe commissioners he had lost, and all your liues at the kynges will: these wordes sore astonied sir Richard Westõ, but he said litle.

Then the Cardinall wrote letters, to all commissioners of the Realme that they should kepe their first instrucciõ, and in no wise to swarue one iote, vpon paine of their liues, and euery man to be valued, according to the valuacion taken in the.xiiii.yere. This laste poynte sore touched the citie of London, for the Cardinall in the.xiiii. yere, sent one Doctor Tunes his secret Chapelein, to the Chapter house of Paules, promysyng to the Londoners, that whatsoeuer they valued themselfes at, that no man xx should knowe it, but the kyng, the Cardinall, and he, vpon whiche promesse, many persones for their more credite, and to be the higher estemed valued theimselfes at a greater substaunce then they were worthe: thynkyng neuer to lende or paie by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were paied, accordyng as men were sessed, and not by Master Tunes boke, whẽ men valued thẽselfes, not knowing what should succede.

Now in this tyme was that subtile valuacion, laied to their charge, which when they perceiued, they murmured muche and said, they would paie nothyng, except the kynges lawes, vnder whiche they were borne, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, cõmissioners went out to euery xxx shire, for the leuie of the said money, but for al that could be perswaded, saied, lied, and flattered, the demaunde could not bee assented to, saiyng, that they that sent furthe suche Commissioners, were subuerters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as traitours. So that in all the realme were billes set vp, in all places: Some billes said, that the kyng had not paied that he borowed: Some saied that the Subsedy amounted treble, more then he had bestowed: Other saied whatsoeuer was graunted, no good came of it: And other saied that the Cardinall, sent al the money to Rome, thus was the mutteryng through all the realme, with curses and weppynges, that pitie it was to beholde. The mutteryng of the people. f

xl Duryng this season that the Commissioners sat, and that the byshop of London, and other the kynges Ambassadours, were abidyng wynd to saile into Spaine to the Emperor (as you haue hard rehersed) Monsire Pratt, the Emperours Ambassadour, whiche was sore angrie for Jhon Jokyns commyng into Englande, as you haue heard before, departed priuely out of the Realme of Englande, the nyne daie of Aprill, without

speakyng with the kyng, or the Cardinall, and so muche did by sauecon-
duite, that he passed throughe Fraunce in poste, and came to the Empe-
rour, before the Ambassadours of Englande came thether, and whether
it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed fauour that the Empe-
rour and his counsail shewed to the Englishemen, began then to decaie,
and to shewe themselfes vnkynde to the English nacion, without cause,
as you shall here after perceiue.

The icoperdy the kyng was in.

In this yere the kyng folowyng of his hauke, lept ouer a diche beside Hychyn, with a polle and the polle brake, so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, & lift vp his hed, whiche was fast in the clay, he had bene droned: but God of his goodnes preserued him.

This yere at Whitsontyde, died Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and was honourably buried at Thetford in Suffolke.

¶ The. xvii. yere.

The. xvii. yer.



In the beginnyng of this. xvii. yere, the Commissioners in all shires sate, for the leuie of the sixt parte of euery mannes goodes, but the burden was so greuous, that it was denied, and the commõs in euery place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. When this mischief was shewed to the kyng, he saied that he neuer knewe of that demaunde, and therefore with greate diligence, he sent his letters to the citie of Londõ, and to al other places, in the which the kyng gently wrote, that he would demaunde no some certain, but suche as his louyng subiectes would graunte to hym of their good myndes, toward the maintenaunce of his warres: wherfore the Cardinall, the twentie and sixt date of Aprill, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsaill of the same, with the moste substanciall persones, of the common counsaill, and when they were come to his place at Westminster, he saied: the kyng our soueraigne lorde, moste graciously considereth the greate loue, zeale, and obedience, whiche you beare vnto hym, and where like louing subiectes, without any grudge or agaynsaie, of your louyng myndes you haue graunted the sixt parte, of all your goodes and substaunce, frely to bee paied, accordyng to the firste valuacion, the whiche louyng graunte and good mynde, he so kyndly accepted, that it was maruell to se. But I my selfe do cõsider the great losses, and other charges that daily hath, & doth to you growe, and that notwithstanding, any losse or charge that happeneth to you, yet you neuer withstode nor againsaied, any of the kynges demaundes or Commissions, as it appereth now of late, of whiche doo-

The saiyng of the Cardinal to the Lõdoners.

ynges, I haue highly the kyng enformed, for the which he gaue you hartie thankes. Then I kneled doune to his grace, shewyng hym both your good myndes to warde hym, and also the charges, that you continually susteyn, the whiche at my desire and peticion, was content to call in, and abrogate thesame commission, & where he by reason of your awne graũtes, might haue demaunded thesaied somme as a verie debte, yet he is

content

content to release and pardon the same, and wil nothyng take of you, but of your beneuolence: wherfore take here with you the kynges letter, and let it be redde to the commons, and I doubte not but you will gladly do, as louyng subiectes should do.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not said, that the kyng had released and pardoned the first demaunde, the citezens would haue answered the Cardinal, that they neuer made no suche graunt, and for a surete no more they did not: and so they helde their peace, & departed toward London, sore grudgyng at the lyng of the Cardinal, and openly saiyng that he was the very cause, and occasiō of this demaunde, and would plucke the peoples hartes from the kyng.

The. xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the common counsaill of the cytie, was redde the kynges letter, according to the effect aboue rehersed, wherfore the citezens sent foure Aldermen, and. xii. Cominers to Hampton courte to geue thankes to the lorde Cardinall, whiche for busines as was saied could not speake with hym, wherfore they returned not content. Then euery Alderman assembled his ward, in their places accustomed, & gently moued them of a beneuolence, to be graunted to the kyng, the which they openly denied, saiyng, that they had pated inough before, with many euill wordes. The common counsaill.

The, viii. daie of Maie, the Cardinall agayn sent for the Maior and his brethren, whiche shewed thē what they had done: then saied the Cardinall, you haue no suche commission to examyne any man, I am youre Commissioner, I will examyne you one by one my selfe, and then I shall knowe the good will that you beare to your prince, for I will aske of you a beneuolence in his name. Then was it answered to the Cardinall, by a counsailer of the citie, that by the lawe there might no suche beneuolence be asked, nor men so examined, for it was contrary to the statute made in the first yere of kyng Rychard the thirde, also some persones commyng before your grace, maie for feare graunte that, that all dates of their lyfe they shall repent, and some to wynne your fauour, wil graunt more then they bee able to paie of their awne, and so ronne in other mennes debtes, so that by dredfull gladnes, and fearefull boldnes, men shall not be masters of themselfes, but as menne distraied, shall graunte that that their wifes and children shall sore rewe. The Cardinall hard this saiyng bety paciently, and answered: Sir I maruell that you speake of Rychard the third, whiche was a vsurper and a murtherer of his awne nephewes: then of so euill a man, how can the actes be good, make no suche allegacions, his actes be not honorable. And it please your grace said the counsailer, although he did euill, yet in his tyme were many good actes made not by hym onely, but by the consent of the body of the whole Realme, whiche is the parliament. Then sir Willyam Bayly lorde Maior, kneled doune and besought his grace, that sithe it was enacted, by the common Counsaill of London, that euery Alderman should sit in his awne ward, for a beneuolence to be graunted, which he perceiued to be against

the lawe, that thesame acte by thesame common counsall, might be reuoked and no otherwise: well saied the Cardinall, I am content. But now will I entre into the kynges Commission: You Maior, and you Master Aldermen, what will you geue? my lorde saied the Maior, I praie you pardon me, for if I shoulde entre into any graunt, it might fortune to cost me my life: your life saied the Cardinall, that is a marueilous worde, for your will toward the kyng, will the citezens put you in ieopertie of your life, that were straunge: For if they would that waie, then must the kyng come with strong power them to oppresse, wherfore speake no more such wordes, and with that he studied a litle and saied: My lorde Mayor, let you & your citezens, if you be greued with any thyng, in this demaunde, humbly and after a good fashiō come to me, and I shall so entreate you that you shalbe content, and no displeasure arise, & so I praie you shew your neighbours, and so the Maior for that daie departed.

The flatterynge of the Cardinall.

The Maior did wysely not to assent to graunt to any thyng, for although he and the Aldermen had assented, the common counsaill would neuer haue assented. So on the next morowe, it was declared to the commen coūsaill, that their act that was made that euery Alderman should sit for a beneuolence to be graunted, was against a statute lawe: wherevpon thesaid act was anulled: and then was it declared, that euery man should come to the Cardinal, and to graunt priuily what he would, with this saiyng the citezens wer sore greued, then the Maior gentely shewed them, how he durst warrant, that they should bee entreated gentely, and exhorted theim to go thether when they were sent for, whiche saiyng nothyng pleased theim: and then in a furie they would haue had Rychard Gresham, and Jhon Hewster Mercers, and Richarde Gibson Seriant at armes and Merchant Tailor, bantshed out of the common counsaill, and so without answere made, what they would do, they departed home.

In thesame season through all the realme, this demaunde was vtterly denied, so that the Commissioners could bryng nothyng to passe, and yet they assaied bothe by faire waies and foule: some spake faire and flattered, other spake cruell and threatened, and yet could not bryng theyr purpose aboute. For in Kent the lorde Cobham was commissioner, and handled men roughly, and by reason one Jhō Skudder answered hym clubbishly, he sent hym to the Towre of London: For whiche doyng the people muttered, and grudged against the lorde Cobham, and saied expresly, that they would paie no money, and then they began to accōpt the loanes and subsidies graunted, so that thei rekened the kynges Tresure innumerable, for they accompted that the kyng had takē of this realme, twentie fiftenes, sithe the.xiiii. yere of his reigne, and in this grudge, they euill entreated sir Thomas Bullein at Maidestone.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntyngdon shire, diuerse resisted the commissioners to sit, whiche were apprehended, and sent to the Flete.

Insurrection in Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke, sat in Suffolke this season in lyke commis-

sion,

tion,and by gentle handlyng,he caused the riche Clothiers to assent, and graunt to geue the sixt parte, and when they came home to their houses, they called to them their Spinners,Carders,Fullers,Weuers, & other artificers, whiche were wont to be set a worke and haue their liuynges by clothe makyng,and saied, sirs we be not able to set you a worke, our goodes be taken from vs, wherefore trust to your selfes, and not to vs, for otherwise it wil not be.Then began women to wepe,and young folkes to crie, and men that had no worke, began to rage, and assemble themselfes in compaignies. The Duke of Suffolke hearyng of this, x commaunded the Constables, that euery mannes harnes, should be taken from them,but when that was knowen,then the rumor waxed more greater,and the people railed openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and lyr Robert Durie,and threatened them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanam, Sudbery, Hadley, and other Townes aboute, there rebelled foure thousande men, and put themselfes in harnes, and rang the belles Alarme,and began togather still more:then the duke of Suffolke perceiuyng this, began to raise men, but he could get but a small nombre, and they that came to hym saied, that they would defende hym from all perilles,if he hurte not their neighbours, but against their neyxr ghbours they would not fight: Yet the Gentelmen that were with the duke did so muche,that all the bridges were broken, so that their assemble was some what letted.

The duke of Norffolke,high Threasorer and Admirall of Englande hearyng of this,gathered a greate power in Norffolke, & came towarde the commons, and of his noblenes he sent to the cõmons, to knowe their intent,whiche answered:that they would liue and die in the kynges causes,and to the kyng to be obedient: When the duke wist that,he came to thé,and then all spake at once,so that he wist not what they meant.Then he asked who was their Capitain,and bad that he should speake: then a xxx well aged manne of fiftie yeres and aboue, asked licence of the Duke to speake,which graunted with good will.My lorde saied this man,whose name was Jhon Grene, sythe you aske who is our capitain, for soth hys name is Pouertie, for he and his cosyn Necessitie, hath brought vs too m. Lep. this doyng, for all these persones and many mo, whiche I would were not here, lyue not of our selfes,but all we lyue, by the substanciall occupiers of this countrey,and yet they geue vs so litle wages,for our worksi manship,that scarcely we be able to liue, and thus in penurie we passe the tyme,we, our wifes and childré,and if they by whom we liue, be brought in that case, that they of their litle, cannot helpe vs to earne our liuyng, then must we perisshe,and die myserably.I speke this my lorde,the cloth makers haue put all these people,and a farre greater nomber frõ worke the husbande men haue put away their seruauntes,and geuen vp housholde,they say,the kyng asketh so much,that thei be not able to do as thei haue done before this tyme, & then of necessitie, must we dye wretchedly: wherfore my lorde,now accordyng to your wisedom, consider our necessitie.

sitie? The Duke was sory to heare their complaint, and well he knewe that it was true: then he saied, neighbours, seuer your selues a sonder, let euery man departe to his home, and chose furthe foure, that shall answer for the remnant, and on my honor I wil sende to the kyng, and make hũble intercession for your pardon, whiche I trust to obtein, so that you wil depart, then all they aunswered they would, and so they departed home.

At the twoo dukes requestes, commissioners of great authoritie were sent to theim, then the Duke of Norffolke, and the Duke of Suffolke came to Bery, & thether came many people of the countrey, in their shirtes, and halters about their neckes, mekely desiryng pardon for their offences: the Dukes so wysely handeled themselfes, that the commõs were appeised, & in especiall one Master Jermyn, toke muche pain in tidyng and goyng, betwene the lordes and commons: then the demaunde of money ceased in all the realme, for well it was perceiued, that the commons would none paie.

After this, the twoo dukes came to London, and brought with theim the chief capitaines of the rebelliõ, which were put in the Flete, and then the kyng came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: Whereupon this matter, he assembled a great counsaill, and openly he said, that his mind was neuer, to aske any thyng of his commons, whiche might sounde too his dishonour, or to the breche of his lawes, wherfore he would know of whom it was long, that the commissions were so straight, to demaunde the syxt parte of euery mannes substaunce: The Cardinall excused hymself and said, that when it was moued in counsaill, how to make the kyng ryche, the Kynges Counsaill, and especially the Judges sated, he might lawfully demaunde any some by Commission, and that by the assent of the whole Counsaill it was done, and toke God to witnes, that he neuer maligned nor desired, the hynderaunce of the commons, but lyke a true counsailer, deuised to enriche the kyng: And the spirituall men saie, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Joseph caused the kyng of Egypte, to take the fift parte of euery mannes goodes, but because euery manne laieth the burden from hym, I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noyes of the people, for my good will toward the kyng, and comfort of you my lordes, and other the kinges counsailers, but the eternall God knoweth all. Well said the kyng, some haue enformed me that my realme was neuer so riche, and that there should neuer trouble haue risen of that demaunde, and that men would paie at the first request, but now I fynde all contrary, then euery man helde his peace.

The foure wordes of ỹ kyng

The excuse of the Cardinal.

The kyng was sore moued, that his subiectes were thus stirred, and also he was enformed of the deniall, that the spirituall men had made, and of their saiynges, wherefore he thought it touched hys honoure, that his counsaill should attempt, suche a doubtful matter in his naine, and to bee denied bothe of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, for although some graunted for feare, before the commissioners, yet when they wer departed, they denied it again. Then the kyng sated I will no more of this

The kyng sore moued.

trouble:

trouble: Let letters bee sent to all shyres, that this matter maie no moze bee spoken of, I will pardon all theim, that haue denied the demaunde, openly oz secretly: Then all the Lozdes kneled doune, and hartely thanked the kyng. Then letters were sent to all commissioners to ceasse, with instruccions how to declare the kynges pardon. In whiche declaracion, was shewed, that the Cardinal neuer assented, to the first demaunde, and in the instruccions was compzehended, that the lozdes and the Judges, and other of the kynges counsaill, diuised thesame demaunde, and that the Cardinall folowed the mynd of the whole counsaill, these two poyntes were contrary one to another, whiche were well marked. And farther the instruccions were, that at the humble peticiõ, and supplicacion of the Cardinall, thesaied greate sommes, whiche were demaunded, by the kynges aucthozitie royall, were clerely pardoned and remitted, wherfoze the Commissioners willed the people to pzate foz the Cardinal: but the people toke all this foz a mocke, and saied God saue the kyng, foz the Cardinal is knowen wel inough, the commons would heare no pzayse spokẽ of the Cardinall, they hated hym so muche.

The pardon of the greate demaunde.

The.xix. daie of Maie, the Cardinall sent foz the Maioz and his bzethzen, and certain commiuers, and made the Maioz to sit doune by hym, and then declared, that where the kyng was determined, in pzoper persõ to passe the sea into Fraunce, foz whiche cause he asked of the Cytezens of London, and his other subiectes, an aide toward his charges, to whiche requeste (he saied) that the Londoners were at al tymes confozmable lyke louing subiectes, but sythe the kyng consydereth, the greate fall of the Frenche kyng, whiche is yet pzysoner, and that dayly he hath suite made to hym foz peace, greatly to his honoz and pzofite, foz I truste that all his ryght and title, shalbe to hym deliuered, which thyng once agreed I truste you shall haue peace, and therefoze at my humble requeste, the kyng hath pardoned you, of all the sommes of money, that of you were demaunded: and if his grace had not passed the seas, although the money had bene gathered, surely it should haue bene restozed again, and cõsequently the kyng thanketh you as hartely, as any pzynce may thanke his subiectes: and foz asmuche as peace, is not yet concluded, I counsaill you to shewe your selfes, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to say that your bodie and goodes at his will and pleasure, so that youre louyng myndes towardes hym, maie to the Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane saied the Cardinall. Then the Maioz and his compaignie kneled doune, and most hartely thanked the kyng and hym and so departed. The next daie, all this was rehersed to the cõmon counsaill, whyche humbly thanked the kyng foz the pardon: but two thynges them soze displeased, one was that the Cardinall bad theim saie, they were the kynges body and goodes, they saied that they vsed no dissimulacion, foz they would not saie they were the kynges, but they thought and were the kynges in deede, and not in saiyng: the seconde was, that the Cardinall excused hymselfe, that he was ignozant of the first commission: foz al they

The kaiyng to the Maioz of London.

The pleatte feate of the Cardinall.

knew and were pzèsent, when he himself made to them the first mocion, & whatsoeuer was saied by the recozder, in his excuse, was taken as a cloke foz the rain, & a dissimulacion oz a mocke. Foz wisemen perceiued all the handelyng of the matter: after the kyng had pardoned euery offendour.

The. xix daie of Maie the lozdes sat in the Starre chamber, and thes ther were brought one Deuereux, a gentelman of Huntingdō shire (whi che would not suffre the commissioners to sit, as you haue hard) & Ihon Scudder of Kent, these twoo were brought from the towze, bare foote in their shirtes thzough Londō, to the Starre chamber, and there the Cardinall shewed them their offences, with terrible woozdes: and after that he shewed the kynges mercie, extended to them and declared their pardon, and so they were deliuered.

The mozowe after beyng the. xxx. daie, were the chief of the rebelles of Suffolke, brought to the Starre chamber barre, and there the kynges counsaill learned, laied soze to theim their offence, but the Cardinall declared foz thē the kynges pardon: then the kynges Attozney, asked suertie foz their good abezyng, they answered that they could finde none, thē saied the Cardinall I will be one, because you be my countrey men, and my lozde of Nozffolke will be another, and so they were discharged, and had money to bzyng them home: Now here is an ende of this commissiō, but not an ende of inward grudge and hatered, that the commons bare to the Cardinall, and to all gentelmen, whiche vehemently let furth that commission and demaunde.

In this troubelous season, the vplandischemen of Germany, called the bowzes, rose in a greate nomber, almoste an hundzed thousande, and rebelled against the pzinces of Germany, of whiche a great nomber were slain and destroied.

In Apzill last past, the Tyndale men, with the aide of the Scottes, to the nōber of eight hundred, did daily greate robories in Englande. Foz to repzesse this nest of theues were sent, sir Rychard Bulmer, and sir Cristopher Dacres, with a greate compaignie of Englischemen, and to them xxx diuerse men came, and submitted themselfes, but the great theues kept them in the mountaignes of Cheuiot, and daily skirmished with thenglischemen, and could not sone be taken: but after long lyng abzode, they scuered and many of them were taken.

In this very season the Frenchemen, kept a greate nomber of men of warre, at Bullein and there aboute, and the. v. daie of Maie foure hundzed hozsemen, embushed themselfes in the Fozest of Guysnes, and the same daie. lxxx. hozsemen of the Crewe of Guysnes, roade furthe seekyng auentures, the Frenchemen let theim passe, till they had theim at auauntage then they issued out and cried, kill, kill, then Englischemen them vaxx liauntly defended, almoste twoo houres, but at the last the Frenchemen, oppzessed theim with multitude, and brake their arraye, and slewe fiftie of them, the remnant saued themselfes: this chaunce was nothyng pleasant to the Englishe capitaines. But the Frenchemen were so surmounxxi ted

ted by this iourney, that the. xx. daie of Maie, the men of warre of all the garrisons in Picardy, assembled together, and came within the English pale to Aunderne, and so to Calice: the Frenchmen were of suche nombre that all the Englishe pale was spred ouer: At Balyngham the Frenchemen drawe awaie the catell: the Englishmen thought themselfes to weke to encounter with them, whiche were the whole strengthe of all Picardy. And so on the Assension daie, there came to Newnam bridge, three hundred horsemen, and there set a stale, but with ordinaunce they were made to go backe. Then came foure hundred Frenchemen to the Turne pike, and they had gotten all the cattell together. The bend of sir Robert Jernyngham, seyng the Frenchemen so nere Calice, set forward not past ix. horsemen, and they fiersly set on the Frenchemen, whiche fledde, and they chased them, and reskued all the catell, that the Frenchemen had taken, and with greate difficultie, brought them to the Marshe beside Calice.

The. xxviii. daie of Maie. v. C. horsemen and. xvi. C. footemen, came to a village called Froyton, within the Englishe pale, and many auentured ouer the Water to haue taken all the cattell in the Marryshes, of Hamnes, Guysnes, and Calice, whiche were of greate nomber, but the Frenchemen that made the auenture in the night, were askried and slain all saue two. Then the Frenchemen returned in a great furie, and sware that they would once robbe the Marrisses or els they would dye for it, and so returned to Bullein, whether were come of newe, fiue. C. horsmen called Stradiats, whiche fortified well the Frenche parties, in so muche that they passed in nomber fiue tymes the Englishemen.

You haue hard before, how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the whiche one was called Beggam in Sussex, the whiche was verie commodious to the countrey: but so befell the case, that a riotus compaignie, disguised and vnknowen, with painted faces and visures, came to thesame Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their place again, and promised theim that whensoeuer they rang the bell, that they would come with a great power, and defende the. This doyng came to the eare of the kynges counsaill, whiche caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the capitaines, whiche were emprisoned and sore punyshed. Riot at Beggam.

The Cardinall aboute this season, by his power Legantyne, sent a Chappelein of his, called Doctor Jhon Allein, a man of more learnyng then vertue, or good conscience, to visite all places religious: this priest roade in his goune of veluet, with a greate trayne, and was receiued into euery Religion with Procession, as though the legate had bene there, and toke suche greate sommes for his visitacion, that the religious sore were greued, and murmured muche against it, and in especiall, for they were charged with greate sommes of money to the kyng, and now thys sodayn visitacion or †predacion, cleane shaued them. The commō people spake muche againit this, and also they saied, that the Cardinall by Visitacions, makyng of Abbottes, probates of testamentes, grauntyng

† Predacion, that is a robbery.

of

of faculties, licenses, and other pollynges in his courtes legantines, had made his threasoze egall with the kynges, & yet euery yere he sent greate sommes to Rome: this was their communication, euer against the Cardinall, and his high aucthozitie, & the spirituall men moste disdained it.

You shall vnderstande, the kyng in his freshe youth, was in the cheynes of loue, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blunt, daughter to sir Jhon Blunt knyght, whiche damosell in syngyng, daunsyng, and in all goodly pastymes, exceded all other, by the whiche goodly pastymes, she wan the kynges harte: and she again shewed hym suche fauour, that by hym she bare a goodly manne childe, of beautie like to the father and x mother. This child was wel brought vp, like a Pzinces child, and when he was .vi. yere of age, the kyng made hym knight, and called hym lozde Henry fitz Roy, and on Sondaie beyng the .xviii. daie of June, at the manoz oz place of Bzideweli, thesaied Lozde ledde by twoo Erles, was created Erle of Nothyngham, and then he was brought backe again by thesaied twoo Erles: then the Dukes of Nozffolke and Suffolke, led hym into the great chamber again, and the kyng created hym, Duke of Richemond & Somerset: and thesame daie was the lozde Henry Courtenay Erle of Deuonshire, and colyn germayn to the kyng, was created Marques of Excester, and the lozde Henzy Bzandon, sonne to the Duke xx of Suffolke and the Frenche Quene the kynges sister, a childe of twoo yere old, was created Erle of Lincolne, and sir Thomas Manners lozde Roos, was created Erle of Rutlande, and sir Henry Clifford, was created Erle of Cumberlande, and the lozde Fitz Water sir Robert Radclif was created Viscount Fitz Water, and sir Thomas Bullein, treasozer of the kynges housholo, was created Viscount Rochefozde, and at those creacions, were kept greate feastes and disguisynges.

The creacion of the duke of Rychemond.

After this the Cardinall toke vpon hym, as the kynges chief counsailer, to se a refozmacion in the ozdze of the kynges houlholde, wherin he made certayn ozdinaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house xxx of the Duke of Richemond, whiche was then newly begon: Also at that tyme he ozdeined a counsail, and stablished an other housholo, foz the ladie Mary, then beyng Pzynces of the realme, so that all thyng that was done, was done by hym, and without his assent, nothyng was done: He toke so muche vpon hym, and made the kyng beleue, that all thynges should be to his honoz, and that he neded not to take any pain, so that to hym was the charge of all thynges committed, at the whiche wisemenne becked, and light men laughed, thynkyng great foly in his high pzesũpcion. And at this tyme, thesaied Cardinall gaue to the kyng, the lease of the Manoz of Hampton Court, whiche he had of the lease of the lozde of xl Sainct Jhones, and on whiche he had done greate coste. Therefoze the kyng of his gentle nature, licensed hym to lie in his Manoz of Richmõd at his pleasure, and so he late there at certain tymes: but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had bene kyng Henry the seuẽthes seruauntes, sawe the Cardinall kepe house in the Manoz royal of Richmond

mond, which kyng Henry the seuenth, so hyghly esteemed it, was a maruel to here, how they grudged and said, Is a Bochers dogge lye in the manor of Richemond: These with many approbrious wordes, were spoken a-gainst the Cardinal, whose pride was so high that he nothing regarded, and yet was he hated of moste men.

In this season the Frenche kynges mother, Regent of Fraunce, and the thre estates of the realme, assembled together, cõcernyng the estate of their realme: First, they sent a solempne Ambassador to themperour, with articles (as they thought reasonable) for ỹ deliueraũce of the Frẽch king
x and also for a peace, they sent also a messenger to the kyng of Englande, for a sauecondutte for an Ambassadour, to be sent into Englande, for a treatie of peace, whiche to the messenger, was graunted and deliuered.

Then came ouer as Ambassadour from Fraunce, Jhon Jokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche as you haue hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Master Larkes house, and when he came into Englande, he was welcomed of the Cardinall, and there betwene theim were suche communicacions, that at the sute of the saied Jhon Jokyn, a truce was concluded, from the.xiii. date of July for fortie daies, betwene England and Fraunce, bothe in the sea and beyonde the sea. Full well wist Jhon
xx Jokyn, what he meant, when he desired peace for fortie daies, for in that season the Pikardes, might haue a quiet haruest, to cary in their Corne, whiche they should not haue, if the garnisõs of Calice and guysnes: and other within the Englishe pale, had not bene restreined from warre, and also the Fishermen of Depe, Bullein, and Traport, had quiete fishyng, by this truce, for the naule of England, was come home to harborough, this truce greued the men of warre on both parties, it was so sodain that they wist not well what to do.

When the Flemynges hard tell of truce, and that they were not com-prehended in the same, they began to rayle and said, that the kyng of En-
xxx glande, had not done truly with thẽ, to take a truce without their know-lege: the Englishemen answered, that they had no Ambassadour in En-gland, and if that they had had any, they should haue bene made priuie, but the kyng would sende theim no worde of his affaires, if they would not sende to knowe, for he ought their master, nor yet them suche seruice.

The Frenchemen in this season, enterprised to enter into Flaunders, by Newe dike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynges, and because the Frenchemen passed by the Englyshe pale, and had nothyng done to them, the Flemynges were sore displeased, with the Englishmen of Calice.

xl In the latter ende of July came into Englande, Monsire Bryond chief President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinalles presence, at the Manor of Richemond, and when his Commission was shewed, it was doubted whether the auctoritie wer sufficiẽt, because the kyng his Master was prisoner in Spain: but then he shewed auctoritie, geuen to the Lady Regent, and certain nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the

Frenche

Frenche kyng in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all thynges that did or myght concerne his Realme, duryng his absence. When the commission was thought reasonable, then was reherſed to the Frencheimen their doublenes, their vnſtedfaſtnes, and how they had behaued theimſelfes toward the kyng of England: then they aunſwered if we haue offended, you haue vs punished, for you haue brent our tounes, ſlayn our people, deſtroyed our countrey, ſo that you haue brought the lowe parties, to a long miſerie without recouery, and therfore ſithe we be the leſers for our offence, yet we ſue for peace, leaſt we be more punished. After long conſultacion, they offered many offers: firſte, to pay all ſuche ſomes of money as were due, both for the yerely tribute, and alſo for the citie of Tournay, and the Frenche Quenes dowar, and farther to recompence the kyng of Englande his expences done in the warres.

Duryng this treatie, woorde was brought to the kyng of Englande, that there was a truce ſodainly concluded, betwene the realme of Fraũce and the ladie Margaret, Duches of Sauoy, and Gouernour of Flaunders and the lowe countreis, for the ſpace of. v. monethes, ſo that no entercourſe ſhould be betwene them for marchantes, but by ſaueconduite, and that this Proclamacion was proclaimed at ſainct Omers, the firſte daie of Auguſt, wherupon the kyng was contented, that a peace ſhould bee taken from the. xiiii. daie of Auguſt, to the firſte daie of December, whiche was proclaimed in London: and by this truce euery Engliſhmã without ſaueconduite, might paſſe into Fraunce, & thei likewiſe into Englande. When this truce was proclaimed, the people murmured & ſaid, now hath the Frenchemen gotten their fiſhyng quietly, and if they had bene kept from that, they had bene vndone, and ſo with faire wordes thei helpe themſelfes, whiche if we haue warre again, ſhall hurte vs, for this Herryng ſhall vitaill their tounes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpoſe.

Ambaſſadors into Dẽmark

This yere the kyng ſent Doctor Henry Standiſhe, Byſhop of ſainct Aſſe, and ſir Jhõ Baker knight into the realme of Denmarke, to comen and entreate with the nobles of the Countrey for the reduccion of kyng Criſtierne, to his realme, Croune, and dignitie, but all that could be ſaid or perſwaded, could not bryng the Danes to any reſon, they hated hym ſo for his greate crueltie, and in eſpeciall for the greate tiranny that he committed at Stokeholme in Swethen, where he deſired a greate nomber of his nobles to a banket, and after the bãket, ſtrake of their heddes. When the Ambaſſadours of Englande ſawe that they could not bryng hym in agayn: they then began to require, that his ſonne might haue the croune and dominion, whiche neuer them offended, and was of progeny borne of lady Iſabell, ſiſter to the Emperour Charles the. v. which alſo made great labour and inſtaunce for the ſame: but the Danes anſwered they would none of his procreacion, for they ſaid, the ſonne would folow the father, or els at the leaſt he would reuenge his fathers wrong, and ſo with this aunſwere they departed.

So

So muche did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, bothe by offers and entreatyes, that the king of England and his counsail, did condiscende to a peace, and the more sonet because thei sawe yf warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the cõmons, whiche had leuer rebell then pay any more money, as you haue hard in the last yere. Whẽ peace was concluded, then were Proclamacions of thesame, sent to euery citee and good toune, and the.viii.daye of September, thys peace was proclaymed solemply with a Trompet through the citee of London, the effecte wherof was, that vpon humble suite and large profers, made by the lady Regent of Fraunce, & the three estates of thesame, a peace, league, & amitie was concluded, betwene bothe the kynges of England & Fraũce, and their countreys and subiectes, so that the subiectes of either realme mate lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to bye and sell frankely and frely, without let or interruption, and that this league in no wyse, was a breche of the league taken with the Emperor and the lady Margaret, gouernesse of Flaunders in no point, but that thesaied Emperour and lady Margaret, and all other the kynges old and auncient confederates and alies, wer comprehended in thesame, and for due restitucion to be made to the Frẽchmen, there was appoynted the reuerẽde father, Cutberd bishop of Lõdon, and for restitucion to be made to the Englishmẽ, was appoynted the chief Presidẽt of Roan.

And on the.xi.daie of September, was a truce proclamed in Spain, in the toune of Vale Dolito, betwene themperor and the Frenche kyng, from that daie to the ende of December next ensuyng, at which time the Emperor had not seen the Frenche kyng, whiche was conueighed by sea out of Italy into Spain, to a Castle called Madrill, and there remaygned: and shortly after fell sore sicke, and was in greate ieoperdy, for the whiche the Frẽchmen cared litle, for thei saied that if he died, thei should paye no raunsome, and then their realme shoulde be quiet.

This peace betwene Englãd and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Flemynges, wherefore when they had dronke well, thei spake largely, and bosted how they had victailed the English armies, and found them cartes and cariages, and thought it not kyndly doen, to refuse them as old frendes & make peace wyth old enemies, but they did not considre what money the Englishemen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dred of the Englishemen, would not inuade Flaunders, so that thei lyued quietly, all this they considered not.

In thesame moneth this peace was proclamed, in Paris, Liõs, Roan and Amias: by this peace the kyng of Englande, should receiue at certain dates.xx.hundred thousande Crounes, whiche then was foure hundred thousand pound sterlyng, of the whiche one paiment of fiftie thousande pounde was paied in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were aboute the retinue of Calice, Hammes, and Guysnes, wer called home, and the shippes brought into the hauens, and many a Kreker wist not how to lyue.

In the moneth of October wer sent into Fraunce, sir Willyam Fitz-Willyam Threasorer of the kynges house, and docter Taylor, as Ambassadors from the kyng of England, & wer receiued through Fraunce very honorably, and by long iorneis at the last, came to the citie of Liõs the .xxiiii. daie of Nouember where to them wer presented, Wine Fishe, Flesshe, and Ware, and thei wer visited with diuerse noble men. And on the .xxvi. daie they wer conueighed to the Courte by twoo Erles, and at the gate receiued with two Cardinalles, and so brought to the lady regent, whiche with muche honor them receiued, and then they delyuered the kynges letters, whiche she tooke in great reuerence, and so with her counsail, departed into her priuie chamber, and there taried almost two houres and then came out again, to whom Docter Tailor made an eloquent Oracion in Latin, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the kyng his Master for very loue, and not for no dred nor nede did cõdiscend to peace. To whom the bishop of Besanson, Chauncellor to the Lady Regent made answere, and that doen, the Ambassadors were feasted, and serued with mẽ of greate estate, and after that thei wer conueighed to their lodgynges.

The league sworne.

And on Sondaie next ensuyng, the Ambassadors wer conueighed to the Courte, and from thence the lady Regent and all the Court, rode solemply to the Cathedrall churche of Lions, and there a Cardinall sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was dooen, the Lady Regent toke the twoo Ambassadors, the one on the right hande, and the other on the left hande, and so went vp to the high aultar, and there she layed her hande on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse boke, and there sware to obserue, fulfill, and kepe, all the articles and agrementes, concluded in the league and treatie of peace, by her commissioners. And whẽ this was doen, the bishop of Bisanson made an eloquent sermon, takyng for his antitheme. *Quis est homo qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos, Inquire pacem. &c.* In this sermon he muche praised the kyng of Englãde, whiche assented to peace and lauded the Cardinall, whom he called the Legate of God, for counsailyng hym to peace: for now was Fraũce free, and all hostilitie ceased, and when this sermon was doen, *Te deum* was song, and then the Trumpettes blewe, and all other instrumentes Musicall, and then the Lady Regent, with all her trayne returned to the palace, & there were the Ambassadors highly feasted, and then sir Willyam Fitz William toke his leaue, and came shortly into Englande, leauyng behynde hym Doctor Tayler, whiche taried there till the Frenche kyng was deliuered.

When the articles of peace, wer knowen to themperor and his counsaill, full well wist they that the kyng of Englande now would be frend to the French kyng, wherefore he and his subiectes, shewed themselfes more straunge and vnkynde to the Englishemen, then they had been accustomed. In somuche that the Englishe merchauntes, put vp a supplicacion to the Emperor, shewyng hym how their goodes were taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrained, newe impositions taken of them,

theim,and moste of all thei complained,that by an ācte made in Spain called *Premetica* whiche ozdeineth that euery cloth,should bee of a certain nombet of thzedes,the clothes of Englande there could not bee solde,to the great hynderaunce of the Englishe Marchauntes:Foz the clothiers of England,knowe not the nombet appoynted by the statute,and when thei make cloth,thei knowe not to what countrey that cloth shalbe sold, of these thynges the Englishe Marchauntes desired a redzesse.

At a daie appoynted the Englishmen had an answere deliuered them in wzityng,conteignyng certain articles.The firste if any wzonges bee
x dooen vnto you,our Justice is open in euery place.The second, as touchyng letters of Marke,we will be auysed by our counsaill. The third, as touchyng your shippes, we frely graunt that you shal haue our frēd ship liberally,so that with your awne shippes and goodes,you maie go at youre pleasure,passyng oz makyng abode. And as touchyng customes,oz Jmposicions of newe:The accident maie cause vs so to doo,but that shalbee in suspence.And finally as touchyng our *Premetica*, made by the lozdes of our counsaill,and by vs affirmed,wee will not bzeake,but wee will suffre to the intēt that you Englishe Merchauntes,maie bzing true & well made clothe, foz the whiche you shal bee the better welcome:
xx this was the very answere that the Englishe Marchauntes had, of the Emperoz and his counsaill.

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Jn this Wynter was greate death in London, wherefoze the Terme was adiozned,& the king foz to eschew the plague, kept his Christmas at Eltham with a small nomber, foz no manne might come thether, but suche as wer appoynted by name:this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas.But the Cardinall in this season,laye at the Manoz of Richemond,and there kept open housholde,to lozdes,ladies,and all other that would come,with plaies and disguisyng in most royall maner:whiche soze greued the people,and in especiall the kynges
xxx seruauntes,to se hym kepe an open Court,and the kyng a secret Court.

The Cardinal came to Eltham the.viii.daie of Januarp, and taried there till the.xxii.daie.Jn whiche season the Cardinall, and other of the kynges coūsaill,sat foz a direccion to be taken in the kynges house,and first it was considered,that the greate nombet of the yomen of the gard were very chargeable,and that there were many officers farre striken in age whiche had seruauntes in the Courte, and so the kyng was serued with their seruauntes, and not with his awne seruauntes, whiche was thought not conuenient.Wherfoze first the officers seruauntes,wer put out of the Courte, and many old officers were put to liue in their coun-
xl treys,but the kyng of his bountie enhaunsed their liuynges, foz he that had three pound wages,had sixe pound annuitie,without attendaunce, and he that had.xl.s.had foure pound, and so euery man after the rate, and young men were put in their romes . Then was there .lxiiii. of the gard whiche had.xii.d.the daie checked,put out of that wages,and they had.vi.d.a daie vnchecked,and should dwell in their countries & come

not at the court, til thei wer sent for, except it wer for suites: in the which the Cardinall promised thē, to be their helper: Alas what sorowe, & what lamentacion was made, when al these persones should depart the court Some saied that poore seruauntes wer vndoen and must steale: Some saied that thei wer found of the reuercions of the officers seruice, so that for them was nothyng more set out at the dresser, and it was greate charitie to fynde them. Other saied that the yomen of the gard, whiche were put out, wer now not able to fynde themselfes and their horse, to doo the kyng seruice. Other sayed, that now they would polle and pill in their countreys, & oppresse the poore people, thus euery man had his saiyng. x

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinances, concernyng the kynges house, whiche bee at this daye called the statutes of Eltham, the whiche some saied wer more profitable then honorable.

This monethe of January was a peace concluded, betwene the realmes of Englande and Scotlande, for three yeres and sixe monethes, of the whiche the Scottes wer very glad, and especially the borderers, for they wer sore hurt by this warre.

This yere the kyng on Shrouetewesdaie, kept a solempne Justes at his Manour of Grenewiche, he hymself and .xi. wer on the one part, and the Marques of Excester with .xi. were on the other parte: the kynges xi barde and base and all his bende, wer of cloth of gold and siluer, richely embraudered, with a mannes harte in a presse, with flames about it, and in letters were written, *Declare Ie nose*, in Englishe, Declare I dare not, the Marques and his bend wer in Grene Veluet, & crimosin sattin embrodered with hartes burnyng, and ouer euery harte a Ladies hand commyng out of a cloude, holdyng a garden warter pot, which dropped siluer droppes on the harte: At this Justes was many a spere broken, and by chaunce of shiueryng of the spere, sir Frances Brian lost one of his yes. After these Justes, the king made to the Quene, and lordes and ladies a costly banket, and did seruice to the Quene and ladies hymself. xx

Sir Frances Brīā lost one of his yes.

In the monethe of Februarye the .xi. daye beyng Sondaie, the Cardinall with greate pompe came to the Cathedrall Churche of Paules, on whom Bishoppes, Abbottes, and a great nomber of doctors, gaue their attendaunce, and there he sat in pontificalibus, vnder his cloth of estate of riche clothe of Golde: and there one Frier Barnes a Frier Augustyne bare a fagot, for certain poyntes of heresie, as the Bishoppes saied: and twoo Merchauntes of the Stilierd bare fagottes, for eatyng flesshe on a Fridaie, and ther the bishop of Rochester Doctor Fisher, made a sermon, reprouyng Martin Luthers opinīō, a Frier of Germany, whyche wrote against the power of the Bishoppe of Rome, and in his sermon he xl spake so muche honor of the Pope and his Cardinalles, and of their dignitie and prehemynence, that he forgat to speake any thyng of the Gospell, whiche he toke in hand to declare, which sermō was muche praised of the Cardinall and bishoppes, wherfore the Cardinall gaue to all the people his benediccion, and then departed.

The abiuracion of docter Barnes, of whom ye shal heare more in the .xxxii. yere of this kyng.

All

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperor and his cou-
sail, by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and al the realme there, for the de-
liueraunce of Fraunces the Frēche king, and after many communicati-
ons whiche toke none effect, was sent into Spain of Ambassade, the no-
ble lady Margaret, late duches of Alaunson, sister to the French kyng,
with a greate compaignie of nobles and honorable personages. Them-
peror Charles met thesaied lady in the Market place of the cite of To-
leto, and her right hartely welcomed, and after that the Duches and her
compaignie, had refused to agree to certain articles, whiche the Frenche
x kyng had offered hymself, thesaied Duches had license of the Emperor,
to go to Madrill, where the Frenche kyng was kepte as prisoner, and
there to knowe his mynd. When she was there, she & other deuised suche
a waie that the Frenche kyng should haue scaped, and poste horses wer
laied euery where: this was not so secrete, but the Emperor was thereof
enformed, and toke certain Frenchemen, whiche confessed how all thyn-
ges should haue been brought to passe. The Duches of Alaunson hea-
tyng that this priuitie was opened, on post horses with all spede retur-
ned into Fraunce, leuyng the whole matter at large.

Lady Margaret Duches of Alaunson deuysed wayes for the Frēch kig to escape

But for all this the lordes of Fraunce, ceased not daily to sue, for the
xx deliueraunce of their souereigne lorde, and at last to the Emperor was
deliuered a boke for the Frenche kynges deliueraunce, for the Emperor
saied he would nothyng demaund of hym, for hauyng hym he had more
then he could geue hym. Then the Frenche kyng and his counsail, offe-
red a boke conteignyng many articles to the Emperoure: and when the
Emperor had well vnderstande the contentes of thesame, he saied to the
Frenche Ambassadors, is this the full will and agrement of your Ma-
ster, they answered yea: wel saied the Emperor, if this be his awne offre,
I truste that he will kepe it. Then the emperor thought best to bryng the
Frenche kyng to more libertie, and to visite hym hymself, whiche he had
xxx not doen but in the tyme of his sickenes. Where the.xiiii. date of Febru-
ary, the Emperor accompaignied with the greate Constable of Fraūce,
the Duke of Enphantaso, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nasso, the
Duke of Aluoy, the Duke of Albertkirke, the Duke of Medena, the
Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguler, the Marques Villafrā
ca, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barselona, the Erle of Boni-
uent, the erle of Jeniuer, the Erle of Selenas, the Erle of Arrowsse, the
Erle of Saluator, and.xii. Bishoppes, and a greate nomber of nobles,
came to the castle of Madrill, to whom was the Frenche kyng brought
with a noble repaire, to whom the Emperor made lo reuerence, and de-
xl clared to hym how all victories, consist in the hande of God, and where
greate debate, warre, and strief, had long continued betwene thē, he said
it was the very hādy worke of God, to deliuer hym to captiuitie, so that
by his restraint of libertie, a generall peace should be cōcluded through
all Christendome, and now sithe you haue offered vs reasonable condi-
cions, we entendyng not your punishement, nor restraint of your libertie

haue gently receiued your offers, signed with your awne hande, whiche all your nobles shall heare redde.

1. In primis, the Frenche kyng sware to kepe peace, bothe by land and by water with the Emperor and his subiectes, of all landes, territories, or dominions, be longyng to the Emperor or the Empire.

2. Item, the saied Frenche kyng clerely renounced, all the right, title, or interest whiche he had or pretended, to the realme of Napels, or the kyngdome of Scicile.

3. Item, the saied Frenche kyng clerely renounced his right and title, to the Duchie of Millain, and the Countie of Ast.

4. Item, the same kyng surrendered into the emperors handes the whole Duchie of Burgoyn, the Countie Charoloys, with all castles and lordshippes apperteinyng to the same, with al maner of soucreigntie, apperteignyng to the croune of Fraunce by reason of the same. x

5. Item, the saied kyng surrendered & relased, all the soucreigntie whiche he claimed of the Counties of Flaunders and Arthoys, and thother lowe countreys, so that they from thence furthe should neuer sue to any Parliament of Fraunce by appele, or resorte, the Counties of Guysnes, Arde, and Bullonoys alwaye except.

6. Ite, he released all the right & title, that he had to the citee of Tournay and Turnesyns, and to the tounes of Hedyng and Arras, with all Castles and dominions apperteignyng to the same with the title of the souereigntie and resort of the same, to the Parliamentes of Fraunce. xx

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7. Item, he sware and promysed, neuer to helpe nor aide the Lorde Dalybrethe, called the kyng of Nauerr by couyn or other wise, against themperor or his heires nor successors.

8. Item, that he nor none other by his assent, should maintein, aide or cõfort Charles Duke or Geldres, nor maintein sir Robert de la Marche, by no meanes against the Emperor or his countreys, or dominions.

9. Item, he promised at his awne costes and charges, to finde fiue hundred men of armes, and tenne thousande footemen, to do the Emperour seruice, whensoeuer that he toke his iorney toward Rome, for the obteignyng of his croune and scepter Imperiall, and to paie their wages for fyre monethes. xxx

10. Ite, he promised to be enemie to all persones, whiche would go about or entend in any wyse, to let or disturbe the saied iorney to Rome.

11. Item, he promised to discharge the Emperor against the king of Englande, for the somme of twoo hundred thousande Crounes whiche he ought then to the kyng of Englande, and to deliuer the Emperor a sure acquitaunce for the same, whiche amounteth in starlyng money .xl. M.l. xl

12. Item, he released all the pencions, whiche he claimed of the realmes of Napels & Scicile, whiche was yerely a hundred thousand dukattes.

13. Item, for the surer performaunce of all these articles, it was agreed that the Frenche kyng should at his departyng, deliuer into the Emperors handes, the Dolphin of Vien, and Henry Duke of Orleaunce, his

twoo

twoo elder sonnes, which should remain in Spain, till that all these articles wer perfourmed: and if after he came into his realme, the three estates of Fraunce, would not condiscend and agree to these articles, which he had offered & sworne, then he should shortly come again into Spain, and yeld hymself prisoner again, and his children then to be redeliuered into Fraunce.

Item, for the more fortification of this concorde, and for the more a- 14
mitie to be had betwene the twoo princes and their realmes, the Emperor offered in mariage to the Frenche kyng, the noble princes lady Elix nor late Quene of Portyngall, with a greate dowar, and offered to hym with her in mariage three faire lordeshippes, called Inslames, Waconoyes, and Barsur, the whiche the Frenche kyng ioyfully accepted: But this offre was condicionally, so that the whole agrement toke effecte, or els not. Some saied as you heard before that the Frenche Quene was poysoned for this intent: but euill tongues neuer saied well. To al these articles and many mo, the Frenche kyng swate before the Emperor, and all his nobles the.xiiii. date of Febzuary.

In the tyme of this entreatie came into Spayne, Charles Duke of Burbon whiche appelled the Frenche kyng, that he contrary to al right xv and Justice, had procured and imagened, the death and destruccion of thesaied Duke without any cause, but onely to possede his soueraignecties and dominions, by reason whereof, thesaied Duke was compelled to liue in exile, out of his countrey, and that the Regent of Fraunce, contrary to Justice had proclaimed hym a traitor, and seazed all his goods and landes, wherefore he desired that the Frenche kyng, might to hym make a condigne recompense: to whom the Emperour answered, that a prisoner might not bee appeled: but yet for his good seruice, the Emperor did so muche, that an article was concluded, that the duke of Burbō should bee restored to his firste title, state, honor, and dignitie, and to all xvi his other Duches, Counties, seigniories, and Dominions, and there the Frenche kyng frely pardoned to hym al offences, and swate that al proces, proclamacions, impeticions, had or dooen against hym should bee voyde, annulled and repeled, and farther the Frenche kyng in recōpence of al wronges doen to him, and for the restitucion of his goodes, promised and swate to paie thesame duke. CC. thousande crounes, with al the rentes, and profites receiued of the landes of thesaied duke, in the tyme of his exile. When al these articles wer concluded, sworne, and appoynted, the Emperour iudged that the Frenche kyng, would neuer loue the Duke of Burbon, and that by some newe found faute, or by some priuy xvii enemie, he might bee brought to confusion: wherefore of his noble liberalitie, consideryng the good seruice that the duke had doen to hym, and might do if he were of possessions and dominions gaue vnto the Duke the whole Duchie of Millain, so that thesaied duke should finde yerely foure thousande footemen, and fiue hundred men of armes, and paie to the Emperor yerely foure thousande Ducates, but he neuer obteigned

the possession, for lacke of the inuesture or creacion: also the Emperoure gaue to the Uiceroy of Napels, the Duchie of Boylee, and the Countie of Ast, and many greate rewardes for his good seruice.

This peace thus concluded betwene the Emperour and the Frenche kyng was openly proclaimed through all Spain, Fraunce, Flaunders and the Emperours dominions, whereof their subiectes were glad, and made fiers & triumphes through all their countreys. The kyng of Englande like wyse, whiche was included in thesame League, was very glad of the peace, and caused the Cardinall and all the nobles and prelates, to assemble at the Cathedrall Churche of saincte Paule, and there x
was Te deum song, and the Cardinall gaue benediccion to all the people, and that night fires was made through all London. The common people said as thei thought: some saied the peace was honorable to the Emperoure, and other saied, the Frenche kyng would not kepe his promise, when he was once deliuered, and so it proued.

The kyng of Englād hearing that the Frenche kyng was at a poynt to be deliuered, sent a knight of his chāber, called sir Thomas Cheyney to the French kyng, certifying him of the great gladnes that he had of his deliuery, & also the cōfort that he had for the conclusion of peace: of whiche kynd remēbraūce, the French kyng muche reioysed. The French xx
kyng toke his leaue of themperor, & toke his iorney into Fraunce ward, and came to Victoria, in whiche season the fame went, that the Dolphin whiche should haue been deliuered as one of the hostages for the Frēch kyng his father was disseased, and so the Frenche kyng was stayed for xb. daies, till the truth was knowen: other saied that the cause was that there wer betwene Fontrabie and Bayon. xxx. M. men, and doubted lest if he had been brought doune to Foūtraby, he might haue been rescued: but whatsoeuer the cause was, he was restraigned as you haue harde.

The deliuerie of the French kyng.

And at the last when the daie came of his deliuery, and he was discretely moued, that he should not speake to his children, for feare that la- xxx
mentacion and sorowe might in suche wise rise, that hurte might ensue of it. Whē the daie was come that he should be deliuered, there was betwene the borders of Fraunce and Spain, a Lake of no great depenes, in the middes whereof was laied a greate emptie boate at an anker, and at euery shore was another boate, and when the French kyng was come to the banke, he entered the boate on the Spaniche side, and sixe Spaniardes with hym, and like wise on the Frenche part, the twoo Princes sonnes to the Frenche kyng, entered the other boate and sixe Frenchmen with them, and so bothe the boates came to the boat lyng in the middes. The Frenche kyng entered at the one ende, and his children at the other, xl
and passed through the great boate, and euen in the middest of the boate thei met, and he with his hande blessed theim, without speakyng of any wordes, but sadly regarded theim, and so he entered into the boate with the Frenchemen, and his children into the boate with Spaniardes, and eche of theim were shortly at the shore, and mounted on horsebacke, and

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the Frenche king rode to Bayon, where he was nobely receiued, almost of al these nobles in the realme, and in especial of his mother: and his.ii. childzen were conueighed to Fountraby and so vpward, and were well cherished in al thynges, by the great Constable of Spain and his wife.

Thus was Frances the Frenche kyng, cõueighed into his realme the xxi. date of Marche, whiche was taken the.xxiii. date of Febzuary, the yere last past.

After that themperoz had concluded, & taken his leaue of the Frenche kyng, he rode to the faire citee of Ciuill, and there he with greate triũph
x maried lady Isabell, daughter to kyng Emanuell of Poztingall, with whom he had greate threasures and sommes of money, and great frẽdship of the Poztyngalles, foz he had.xi. hundzed thousande Ducates with her mariage. When this mariage was knowen in Englande, the Englishemen soze murmured, that the Emperoz beyng at Wynsoze, in the.xiiii. yere of the king, had faithfully pzomised to mary, the lady Mary, daughter to the Kyng of Englande. But foz a verie truthe the Emperoures counsaill was not content with the answere made to Monsire de Beuers the last yere, and so counsaled the Emperouz, not to tary foz the lady Mary whiche was young: and also thei saied that she was be-
xx gotten of the kyng of Englande by his brothers wife. And also an acte was made in Spain, that he should not depart the countrey, till he had issue. All these thynges were laied to hym, whiche caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the greate offer that the kyng of Portyngal mad to him, he was there to agreyng, and so maried the lady Isabell, sistez to kyng Jhon of Portyngall.

The marriage of themperoz

The.xviii. yere.

The.xviii. yere of Kyng Henry the.viii.

xxi  Thy E. xxviii. date of Apzill, in the beginnyng of this.xviii. yere, came to the Court to Grenewhice, Monsire Bzenion chiefe pzesident of Roan, & Jhon Jokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche Pzesident of Roan befoze the kyng sette in a Thzone, and accompaignied with all his nobles, and the Ambassadozs of Rome, of the Emperoz, of Uenice, and Flozẽce, beyng there pzesent, made in the Latyn toungue a solempne ozacion, the effect wherof was that he shewed, how dzedfull the warres had been be-
twene the realmes of Englande & Fraunce, what greate losse the realme of Fraunce, had susteigned by the saied warres: He declared farther of what power the kyng of Englande was of and what conquest he might haue made in Fraunce, the kyng beyng pzisonet, & knowleged the kyng
xl of Englandes right in the warres, and their wzonges, where he humbly thanked hym, of his pitie and cõpassion that he had on them in their necessitie and affliccion, that he would concent to peace. To this Ozacion the Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancastre, by name sir Thomas Moze made answere saiyng: that it muche reioysed the kyng, that thei first cõsidered, how by his power he might haue oppzessed, and how by his pi-

The ozacion of the Pzesident of Roan

tie

tie he had releued them: wherfore he would here after that for kindnes, they should shewe hym none vnkindnes, but inuiolatly kepe that league whiche was concluded.

The peace sworne.

The next daie after beeyng Sondaie, the Cardinall song a solempne Masse, in the kynges chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the kyng swate before the Frenche Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors aboue rehersed being present, that he should kepe the peace and league concluded, betwene hym and his brother and perpetuall alie the French kyng. duryng his life and a yere after, and after Masse to all Ambassadoures was made a greate feast.

In the moneth of Maie was a proclamaciō made, against al vnlawfull games, accordyng to the statutes made in this behalf, & commissiōs awarded into euery shire, for the execution of thesame, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cardes, and Boules, wer taken and brent. Wherfore the people murmured against the Cardinall, saiyng: that he grudged at euery mannes pleasure, sauyng his awne, but this Proclamacion smal tyme endured: and when young men were forbidden Boules and suche other games: some fell to drinkyng, and some to ferettyng of other mennes Conies, and stealyng of Dere in Parkes, and other vnthriftines.

Because all this Sommer the kyng tooke his pastyme in huntyng, and nothyng happened worthie to bee written of: I will returne to the Frenche kyng, now come again into his realme.

When he was at Paris he saied and wrote to the Emperour, that he would obserue & kepe his promises in euery point, but what he thought I will not iudge: For shortly after he set furth a boke, called the apologie or defence against the conuencion or agrement made betwene the Emperor and hym at Madrill, allegyng that he was cōpelled to make that agrement, or els he should neuer haue been deliuered: He alleged farther that the Lawyers of his realme clerely determined, al promyses and couenauntes made by any persone to his awne hurt, with hym that is more of power then he, to be made by compulsiō, and so of none effect and not to be performed. He also sayed that the gouernors of the Lawe, determined that no othe or promise is of any effecte, wher a manne is in ieoperdie of life, or of perpetuall imprisonement or bondage, and moste in especiall when it is doen by compulsion or threteneyng. Moreouer he saied that he might geue awaye nothyng apperteinyng to his Croune, without thassent of his peeres, and the three estates of his realme (to the whiche he was sworne at the time of his Coronaciō) whiche would therto in no wise assent, and therfore he saied that his othe and promes was voyd, and so he declared to the Viceroy of Napels beyng then with him as Ambassadour for the Emperor, and offered for his raunsome to paye asmuche money as euer Frenche kyng paied, with diuerse other articles of newe deuised.

When these articles came to the Emperor, he them refused and saied, that he had desired nothyng impossible of the Frenche kyng, and if he might

might not or would not kepe,the appoyntemēt betwene theim made,yet he bad hym kepe that poynt of couenaunt,whiche onely depended in his will,that was that he should yelde hymselfe prisoner againe, and so he should haue his childzen deliuered:and then he would reasonably commen with hym, of newe articles of agremēt,and as to the appollegie set furthe by the Frenche kyng,that his othe and promesse was voyde,and made by compulsiō and threatenyng,it was answered by another boke called the Refutacion or Ouercommyng of the apollogie,of the conuēcion of Madrill. Whiche twoo woorkes were so eloquently set furth,
x with suche and so many perswacions and allegacions,bothe on the one part and the other,that it would comber a wise man(except he were perfectly indifferent) to iudge to whiche parte he should moste encline,and geue credence,therfore I leaue it at large.

After that the Frenche kyng was deliuered,and the peace concluded, the Emperor was fully determined to passe the seas into Italy, and so to Rome,and there to be crouned Emperor,wherof hearyng the bishop of Rome,called Pope Clement the seuenth,a man of great wit and vice, and of litle vertue or learnyng:much doubted in himself what damage might come to hym,if the Emperor had bothe Naples,Sicill, and the
xx Duchie of Millain,and also wer crouned Emperor. Wherefore he sent to the Venicians,and to the Florētines,and to Fraunces Sforce duke of Millain,whiche had committed treason against themperor,and was depriued by iudgemēt of his name & dignitie,and thesame geuen to the Duke of Burbon,but yet by power he kept muche of the possession:and declared to them,by what puyssance the Emperor would come into Italy,and what greate possessions he had there at euery ende of Italy, so that if he wer once crouned Emperor,he would loke to haue the seignirie of all Italy: wherfore they consulted and debated for their awne suretie,how to banisshe him and his all Italy by power:and as thei wer
xxx debatyng of this matter,thei hard worde how the French kyng was returned into Fraunce,and sought all waies and meanes, how to breake with the Emperour. When they sawe so open an accion offered to them, with al diligence thei sent their seuerall Ambassadors,that is to saie, the Pope twain,the duke of Venice called Andrew Gritty,one (which was his secretorie) and the Florentynes one, and the Duke of Millain one, these fiue Ambassadours came to the Frenche kyng,and declared what ioye and gladnes their masters had of his safe returne into his realme, and then thei shewed to him how thei by the Bishop of Romes exhortacion had deuised a league,whiche should set a perpetuall peace betwene
xl all princes Christen,and for the more expedicion they had set furth and agreed vpō articles,for the whole league. When the Frenche kyng saw the articles it was as he would haue it,for he thought by the whole power of the confederates,his childzen should be deliuered,& he yet again once to haue a medelyng in Italy: wherefore with greate gladnes and solempnitie,he entered into the league,and sware to kepe it,and gaue to

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the Ambassadors great rewardes.

1. The first article of this league was, that themperor, the kyng of Englande, and all other kynges and princes, might entre into thesame, and if the kyng of Englande would, he should bee admitted as protector of thesame league.

But yet the Emperour should not bee admitted, till he had deliuered the Frenche kynges chyldren, hauyng a resonable somme of money for thesame, nor before he had restored the Duke of Millain to his whole Duchie franckly and frely, and all other persones of Italy, in like maner as thei wer before the last warres began: Nor he shal not once come into Italy for his Coronacion or other wise, but with suche a traine as the Pope & the Duke of Uenice shall thynke conuenient, and that with in three monethes after he had entered into this league, he shall paye to the kyng of England, al suche sommes as he ought him before tha time x

2. Item, if themperor would not entre, then thesayd cõfederates should assemble a greate armie in Italy, accordyng as euery one should bee assessed, and this armie to be mainteigned, till the Emperors power were driuen out of Italy.

3. Item, that the Emperor shalbe warned, to deliuer the Frẽche kynges children, and to fall to a resonable poynt with hym, whiche thynges yf xx he deny to dooe, then the confederates certifie hym, that they shall neuer cease till he be brought to reason.

4. Item, that a greate nauie should be prepared on all the coastes of Italy at the common costes of the confederates.

5. Item, that Fraunces Sforce shall enioy the Duchie of Millain, paiyng yerely to the Frenche kyng fiftie thousande Ducattes, & the Frẽch kyng neuer to claime thesame.

6. Item, the Frenche kyng or the Duke of Orleaunce hys sonne, shall haue the Countie of Ast.

Item, if the Emperour bee expelled oute of Napels and Sicill, then xxx

7. the realmes to be at the gift of the Pope, paiyng yerely to the French kyng. lxxv. thousande Ducattes.

8. Item, yf the kyng of Englande wyll take vpon hym as Protector of this league, then he or his sonne (the Duke of Richemond) to haue a duchie or a principalitie in the realme of Napels, to hym & to his heires, to the somme of thirtie thousande Ducattes at the least, and the Cardinal of Yorke to haue a yerely pencõ of. x. thousand Ducates. This league was concluded at Cogmace or the. xxii. daye of Maye in this yere.

When this League was thus concluded, it was sent to the kyng of Englande, whiche with greate deliberacion like a wise prince, consulted xl muche with his counsaill of this waightie matter, & whẽ al thinges wer fully perceiued, he answered to thambassadours, that he thanked muche the confederates of their good will, but he would not entre into the league, because he would be an indifferent entreator betwene bothe parties and a meane for a peace: and so he wrote to the Emperor, whiche hartely

thanked

thanked hym, and toke it for greate kyndnes: this league was called the holy league of Clement When the Bysshop of Rome sawe that this league was concluded, because he would shewe that he and the confederates, had iust cause of warre against the Emperour, for thinges done in Italy, he sent to hym a letter, dated at Rome the. xxiii. daie of June: in the whiche letter he moste craftely laied to the Emperours charge, what he had done for hym before he was Pope, & sithe he was promoted to that dignitie, he left nothyng vnremembred, that either he had frendly meant or actually done to the Emperor: and accused hym of muche vnkindnes, and in especiall that he would not pardō Frances Sforce duke of Millain, at his request. He accused hym also of the couetous desire which he had, to haue or obtein the whole Monarchie of Italy, with many other pretie inuencions: For whiche causes he saied he was compelled, for the suretie of all Italy, & in especiall for the churche of Rome, to ioyne hymself with greate Pryuces, and to make warre for the defence of thesame. This letter was deliuered to the Emperour with all spede, to whom the Emperour answered by a letter, dated the. xiiii. daie of September, conteinyng. xxiiii. shetes of paper, in suche wyse that all wyse men maie se by thesame, that the Romyshe byshop accused themperour, where he should haue blamed hymself, for the Emperour laied a greate nomber of ingratitudes and vntruthes to hym, and clerely auoyded all thynges, that he laied to his charge. The Pope sent his Ambassadour another letter, that if the first letter were not deliuered, then he should retaine it, but as God would, for manifestyng of the truthe, the letter was deliuered tenne dayes before.

After the first letters writtē, the holy father of Rome raised in all hast an armie of eight thousande footemen, with a valiaunt compaignie of horsmen, whiche passed the riuer of Poo, and ioyned themselfes with the power of the Venicians, wherof was capitain Frances duke of Urbine, and so they all together marched toward Millain: and in the meane season they had sent Octauian Sforcia Bysshop of Aretyne, whiche for the Frenche kyng should retaine. xiiii. M. Swisses, and they were comming out of Swyserlande, to ioyne with the armie of Italy. Thyntent of this armie was to driue al the Emperours power, out of the Duchie of Millain, but all their deuises proued cōtrary, as you shall after plainly perceiue. For you shall vnderstande, that although the Frenche kyng was taken before Pauia, a yere & more before this tyme, and all the Frenchemen driuen out of the Duchie of Millain, yet the Emperour left not the duchie without an armie, for he left there Anthony de Leua, whiche was capitain of Pauia, at the siege laied by the Frenche kyng, and Fernando Dauall and Alphons his brethren, two valiant capitaines, but Fernando died, the more pitie: these capitaines had with them Spaniardes and Almaines and other, to the nomber of eight or tenne thousande, and laie still till the newe confederacie set forwarde, and especially they were sore moued with Frances Sforce duke of Millain, whiche had the possession of the moste part of all the fortresses of the duchie, that he would

be one of the cõfederates: wherfoze they thought best to begyn with hym and to get the possession out of his hand. Wherefoze Alphons Dauall sent foz all themperozs armie together, & they came al togethet to warre, and when he was there, he sent foz Mozon chief counsailer with the duke of Millain, whiche mistrustyng nothyng came to hym, & there he laied to him how the duke his master was false to the Emperour, and Mozon it denied, then he was kept there as a prisoner, whether it were by cautele oz no I cannot tell, but he wzote to the Duke, that he perceiued that the Emperoure was lyke to preuayle, and aduysed him foz auoydyng of all mistrust, and also to shewe hym self the very frende of the Emperoz, and his obedient subiect, to delyuer all the strong holdes into his capitaines handes: The Duke heatyng this counsaill, and willyng not to haue the enmitie of the Emperiall Capitaines, assented and deliuered to Dauall all the foztresses that he had, except the castelles of Millain and Cremona, whiche he saied he kepte onely foz the healthe of his body, because he had bene long sicke.

Then Dauall with his power of Almains & Spaniardes came to ỹ citie of Millain & lodged his people in euery house, & feating ỹ the duke imagened some thyng by keppng of the twoo strongest castels, foz if he delyuered these two castelles to the armie of the confederates, the Emperouzes capitaines and people should be in great daunger, wherefoze he gentely with greate perswasion desired to haue the keppng of the castell of Millain, whiche the Duke would in nowise assent, mistrusting, that then he shoulde lese the duchie and all, wherefoze Dauall with all spede layed sege to the castell, the duke being within. During the tyme of this sege, the capitaines euer toke money and other thinges from the citezens whiche soze therat grudged and saied that they would suffer it no moze, and so as an Almain came to a smith foz a docate, the smith cried helpe, and with that the toune rose: then the capitaines came into the citie to se what was done, the souldiers that kept the sege seing that, ranne into the citie and there was muche entretyng on both partes.

The duke hering the noies in the citie & seing the besegers gone, came out of the castle, thynkyng that his frendes had come to his reskue, but when he sawe no succour, and harde the noyes seased, he entred the castell agayne. When the Capitaynes had long intreated the people were ones contented, but by meanes of one seditious felowe they began again, and there was a soze fight, but the night came so faste on, that both the partes seuered them selues.

The citezens soze greued with the Spaniardes said ōpēly that shortly they trusted to se all themperours frendes dziuen out of Italy, & with many yll woozdes rebuked the souldiers: and when they came into thee citie they hurt them.

Anthony delaua and Dauall, perceiuyng this, deuysed how to be reuenged, wherfoze in the euenyng they entred with a. M. Spaniardes & other, & slewe one citizen & set his hed on a polle & caused it to be bozne afoze thē & set iii. oz. iiii. houses a fire, which whē the citizēs perceiued they were

wer greatly aferd and ran to harneſſe, and caſt doune ſtones and barres, but the hand gonnes ſhot ſo faſt at them, that thei durſt not loke out: the Almaines ſet fire in many houſes, leaſt they ſhould haue leyſet to fyght, and ſome of the Spaniardes that kept the towers, ſlewe the citezens. Alas the citie was in greate perill, and that well perceiued Leua and Dauall, for if the remnant of the Spaniardes had come in, the whole cytie had bene burned or vtterly deſtroied: wherfore they cauſed the ſouldiers to ceaſe, whiche were content, for they had bene in harnes from the ſunne ſet, tyll nyne of the clocke the next daie.

x In this ſeaſō tharmy of the cōfederates, made haſt to help the duke of Millain, & in the meane waie the citie of Lawde was yelded to the duke of Urbin: Dauall wēt thether with a ſmall cōpaignie to reſkew the citie and when he ſawe that it was paſt reſkew he returned, ſayyng: it wer better to leſe Lawde, then Millain, & ſo brought all his people to Millain.

The Emperour from tyme to tyme was aduertiſed, of all thynges done in Italy, wherfore with great diligence he ſent the duke of Burbon thether, with ten ſaile, & landed at Sauona, & brought with hym. x. M. men, wherof the Millaners were very glad, & beſought hym to be good to them, to whom he gaue many good woordes & ſwete, and prayed God
xx that his braynes might be ſtriken out with a gōne, except he did deliuer them ſhortly of their great burden and oppreſſion of the Spaniardes, ſo they would deliuer hym. xxx. M. ducates, for the wages of the ſouldiers that he had brought with hym, whiche wilfe was thought to haue happened to hym at Rome, for breakyng of his promes: for after he had receiued the money, for a litle ſpace the Millaners were in good quiet, but ſhortly after they were worſe then afore, in ſo muche as ſome ſubſtancial men, for feare of their liues, hanged themſelfes.

When the Millaners hard how the citie of Lawde was taken, and the Spaniardes put out, they thought that. v. M. Spaniardes and. iii. M.
xxi Almaines, and no great nomber of horſemen, beyng without wages and vitaile, could not defende ſo great a citie long, againſt the whole power of the princes confederate. While the power of ỹ confederates, wer ſlowly commyng to Millain ward, the duke and his compaignie lacked victaile, wherfore of neceſſitie, when they ſawe the watche negligently kept, they ſent out of the caſtle. CC. men, whiche with ſtrength paſſed the ſiege, and came to the armie of the confederates, and ſhewed them in what caſe the caſtle was in, whiche bad theim be of a good chere, and ſo they marched forwarde towarde a gate of Millain, called Rome gate, and Jhon de Medices whiche led the forward, ſhot ſixe gonnes at a tower to haue
xl ouerthrowen theſame, and ſo to haue entered in by that waye. The Emperors men came to the place, and not onely defended theſame, but valiauntly ſet forward to fight with their enemies, and ſkirmiſhed with them very ſore. The Italians ſeyng that the Spaniardes wer ſo fierce, thought it not beſt to fight with them, but to tary tyll the Swyſſes were come, and then they thought thēſelfes ſure of victory: and ſo with ſhame

inough, they returned to Veligia.

After this returne, the Imperialles fortified the citie in many places. The duke of Millein seyng that he lacked victaile, and that his succors had failed hym, sent to the duke of Burbon, worde, that he would deliuer the castle, so that he should be bound to no farther inconuenience: so thei agreed that he and his, should haue their bagge & baggage, and should haue the citie of Come for his abode, til he wer tried of the emperor, of the accusacions against hym alleged: vpon whiche condicion he yelded the castle, & went directly to tharmy of the confederates. And after ỹ he went to Come, accordyng to his appoynctment: but the Spaniardes whiche kepte the toune, would not suffre hym to entre, wherefore of necessitie he was compelled to returne, to tharmy of the confederates; & there became enemie to themperours meny. All this sommer tharmie of Italy gat nothing, but the citie of Lawde, and thei durst not fight with the Spaniardes, wherfore they went & besieged Cremona, in the which were. i. M. Almaines, and. v. C. Spaniardes. Al the Swisshes and. viii. M. of the Popes men, & all the horsemen of Malatesta, were sent to the siege, whereof was capitain thelated Malatesta Ballio Perusine, whiche, as he would haue entered the castle was slain, and. i. M. men and more of his behalf wherfore the duke of Urbyne, and the whole army of the Venicians wer sent for, whiche made so great a nomber, and had suche ordinaunce, that they within began to treate, and by appoyntment deliuered the citie.

The castle of Millain yelded to themperours vse.

After this, the whole army of the Italians or confederates, determined clerely to besiege Millain, but sodainly the byshop of Rome sent for his army (for what cause you shal here after) and also thei hard say, that George Fronsberge a valiant capitain an Almain, which serued themperor in his last warres: was comming with. xiiii M lanceknightes, which were paied their wages afore hand, for. iiii. monethes, to aide themperors part. When the confederate army hard this, thei wer astoned, and durst not enterprise the siege, but at a certain Abbay, two myle from the citie of Millain, they made a fortification for. iii. M. fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, to lie surely al wynter, to suffre no recourse to come to the citie, whiche citie was all Sommer season well fortified and victailed.

After the Popes army was departed at Cremona, as you haue hard, there came to tharmy of the confederates, Michael Anthonio Marques of Saluce, as capitain generall for the Frenche kyng, and brought with hym. iiii. M. Galcons, and. v. C. men of armes, and. xv. C. light horses, according to the league. Then this whole army hearyng that ỹ Almaines were comming forward with great ordinaunce, and a great nomber of horse men, and had passed the straightes of the mountaignes maugre the Venicians, and that contadine Lepontine, whiche had deliuered vp Cremonā with. i. M. Almaines, was ioyned with capitain George. Whē tharmy of the confederates were well informed of this greate armie, that was cōmyng toward Millain, the capitaines clerely determined to mete with thē, and by battaill or otherwise, to let them from passyng the ryuer

of

of Poo, or to ioyne with themperors armie, wherfore they marched forwarde, and founde that the Almaines were come into the territories of Mantua: then the duke of Vrbyn, & Jhon de Medices cosin to the Pope thought to wery the Almaines with light skirmishes, but Jhon de Medices skirmished so nere tharmie, to get hym a name aboue other, that he was hit with a gonne, and so shortely died. Then the Almaines came to Florentiola and there toke counsaill, & thought it not best to soiorne all wynter in the Duchie of Millain, because all thyng there was scace, by reason of the continuall warres: wherefore they determined to take the
x Popes tounes, as aucthor of all the mischief and warre, and surely they had taken the toune of Plesance, if tharmie of the confederates had not strongly, both with men and artillary, fortified the toune.

While all these thynges were a doyng, there continued a greate hatered betwene the bishop of Rome, & the noble family of Colume in Rome all whiche famely was Imperiall, in so muche that the Byshop saied to Pompey Cardinal of Colume, that he would take awaie his Cardinalles hat, and thother answered if he did so, that he would put on a helmet to ouerthrowe his thre crounes. When this malice had long continued, the Byshop of Rome began to lacke money, to maintein his warres, and
xx fore he fered the Columes his domesticall enemies, & so of his awne motion began to breake the matter with Ascayn Colume, sonne to Prosper de Columna, in name of the whole bloud of the Columes, saiyng: that it were more conuenient for both parties to agree, then to abide the chaũce of battaill, to the whiche they bothe were parties (for the Columes had men of warre in themperors battaill, as the byshop had in tharmy of the confederates) then euery daie to retaine souldiers at home, eche for feare of other, to their great charges and losse. Ascaine hearyng this saied he would speake with his kynred, and so did: and this communicacion had take effect, and Hugo de Moncado had not bene. For this Hugo was a
xxx litle before sent from themperor to the Pope, with certain articles to cõclude a peace, to the whiche the Pope would not agre, saiyng he came to late, & when he sawe the byshops proude aunswer, & perceiued him enemie to his master, he then sought an occasion, to oppresse, the bishop & his power, and so moued the Cardinall of Colume, and Ascain Colume, to inuade Rome with a sodain fraie, & to take Pope Clement or he wer ware

They beyng glad to please themperor, gathered secretly .ii. M souldiers, & entered Rome with suche spede, that they were at .l. Jhon Laterẽce nere to the Popes Palace, or any man spied theim, then began a crie, the Cardinall of Colume cõmeth with a great power. The Pope thynkyng
xl it to late to sende for aide, fled by a secret bawte to the castle Angell, and with hym fled Cardinalles, Bishoppes, & other of his palace, to a greate nomber, so that there was not victaile inough, for theim all. The byshop Clement sawe that shortly he and they, should be famished in the castle, sent to Hugo de Moncado, whiche had declared that he was thauctour of this act, not mindyng to hurt the Pope, but to make hym themperors

In answer of a Cardinal to the Bishop of Rome.

 frend,

frend,or els to cause hym to surcesse, for doyng the emperor any damage, and to the said Hugo he offered,to kepe peace with the Emperor and his confederates for foure monethes,& in the meane season to treate a peace, and also to call his armie again ouer the Poo,and for the performaunce of this,he deliuered to the Columes good hostage, and returned his armie from Cremona,as you haue hard before,and so he was deliuered at large: Now will I leaue the Emperors armie lyng in Italy,and speake of a greate mischef that fell in Hungary.

The greate Turke Sultan Soliman Pac,hearyng of the strief and watte that was betwene Christen prynces, imagened that his tyme was come,to do some great act in Christendom,wherfore he assembled a puis sant armie of.C.xx.M.men,and entered into Hongary,fore destroiyng ỹ coũtrey.Wherof hearing Lewes kyng of Hõgary,a courageous knight of.xxvi.yere of age,with a small nomber marched forward in June, and was on the greate army of the Turkes or he wist, and so with good courage toyned battail,but he was oppressed with multitude,and was compelled to flie into a marreis, where he horse and man were drowned and many other with hym,his body was found after and buried. The saiyng was that he was betrayed, by an Erle of his awne, called Jhon de Voa- The kyng of Hõgary drowned. da,& so it was likely,for the Turke afterward made hym kyng of Hon- xx gary,but he enioyed but one part of it called Transiluania: for Fernando the emperors brother, whiche had maried the sister & heire of kyng Lewes that was slain,kept the chief part of Hongary. The greate Turke hymself was not at the fight, but when he hard that the kyng was slain, he retoysed much,& spoyled the countrey, and brought many a Christian soule into captiuitie to Turkey. Of this victory he wrote to the Venicians, as to his frendes, whiche letter was red openly in Venice, before Doctor Pace Ambassadour there for the kyng of England,but whether they were ioyous or sorowfull of the tidynges, I cannot well tell you.

This sõmer was great grudge against merchant strãgers in Londõ xxi in somuch ỹ if ỹ matter had not bene well pacified, much busines might haue followed,the cause of the grudge was this,ther was an act made in the.xii.yere of king Henry,that no stranger should bring in no wine nor woade in aliens ship:so ỹ thenglishmen after ỹ went to Tholose, and brought much woade to London,& serued all the clothiers repairyng to London:& now in this yere by meanes of gentelmen about the kyng,the strangers had license to bring in woade in strãgers bottomes,so that all Londõ was ful of their woade,& also they sent their woade into the coũtrey, so ỹ thenglishmens woade in London lay vnbought: wherfore sir Jhõ Allen knight beyng Maior, sent for a great sort of strangers,which were the chief merchantes of all,& shewed vnto thẽ what gaines they had gotten in the citie, by reason wherof they should auaunce the citie, & not hurt it,wherfore he willed thẽ to sel their woade to the merchãtes of Lõdon,& they should be paied in continent,& not to resort to other places in the countrey with their woade,to the hinderance of the Londoners.The

strangers

straungers proudely answered the Maior, ỹ thei would seke euery place for their auãtage, & so in mockyng maner departed. The Maior perceiuyng ỹ, called a cõmon counsail in the moneth of August, and there were many billes laied against the strangers, & at last it was enacted, that no citezen nor freman, should bie nor sell in no place, nor exchange nor medle with certain strangers, called Anthony Bonuice, Laurence Bonuice, Anthony Mualdo, Anthony Caueler, Frances de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great sorte mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie with them, contrary to this acte, he should lese his fre-
x dome, and libertie in the citie of London: by whiche acte the straungers were so brideled, that they came to a reasonable poynt and conclusion.

In this season the angel noble was iust the sixt part of an oũce Troy so the six Angels wer iust an ounce which was .xl. s. sterlyng, & the Angel was worth .u. ounces of siluer, so the six Angels were .xu. ounces, whiche was but .x. s. in siluer: but in Flaunders, Braband, and Zeland, the Angel was worth .vii. s. iiii. d. so ỹ marchantes daily caried ouer much money, to the great hindrance of the merchandise of this realme, for moste men caried gold, & when it was there, it was losse in euery noble, viii. d. to bryng it hether again: & when thenglishemen spake to the rulers there, to
xx leaue thenhaũcyng of the kynges coyne, thei laughed thẽ to skorne. The kyng & his counsaill perceiued to what end this enhauncemẽt in Flaunders, if it wer not met with shortly would bryng ỹ riches of this realme: wherfore in the moneth of September, he by Proclamacion, enhaunced the Angell to .vii. s. iiii. d. and the Royal to .xii. s. and the croune to .iiii. s. and .iiii. d. and this Proclamacion was made through all England: and to bryng out of Flaunders the great nomber of Englishe golde whiche was there, the kyng by Proclamacion again, the fift date of Nouember, enhaunced the Angell to .vii. s. vi d. and so euery ounce of golde should be .xl v. s. and that an ounce of siluer should be .iii. s. ix. d. in value.

The firste inhaunsyng of the Angell.

The second inhaunsyng.

xxi This yere on Michaelmas euen, Thomas Hynd whiche was chosen shrife before, was called to take his oth, but he made defaulte, wherefore on Simõ Rice was chosen which refused, then was one George Robynson Mercer chosen, whiche toke his oth not to be able. The cõmons were in such a fury, ỹ they sware ỹ thei would haue a Mercer. Master Nicholas Lãbert an Alderman & Grocer, whiche had a dispensacion for ỹ shrialtie for ỹ yere, seyng this discord, said to the cõmõs. masters, although my tyme be not come, yet to appease your strief, if you wil chose me, I wil take it, & so he was chosen with great thãkes. In this season a sodam rumor began in Spain, that themperor would haue war with the kyng of
xl England, wherof hearyng thenglishe merchantes, which lay in Spayn at diuerse portes, cõcluded to sende to doctor Edward Lee, Ambassador for the kyng of England in thẽperors court to knowe ỹ certentie, whiche gently answered thẽ, that he trusted ỹ there was no such cause, of ỹ which they should be aferd, for the kyng his master & themperor, wer yet in perfite loue & amitie, and farther he sent them worde, ỹ the kyng of England was not entered into the league of Italy with the confederates, as they

would haue hym, for he laboured to make a vniuersall peace, whiche he could not cõueniently do, if he were protector or a cõtractor in ỹ league, this answere he sent to them from Granado, the.v. daie of September.

In the moneth of December, the kyng kept a solempne Christmas, at his manor of Grenewyche, with greate plentie of victaile, Reuels, Walkes, disguisynges, and banquettes: and the.xxx. daie of December, was an enterprise of Justes made at the tilt by sixe gentelmen, againste all commers, whiche valiantly furnished thesame, bothe with spere and sworde, and like Justes were kept the third daie of January, where were.CCC. speres broken. That same night, the kyng and many young gentelmen with hym, came to Bridewell, & there put hym, and.xv. other all in Waskyng apparell, and then toke his Barge, and towed to the Cardinalles place, where wer at supper a great compaignie of lordes and ladies, and then the Maskers daũced, and made goodly pastyme, and whẽ they had well danced, the Ladies plucked away their visors, and so they were all knowen, and to the kyng was made a great banket.

The.xiii. daie of January came to the court, Don Hugo de Mendosa, a great man borne in Spaine, of a noble famely, this person was sent as Ambassador from the Empẽrour, to the kyng of England with large commission, for themperor put it to the kyng of Englandes determinaxx tion, whether his demaundes whiche he required of the Frenche kyng, were reasonable or not, and for the declaracion thereof, and for to knowe the kyng of Englandes request and entreatie concernyng the peace, was this noble man sent into Englande, whiche many tymes consulted with the kyng and his counsaill, and he taried here two yeres full.

A plaie at Grayes inne.

This Christmas was a goodly disguisyng plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by master Jhon Roo, seriant at the law.xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any aucthoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lord gouernaunce was ruled by dissipacion and negligence, by whose misgouernaunce and euil order, lady Publike xxx wele was put from gouernance: which caused Rumor Populi, Inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignitie, to rise with a great multitude, to expell negligence and dissipacion, and to restore Publike welth again to her estate, whiche was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparell, with straunge diuises of Maskes & morrishes that it was highly praised of all menne, sauyng of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had bene diuised of hym, & in a greate furie sent for thesaied master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, & after he sent for the young gentelmen, that plaied in the plaie. and them hyghly rebuked and threatened, & sent one of them called Thoxl mas Moyle of Kent to the Flete, but by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he were deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym, as you haue harde, wherefore many wysemen grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and euer the Cardinall saied that the kyng was hyghly displeased with it, and spake nothyng

thyng of hymselfe.

In this yere the second day of Marche were receiued to London, with a great compaignie of noblemen, the byshop of Tarbe, Frances viscoũt of Toraine, & master Anthony Uesey, second president of Paris, as Ambassadors from the Frenche kyng, & so brought through London to the Tailers hal and there lodged, and afterward were cõueighed to Grenewiche to the kyng, where thei were right hartely entertcined, & after their letters red & their requestes hard, they departed for a season to London. Ambassadors frõ the Frenche kyng.

On shrouete wesdate, the kyng himself in a newe harnes all guilt, of a xxiiij. strange fashion that had not bene sene, and with hym eight gentelmen al in cloth of golde of one suite, embrodered with knottes of syluer, and the Marques of Excester, and eight with hym in blewe veluet and white saten, lyke the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilte, & there ran many freshe courses, till two hundred and.lxxxvi. speres were broke, and then they disarmed and went to the quenes chamber, where for them was prouided a costly banket.

The Frenche ambassadours hauing their retourse to the kyng & hys counsail, muche laboured to haue in mariage the Lady Mary daughter to the kyng, and after long counsailyng, that matter was put in suspẽce xx because the president of Paris, doubted whether the mariage betwene ỹ kyng and her mother, beyng his brothers wyfe were good or no: of this sir stinocion grewe muche bulines or it were ended, as you shall here, afterward. The common people repugned sore against that demaunde, for they said that she was heire apparant to her father, and if she should die, they would haue no Frencheman to be kyng of Englande, and thus the common people spake, as their myndes serued them.

While the Frenche Ambassadours late thus in London, it happened one euening as they were comming from the blacke Friers, from supper to the Tailers hall, two boyes were in a gutter castyng doune rubbyshe, xxx whiche the raine had driuen there, and vnwar hit a lackay belongyng to the viscount of Tourain, and hurt hym nothyng, for scantly touched it his cote, but the Frecnhe lordes toke the matter highly, as a thyng done in dispite, and sent worde to the Cardinall, whiche beyng to hastie of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimet knight, lord Maior of the citie, and in all hast commaunded hym vpon his allegeance, to take the husband, wyfe, children and seruauntes of the house, and theim to emprison, tyll he knewe farther of the kynges pleasure, and that the.ii. boyes apprentices should be sent to the Tower, whiche cõmaundement was accomplished without any fauour; For the man and his wife, and seruauntes, wer kept xl in the Counter till the fyrst daye of Maie, whiche was six wekes ful, and their neighbours of gentlenes kepte their house in the meane tyme, and one of the apprentices died in the tower, and the other was almost lame: of the crueltie of the Cardinall, & of the pride of the Frenchemen, muche people spake, and would haue bene reuenged on the Frenchemen, if wyssemen in the citie had not appeased it with faire wordes.

On

Ambassadors frō the kyng of Hongerie.

On the. xiiij. date of Marche wer conueighed from Lōdon to Grene-
wiche, by therle of Rutlande and other, the lord Gabriel de Salaman-
ka Erle of Ottonbzough, Jhon Burgraue of Siluerberge, and Jhon
Faber a famous clerke after byshop of Wien, as Ambassadors frō Don-
Fernando, bzother to the Empezoz, newly elected kyng of Hungary and
Beame, after the death of his bzother in lawe kyng Lewes, whiche was
slain by the turke the last Sommer, as you haue hard befoze: this com-
paignie was welcomed of the high Officers, and after bzought into the
kynges pzesence, all the nobilitie beyng pzesent, and therafter great re-
uerence made, the said Clerke Master Faber made a notable Ozacion, x
takyng his ground of the Gospell, *Exiit seminare semen suum*, and of that he de-
clared how Chziste and his disciples went furthe to sowe, and how their
sede was good that fell into the good ground, and bzought furth good
fruite, whiche was the Chzistenfaithe: and then he declared how contra-
ry to that sowyng, Machomete had sowen seede, whiche bzought furthe
the euill sede, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turke haue en-
cresed in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had
subdued euen to that daie: he declared farther what actes ỹ great Turk
then liuyng had done, and in especial he noted the gettyng of Belgrade,
and of the Rhodes, and the slaiyng of the kyng of Hungary, to the great xx
rebuke (as he said) of al the kynges chzistened: he set furth also what po-
wer the Turke had, what diuersities of cōpaignies, what armure, what
capitaines he had so that he thought, that without a marueilous greate
nomber of people, he could not be ouerthzowē: Wherfoze he moste hum-
bly beseched the kyng, as sainct Geozges knight, and defender of the
faithe, to assist the kyng his Master, in that Godly warre and verteous
purpose. To this ozacion the kyng, by the mouthe of sir Thomas Moze
answered, that muche he lamented the losse that happened in Hongarie,
and if it were not foz the warres, whiche were betwene the ii. great pzin-
ces, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterpzysed that acte, xxx
wherfoze he with all his studie would take pain, first, to set an vnitte and
peace throughout all Chzistendome, and after that he bothe with money
and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glozious warre, asmuche
as any other pzince in Chzistendom. After this done the Ambassadours
were well cherished, and diuerse tymes resozted to the Courte, and had
greate chere and good rewardes, and so the third daie of Maie next en-
suyng, they toke their leaue and departed homeward.

An Oracion made by Master Faber.

The answere

Themperozs letter to the Frēche kyng.

This season the fame went, that themperoz had wzitten to the French
kyng, admonishyng hym to regarde his othe and pzomes toward God,
and his honoz and fame toward the wozlde, allegyng that if he kept his xl
pzomise towarde hym, that he should fynde hym suche a frende, that all
Fraunce should reioyse of it, & if he would not kepe his fozmer pzomes,
which he made and sware at Madzill, he toke God to witnesse, that he
would neuer leaue the warre, til fire and swozde had bzought hym to ac-
complish his pzomes, ez els to dzriue hym out of his realme & dominiōs

with

wyth strength and puissaunce, whiche letter the Frenche kyng nothyng regarded saiyng that the Emperoure the nexte yere shoulde haue warre inough.

The fame went and letters came to London, that the Emperours army in Italy the. xii. day of Apzil had met with ỹ Venicians as they were goyng homeward, and that betwene them there was a cruell fyght and by fyne force the Venicians were put to flight, and no maruel as the Venicians aunswere, for they say that by cause there was a peace concluded for sixe monethes betwene the byshop of Rome, and Hugo Demountcado, and that the vicetoy of Naples was come to Rome to cõfirme thesame truce, therfore thei sent their ordinaunce and harnes and loked for no warre, but onely taried together till they were paied there wages, and so vnprouided they were set on and ouercome.

In the ende of this yere the people were sore troubled with pouertie for the great paymentes of money that were past, and also in wynter in the seade season fell suche abundans of rayne in Septembze, Nouembze and Decembze, and on the. xvi. day of Januer fell suche a greate rayne that thereof ensued greate fludes whiche destroied corne, fieldes, and pastures: and drouned many shepe and beastes: then was it dry tyll the xii. day of Apzill and from thence it rayned euery dale or nyght tyll the third day of June. and in May it rayned. xxx. houres continually wyth out ceasyng whiche caused greate fludes and did muche harme, so that corne sore fayled the next yere as you shall perceiue hereafter.

¶ The. xix. yere.

This tyme a bil was set vp in Londõ much contrary to the honor of the Cardinall, in the whiche the Cardinall was warned that he should not counsaile the king to mary his daughter into Fraunce, for if he did, he should shewe hymselfe enemy to the kyng and the Realme, with many threatenyng wordes: this byl was de-
xxx liuered to the Cardinal by sir Thomas Seymer Maior of the citie, whiche thanked hym for thesame, and made muche serche for the author of that bill, but he could not be founde, whiche sore displeased the Cardinal, & vpon this occasion the last day of Apzil at night he caused a great watche to be kept at Westminster & had there cart gõnes ready charged and caused diuerse watches to be kept about London in Newington. s. Jones strete, Westminster. s. Gyles, Iseldon, & other places nere Londõ, whiche watches were kept by gentelmen & their seruauntes, with householders & all for feare of the Lõdoners because of this bill. When the citezens knew of this, they said that they marueiled why the Cardinal ha-
xl ted thẽ so for they saied that if he mistrusted thẽ, he loued not thẽ, & where loue is not, there is hatred, & they affirmed that they neuer entended no harme toward him, & mused of this chaunce, for if. v. or. vi. lewde persons had made Alarme in the citie, then had entred all these watchemen with there traine whiche might haue spoiled the citie without cause, wherfore they muche murmured against the Cardinall & his vndiscrete doinges.

Monday the fyft daye of Maye was a solempne Masse songe at

Grenewich

Grenewyche the Cardinall and the Archebyshop of Canterbury with.x
prelates mitered beyng present, and there the Frenche Ambassadours, in
the name of the Frēche kyng there Master, sware to observe the peace &
league concluded betwene thē for the terme of two princes liues, & there
openly the byshop of Terby gaue to the kyng hartie thākes for the great
fauor he shewed to the kyng his master, in the tyme of his bisitation (as
he called it) that is to wete when he was in prison, for he said the kyng by
his mercy had conquered the whole hartes of the realme, which he could
not do by strength, the Ambassadours also desired as you haue harde,
the marriage of the lady Mary for the duke of Orleance. ii. sonne to the
Frenche kyng. Some said she was mete for hymselfe: but many a man
marueiled why she was denayed for the second sonne, seyng that in the.x
yere of this kyng it was concluded that she should mary the Dolphyn
beyng the first sonne: but this demaund was not concluded nor aunswe-
red but deferred because of her tendre age, til another time. For the more
entertaynyng of the Frenche Ambassadours the kyng caused a solempne
Justes to be done by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Jernyngham, syr
Anthony Broune, and Nicholas Haruy, the valiaunt esquier as chalen-
gers: whiche were apareled in bases and bardes al of one suite, the right
side was riche tyssue embaudered with a compasse or roundell of blacke
veluet and in the compas a right hand holding a sworde, and about the
sworde were pennes and peces of money of diuerse coynes, all embraw-
dered, vnder the hand was embrawdered Loiaulte, & on that side of the bard
was writtē in embraudery *By pen, pain nor treasure, truth shall not be violated*. The o-
ther side of the bases and bardes were of cloche of golde and cloth of syl-
uer. When these foure chalengers were come to the tilt, then entered the
Marques of Excester and.xiii. with hym al armed and barded and based
of one suit: that is to sate, the right sides cloth of golde cut in cloudes en-
grayled with damaske gold, the other side cloth of syluer set with moun-
taynes full of Olyue braunches, made of gold all mouyng. These men
of armes ranne many a faire course with littell missyng, for within twoo
houres and a halfe, notwithstandyng that it rayned apace, they brake.iii
hundreth speres at the least, and when nyght approched they disarmed
and went to the coutte.

The kyng against that night had caused a banket house to bee made
on the one syde of the tylt yarde at Grenewyche of an hundreth foote of
length and.xxx. foote bredth, the roofe was purple cloth full of roses and
Pomgarnettes, the wyndowes, were al clere stories with curious mon-
ueles strangely wrought, the Jawe peces and crestes were karued with
Vinettes and trailes of sauage worke, and richely gilted with gold and
Byse, thys worke corbolyng bare the candelstyckes of antyke worke
whiche bare litle torchettes of white waxe, these candelstickes were poli-
shed lyke Aumbre: at the one syde was a haute place for herawldes and
minstrelles: this house was richely hanged and therin was raised a cup-
bord of seuen stages high and.xii. foote long, set with standyng cuppes
Bolles, Flaggons and greate pottes all of fyne golde: some garnyshed

with

with one stone and some with other stones and perles, on the other side was a nother cupboyd of.ix. stages high, set full of high pottes flagons and bolles, all was massy plate of siluer and gilte, so high and so brode that it was maruaile to beholde: at the nether ende were twoo broade arches vpon thre Antike pillers all of gold burnished swaged and grauen full of Gargills and Serpentes, supportyng the edifices the Arches were bawted with Armorie, al of Bice and golde, and aboue the Arches were made many sondri Antikes and diuises: In this chambez was thre ewry bordes, one for the kynge, another for the quene, and
x the third for the princes: the fyrst bourde had.ix. greate ewers, and basins all gilt, and playne, the seconde bourde had seauen greate gilt basins chased, and thre paire of couered basyns, chased all gilt with Cuppes of assaie, they were so greate that euery Lorde grudged to beare theim, the third ewery had.ix. basins and two payre of couerid Basines and cuppes of assate, thys ewery was all of gold, and the Basins were so massye that thei troubled sore the bearers: The hole supper was serued in vessel of gold: to reherse the fare, the straungenes of dishes, wyth deuises of beastes and fowles it were to long, wherefore I will let passe ouer the supper with songes and minstrelsie. When supper was done,
xx the kyng, the quene and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure and then thei rose and went out of the banket chambre bi the forsaied Arches, and when they were betwene the vttermoste dore and the Arches the kyng caused them to turne backe and loke on that syde of the Arches, and there they sawe how Tyrwin was beseged, and the very maner of euery mans camp, very conningly wrought, whiche woorke more pleased them then the remembryng of the thyng in dede. From thens they passed by a long galerie richely hanged into a chambre faire and large, the dores whereof was made with masonrie, embatailed with Jasper, and within that a porche with a tipe, & crokettes gilt, thys
xxx chambre was raised with stages.v. degrees on euery syde, & rayled and coũtretailedborne by pillars of Azure, full of starres & flower delice of gold, euery pillar had at the toppe a basin siluer, wherein stode greate braunches of white waxe, the degrees wer al of Marble couler, and the railes like white marble: in the middest of this Chamber, was a gate, the Arches whereof stretched from side to side, this Arche was figured masonrie on water tables with haunses receiuyng pillers wrapped, beyng Dormants Antike, & ouer the gate stode the pictures of Hercules, Scipio, Julius, Pompei, and such other cõquererours, the ventes and embowes wer of very strange worke, with leaues, balles, and other gar-
xl nishinges, al gold, and in the hole arche was nothing but fine Bice and gold, the rofe of thys chambre was conningly made by the kynges Astronimer, for on ỹ groũde of the rofe, was made the hole earth enuirõed with the Sea, like a very Mappe or Carte, & by a conning makyng of a nother cloth, the zodiacke with the.xii. Signes, and the fiue circles or gyrdelles and the two poles apered on the earth and water compassyng

the saine, and in the zodiak were the twelue signes, curiously made, and aboue this were made the seuen planettes, as Mars, Iupiter, Sol, Mercurius, Uenus, Saturnus, and Luna, euery one in their proper houses, made accoyding to their properties, that it was a connyng thing and a pleasant syght to beholde.

When the kyng and the quene, were set vnder their clothes of estate which were rich and goodly, & the ambassadours set on the righte side of the chambre, then entred a person clothed in cloth of golde, and ouer that a mantell of blew silke, ful of eyes of golde, and ouer his head a cap of gold, with a garland of Laurell set with beries of fyne gold, this per-
In Oracion. son made a solempne Oracio, in the Latin tongue, declaring what Joye was to the people of both the realmes of England and Fraunce, to here and knowe the great loue, league, and amitie, that was betwene the two kynges of thesame Realmes, geuyng greate prayse to the kyng of England for graunting of peace, and also to the Frenche kyng for suyng for thesame, and also to the Cardinal for beyng a mediator in thesame: and when he had doen, then entred eight of the kinges Chappel with a song and brought with theim one richly appareled: and in likewyse at the other side, entred eight other of thesaied Chappel bringyng with theim a
A dialogue, nother persone likewise appareled, these two persones plaied a dialog xx
the effect wherof was whether riches were better thē loue, and when they could not agre vpon a conclusion, eche called in thre knightes, all armed, thre of theim woulde haue entred the gate of the Arche in the middel of the chambre, & the other .iii. resisted, & sodēly betwene the six knigh-
The fight at barriars tes, out of the Arche fell doune a bar all gilte, at the whiche barre the six knightes fought a fair battail, and then thei were departed, and so went out of the place: then came in an olde man with a siluer berd, and he concluded that loue & riches, both be necessarie for princes (that is to saie) by loue to be obeied and serued, and with riches to rewarde his louers and frendes, and with this conclusion the dialogue ended. xxx

A rich mount Thē at ỹ nether ende, by lettyng doune of a courtaine, apered a goodly mount, walled with towers and bamures al gilt, with all thinges necessarie for a fortresse, and all the mount was set full of Christall coralles, & rich rockes of rubie curiously conterfaited & full of roses & pomgranates as though they grewe: on this rocke sat eight Lordes appa-
Wachers. reled in cloth of Tissue & siluer cut in quater foyles, the gold engrailed with siluer, and the siluer with gold, al loose on white satin, and on their heddes cappes of blacke veluet set with perle and stone, they had also mantelles of blake satē: and then they sodenly descēded from the moūte and toke ladyes, and daunced diuers daunces. xl

Thē out of a caue issued out the ladie Mary doughter to the kyng & with her seuen ladies, all appareled after the romayne fashion in riche cloth of gold of tissue & Crimosin tinsel bendy & their heres wrapped in calles of golde with bonetes of Crimosin veluet on their heddes, set full of pearle and stone: these eight Ladies daunced with the eight

Lordes

Lordes of the mount, and as thei daunced, sodenly entred sixe personages, appareled in cloth of siluer and blacke tinsell satin, and whodes on there heddes with trppetes of cloth of gold, there garmentes were long after the fashion of Iseland, and these persones had visers with syluer berdes, so that they were not knowne: these Maskers tooke Ladies and daunced lustly about the place.

Then sodenly the kyng and the viscount of Tozayne were conueighed out of the place into a chambze thereby, & there quicklie they .ii. and six other in maskyng apparell of cloth of gold and purple tinsell sattin,
x greate, lõg, & large, after the Uenicians fashiõ & ouer them great robes. & there faces were visard with beardes of gold: then with minstrelsie these .viii. noble personages entred and daunced long with the ladies, and when they had daunced there fyll, then the quene plucked of the kynges visar, and so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lozdes, and then all were knowẽ: then the kyng gaue to the viscount of Tozayn, the maskyng apparel that the kyng hym self ware and also the apparel that the viscount hymself masked in, which were very riche, foz the which he thanked hym.

Then the kyng quene and the ambassadours, returned to the banket
xx chamber, where thei found a banket ready set on the bozde, of so many & marueilous dishes, that it was wonder to se, then the kyng sat doune and there was ioy, myzth and melody: and after that all was doen the kyng and all other went to rest, foz the night was spent, and the day e-uen at the bzeakyng.

The mozowe after the ambassadours toke there leaue of the kyng, and had greate rewardes geuen them and so came to London, and ther rested two dayes and so departed in hast homeward.

These two houses with Cupbozdes, hãgynges and all other thynges the kyng commaunded should stand still, foz thze oz foure daies, that al
xxx honest persones might see and beholde the houses & riches, and thether came a great nombze of people, to see & behold ỹ riches & costely deuices

After that the ambassadours of Fraunce were departed the kyng sẽt an other ambassade into Fraũce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Boleyne knight, viscoũt of Rochfozth, and Sir Anthony Bzoune knight, which came to Paris to the bishop of Bathe, whiche lay in Fraunce as ambassadour foz the kyng of Englãd, and then these thze went to the court and saw the Frenche kyng in persone swere to kepe the league & amitie concluded betwene hym and the kyng of Englande, and there they had greate chere and maskes shewed vnto them, but lit̃le rewardes were ge-
xl uen, & so ỹ viscoũt Rochfozth retozned into Englãd, & so did the bishop of Bathe shoztly after, leauyng sir Anthony Bzoũe behind foz a ligier.

In this moneth of Maie ỹ .x. day the kyng sent sir Fraũces Poynes knight, as ambassadout frõ ỹ kyng of Englãd, to Charles themperoz & with him he sẽt Clarenseaux, kyng of armes, to demaũd the one halfe of the treasure & ozdinaũce which was takẽ at Pauia, foz so much as that

An ambassad sent to themperour.

war was made as well at the kynges charge, as at thẽperoꝛs charge: he demaunded also the duke of Oꝛleaunce, to be deliuered to him, & also it was demaũded that thẽperour should deliuer ꝧ bishop of Rome which was takẽ this moneth as you shall here, & also should bꝛing his armie out of Italy, and if he refused to do any of these poynctes, then Clarẽce aux in the kynges name of Englande should make to him defiaunce.

When it was knowen that warr was like to be betwene the Empe- tour and the kyng of England, the commons of Englande soꝛe lamen- tyd the chaũce, foꝛ all marchandise were restrayned to passe in to any of themperours dominiõs, & the marchaũtes wer desired by the Cardinall to kepe ther martes at Caleis, to the which in nowise thei would assent. x

Shippes sent to seke straũg Regions.

This same moneth the kyng sent two fayꝛe shippes, well manned and vitailed, hauing in theim diuers conning men, to seke strange regi- ons: and so furth thei set, out of the Thamis, the twentie day of May, if they sped well you shall here at their retoꝛne.

The .xxii. day of May cam in post to the kyng out of Fraunce the bi- shop of Tarbie, whiche was here in the beginnyng of this moneth, this bishop bꝛought to the kyng of England, the articles which the Frenche kyng now offered to the Empetour, which wer contrarie to the articles swoꝛne at Madꝛyll in the .xxvii. yere of the kyng, and fatther he moued xx the kyng of Englande to be enemy to themperour, which requeſt (as all men say) was muche furthero by the Cardinall, because of the warre in Italie, betwene the Pope & thẽperour: this bishop made shoꝛt tariyng with the kyng, foꝛ in post a gaine he returned to Paris, to sir Frances Poynes, & Clarenseaux, whiche taried ther foꝛ him, and so they all toke ther Joꝛnay toward Spayne.

Now will I retoꝛne to the duke of Burbõ, and themperours armie, which al the last winter liued in great pouertie, without clothes, victaile oꝛ wages, so that they were in manet desperat, & so went toward Parme & Bononie, belongyng to the Sea of Rome. The bishop of Rome hea- xxx ryng this sent a messenger to the duke to redeme the Popes townes, so that they shoulde not be spoyled noꝛ hurte: the duke and the capitaine ared thꝛe hundꝛeth & fiftie thowsand Ducates, foꝛ sauyng of the Popes land, & if thei might haue so much money, thei would depart to Napels: but when thei sawe that thei coulde haue no money, they with all spede turned toward Flozence the .xxii. of Apꝛill, whereof hearyng the Ro- maines thei wer glad, foꝛ thei thought that the Flozentines would hold good war with them, & than the Pope and the Romaines woulde geue the lokyng on: but the chaunse turned, as you shall here after.

Foꝛ a suertie the duke of Burbon thought to haue gon to Flozence xl foꝛ this cause, foꝛ ther was a gentlemã in Flozence called Peter de sal- uiata which had a bꝛother that serued themperoꝛ in his warres, whiche pꝛomised to deliuer the citie, foꝛ he determined to cause the commons to rebell in the citie against the heddes, & in the meane seasõ ꝧ dukes cõ- pany shoulde scale the walles: when this Peter knew the themperours

Armye was come to a place called Le Chase, within twelue myle of the Citie, to bryng his purpose to a conclusyon. he with suche as he had trayned to him, cryed in the Citie *libertate de populo*, that is in English Libertie of the people: with which voyce the people styrred and came to the Palace in great nomber, and there they tooke the .vi Lordes of the counsell which had the rule of the Publyke welthe of the Citie (as they call it) and slew one of them: The Familie of Medices, whiche wer the Popes kynred, were at this tyme sore a fraied. Thus this Peter *de Saluiota*, with the Commons gate the Palace and rang the commen bell.

x In this season was in Florence a Capitayn of the Frenche kynges called *Frederico de Bodsoo*, he had with hym.iii.C.men: and when he saw this rebellyon, he came to the Commons and sayde: Syrs, if you continew in this case, your fayre Citie is lyke to be subuerted, for your enemyes be at hande: which notwithstandynge that you beare some fauoure to themperour as appeareth, yet their needinesse and pouertie is soch, that without mercy thei wyll robbe, murder and sley you, your wyfes & chyldren, and sette fyer on your beautifull Citie.

This Capitayne moche steyed the Citie, notwithstandyng that. xx. or moze persones were sleyne in the tuffle, yet they were well auoyded, and

xx sodeynly entered into the Citie the Duke of Urbyne, whiche lay but.vi. myle from Florence, and.xviii.myle from themperours armye whom he had coasted, but he thought no aduantage to medle. This Duke brought with hym.v.M.footemen, and.vi.C.horsemen, and when he was entered the Citie, a crye was made that all thinges was pardoned, so that euery man departed home and delyuered his weapon, whiche was dooen: and thus the Citie was appeased, the.xxviii.day of Apryll.

All this doyng within the Citie was vnknowne to themperours armye, for it was begonne and ended in.iiii.or.v.houres, and so for lacke of knowledge, this enterpryse was lost, whiche was happye for the Flo-

xxx rentynes. Sore displeased were themperours Capitaynes when they knewe of this chaunce, and also how the Duke of Urbyne was entered into the Citie of Florence for their defence, but they coulde not doo with all. And so shortly thei departed and came to the Citie of Seynes.xxx. myle of and there they lost their great ordinaunce, and tooke counsell to go to Rome (notwithstandynge the trewce concluded betwene the Pope and the Uiceroy of Napels, & Hugo de Moncada, as you haue hearde) and so moche they traueyled by nyghtes and dayes, commenly passyng.xl.myle, day and nyght (Their good wyll was suche) that the vi.daye of Maie, with banners displayed, they came before the Citie

xl of Rome beynge saturdaye the same day: and sonday the Romaynes made Bulwarkes, Rampiers, and other defences, and layde ordynaūce on the walles, and shot at them without fearcely.

The Duke of Burbon determyned that it were not best to lye styll without, and be slayne with ordinaunce, consideryng that they were all naked people, and without great ordinaunce: wherfore he determined

Rome assaulted.

to take the chaunce & to geue the assaute, & so manfully they approched the walles betwene the Burgo nouo & olde Rome. But the Romayns valiauntly defended them with handgūnes, pykes, stones, & other weapons, so that the enemyes were fayne to retreyte. Then the Romaynes were glad, & sette many faire banners on their Towers & Bulwarkes, and made great shewtes: Whiche seeynge the Duke of Burbon cryed to a new assaute. Then the Drumslades blew, & euery mā with a ladder mounted: & at the fyrst encounter, agayn the Romayns put them a litell backe: Which perceiuyng, the duke of Burbō cryed: God & thēperour. Then euery man manfully sette on, there was a sore fyght, many an x arrow shot, and many a man felled: but at the last the Emperours men gotte the wall: & betwene euery assaute fell a myst, so that they within coulde not see what parte they without would assayle, which was profitable to themperours partie: At the three assautes were sleyne. iii. C. Swysshes of the Popes Garde. In this last assaute was the Duke of Burbon stryken in the thygh with a handgōne, of the whiche he shortly dyed in a chapell of s. Syst, whyther his Souldiers had brought hym, And this chaunce notwithstandynge, the Armye entered into Rome, and toke the Popes Palace & set vp themperours Armes. The same daye that these three assautes were made, Pope Clement passed lytell on the xx Emperours Armye: for he had accursed theim on the saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almaynes Lutheranes, & the Spaniards Murreynes or mores: and when he was hearyng of masse, sodeinly the Almaynes entered the Churche, & slew his Garde & dyuerse other. He seeyng that, fled in all haste by a preuye way to the Castell s. Angell: & al they that folowed hym that way & coulde not entre, were sleyne, and yf he in that fury had ben taken, he had ben sleyne. The Cardinals & other prelates fled to the castel of s. Angel, ouer the bridge, where many of the commen people were ouerpressed and drowned as they gaue way to the Cardinalles & other estates that passed towarde the castell for succour. xxx

The Duke of Burbō sleyn.

Curse of the Pope.

The Cardinall of Senes, of Selaryne, of Tudertine, of Jacobace & of the Valle, taryed so long, that they coulde not get to the castell for multitude of people: wherfore they were compelled to take a nother house, called the Palace of s. George, where they kepte theym selfe for a whyle, as secretely as they might. You must vnderstand, that thorough the Citie of Rome, ronneth a famouse Ryuer, called Tyber: and on the one syde of the Ryuer standeth the Castell s. Angell, or the Borough of s. Angell: & the other side is called Burgo Nouo, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called, the Brydge of Syxte, whiche lyeth directly before the Castell. At the ende of this Brydge was a wonderous strong xl Bulwarke, well Ordinaunced & well manned. The Emperours men saw that they coulde do nothynge to the Pope nor to that porte of the Citie but by the bridge, determyned to assaute the Bulwarke: and so as men without feare, came on the bridge: & the Romayns so well defended them, that they slew almost. iiii. M. men. That seyng the Prince of Orenge

renge, & the Marques of Gnasto, with all spede gaue assaute, and notwithstandyng that the Romaynes shot great ordinaūces, handgonnes quarrels, and all that might be shot: yet the Imperiall persones neuer shranke, but manly entered the Bulwarke & slew & threw downe out at the loupes all the Romains that they found, & after rased the bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Castell Angell and beheilde this fyght, & with him were.xxiii. Cardinalles, of whiche one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche was slayne, & with hym were a.M. Prelates and Prestes, v.C. gentlemen. v.C. souldyers: wherfore immediatly the Capitayns determined to ley Siege
x to the Castell of Angell, lest they within intght issue out & turne theym to dāmage: wherfore sodeinly a Siege was planted rounde about the Castell. In the meane season the souldyers fell to spoyle, neuer was Romespoiled Rome so pylled neither of the Gotes, nor Vandales, for the souldiers were not content with the spoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake vp the houses of close religious persones, & ouerthrew the cloysters and spoyled virgins, & rauyshed maryed womē: Men wer tormented if they had not to geue euery new asker or demaunder: some wer strangeled, some wer punyshed by the pryuey mēbers, to cause them
xx to confesse their treasure. This woodnesse continued a great whyle, & some man myght thynke that when they had gotten so moche, then they would ceasse & be quyet, but that was not so, for they played cōtinually at dyce, some.v.C. some a.M. ducates at a cast: and he that came to play laden with plate, went away again almost naked, & then fel to ryfelyng agayne. Many of the Citizens whiche coulde not paciently suffre that veracion, drowned themselues in Tiber: The souldiers daily that ley at the siege, made Jestes of the Pope, sometyme they had one ridynge lyke the Pope with a whore behynde hym, sometyme he blessed, & sometyme he cursed, and sometyme they woulde with one voyce call him Anxxx techrist. And they went about to vndermynde the Castell, and to haue throwen it downe on his head, but the water that enuironeth the castell disapoynted their purpose. In this season the Duke of Vrbyne with xv.M. men came to ayde the Pope: but hearyng that Rome was taken he taried.xl. myle frō Rome tyl he heard other word. The Marques of Saluce, & sir Frederico de Bodso with.xv.M. footemen & a.M. horsemen wer at Viterbe the.x. day of Maye. Where thei hering that the citie of Rome was taken also taried: the Cardinal of Colume came with an army of Neapolitans to helpe themperours men: but when he saw the crueltie of the souldiers, he dyd lytle to helpe thē, but he hated thē moch
xl The bishop of Rome was thus besieged tyl the.viii. ides of Juli, at which day he yelded him selfe for necessitie & penury of al thinges in the castell. And then he was restored to geue Graces & graunte Bulles as he dyd before: but he taryed styll in the Castell saynt Angell, and had a great nombre of Almaynes and Spanyardes to keepe hym: But the Spanyardes bare most rule in the Castell, for no man entered nor came

out of the Castell but by theim. When the moneth of July came, corne begā to kayle in Rome, & the pestilence beganne to ware strōg: wherfore the great Army remoued to a place called Naruya, xl. mile from Rome, leauyng behynde them suche as kepte the bysshop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyardes neuer were contented tyll they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Castell of S. Angell, and so they had the whole custodye of the Pope. Thus Rome continued in peace tyll Septembre, tyll the Armye came agayne from Naruya: for then the Almanyes sware, that they woulde set the Citie and all on fyer, excepte the Pope woulde pay them their full wages.

The bisshop of Rome was sumwhat astonyed, and sent to commen with them, onely two Archebisshops & two Bysshops & two Gentlemē: These syxe persones, the Almayns tooke as pledges, contrarye to the Popes meanyng, and sayde they would keepe them there tyll they were payed, & so to put them in a strong chaumbre, in the Palace of S. George: and euery day almost they woulde bryng them furth openly, and scolde and chyde with theim, & make them beleue that they woulde hang them if they were not payed. And so they kepte them emprysoned in a chaūbre and. xxiiii. watched euery nyght without the chaumbre dore, & .xiiii. all day lykewyse: and yet for all that watche, they got out at a chymney, on xx sayncte Andrewes eue, and were no more seene of theim.

An Escape. This escape was sooner knowen of the Spanyardes that kepte the Pope, then of the Almaynes that watched the dore. The Almaynes were so woode with this chaūce, that thei came to the Prince of Orenge their generall Capitayne, and demaunded money of hym, in suche rigorious manier, that he was fayne secretely to flee to Senes: & then for hym they chose Capitayne, the Marques of Gnasto, whiche gouerned theim tyll Frebruary, that he brought theim to Napels.

Aboute the. xxviii. daye of Maye, there were letters brought to the kyng of Englande from the Frenche kyng, of parte of this troble: but xxx sonday, the second day of June, the kyng receyued letters at the Castel of Wyndsore, by the whiche he perceyued all the ordre & manier of the sackyng of Rome, & taking of the Pope, in manier & forme as you haue hearde: Wherfore the kyng was sorye, & so were many Prelates: but the Communaltie lytle mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a ruffyan, & was not meete for the roume: wherfore they sayde that he beganne the myschief, & so he was well serued. But the Cardynall which tooke this matter highly, called to hym the Prelates & the Clergy, and muche mourned the fall of the bysshop of Rome, and saw how the people grudged agaynste the Spiritualtie, for their greate Pride, & Pompe, and yll lyuyng: Wherfore he came to the kyng, & sayde: Sir by the onely callyng of God, you be made Defendor of the Christian faith: Nowe consydre in what state the Churche of Christe standeth: See howe the head of the Churche of Rome is in captiuitie: See how the holy fathers be brought into thraldome, and be without comforte:

fort, now shewe your selfe an aide, a defendour of the Church, and god shall reward you.

The kyng answered, my Lorde, I more lament this euell chaunce then my toungue can tell, but where you say that I am defendor of the faith, I assure you, that this war betwene the Emperor and the Pope, is not for the faith but for temporal possessions and dominiõs, and now sith bishop Clemẽt is takẽ by men of war, what should I doo? my persõ nor my people cannot him reskue, but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you semeth most conuenient: for the which offer the Cardi-
xl nall thanked the kyng on his knee, and there vppon the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kynges treasure. xii. score thousande pounde, which he caried ouer the Sea with him, as you shal heare after.

The kynges answer.

The threasor gathered.

Then the Cardinal sent cõmissiõs, as legate to al bishoppes, cõmaũdyng that they should cause in euery parish Churche, solempne processious to be made for the releuyng of the Pope, and moued the people to fast. iii. dates in the weke, but few men fasted, for the preistes saied, that their commaundement was, to exhorte the lay people to fast and not to fast them selfes: & the lay people saied, that the preistes should first fast, because the verie cause of the fastyng, was for a preist, but none of bothe
xl almoste fasted.

prayer and fastyng.

This seasõ begã a fame in Londõ that the kinges cõfessor, beyng bishop of Lyncolne, called doctor Lõglãd, & diuerse other great Clarkes had told the kyng that the mariage betwene him & the Lady Katheryn, late wife to his brother prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable & the kyng there vpõ should mary the dutches of Alansõ, sister to ỹ Frẽch kyng at the toũe of Caleis this sõmer, & that the viscoũt Rochfort had brought with him the picture of the said Lady, & that at his retorne out of Fraũce ỹ Cardinal should passe the Sea to go into Fraũce, to fetch her

This rumor prãg so much, that the kyng sent for sir Thomas Set-
xxx mer maior of Londõ & straightly charged him to se that ỹ people should cease of this cõmunicacion, vpõ payne of the kynges high displeasure.

But whatsoeuer the Commons talked, it was concluded by the kyng and his counsaill, that the Cardinall should passe into Fraunce, as his high ambassadour, but for what cause no persone knewe but the king til his retorne.

Then was much preparacion made at Caleis, for the receauyng of the Cardinall, but the common saiyng was that the kyng would come to Caleis and meet with the Frenche kyng, and for that cause such preparacion was made, but he came not there at al, and alwaies the people
xl commoned as they durst of the kynges mariage.

The Cardinal rideth towarde Fraunce.

The. iii. day of July, the Cardinall of Yorke, passed thorough ỹ citie of London, accõpaigned with many Lordes & Gentlemẽ, to the nombre of twelue hundreth horse, towarde the Sea side, and at Cauntorburie he rested, & there to the people declared the destruccion of Rome, & howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinalles: wherfore he cau-

sed

sed a Letany to be sõg by the mõkes of Chzistes Church, after this ma-
A new fonde Letany. ner. S, Maria, orapro Clemente papa. S Petri orapro Clemente papa. & so furth al ỹ letany: thẽ he exhozted the people to fast & pzay foz his deliueraũce which few did.

The .xi. day of Maye, the Cardinall with al his traine, toke shipping at Douer, and thesame day lãded at Caleis, wher he was receiued with
Barelles of gold. pzocession, and with the hole garrison of the towne.

Whẽ the Cardinal was lãded, there were set on lande .xvi. barrelles al ful of gold of the kynges money, which wer deliuered to the capitain of the castel in charge: of this money the people muche grudged, & saied this money shalbe spẽt out of the realme, & yet Englishemẽ shal haue no parte noz pzoffit of it, but only it shalbe spẽt foz ỹ Cardinalles pleasure and the Frenche kynges, and the Popes pzoffite.

The Cardinal was so soze displeased with the Emperour foz keppng the Pope in pzysõ (although it wer agaynst his wil & knowlege) that he imagened al the wayes and meanes possible how to hurte & dommage themperour & therfoze he sent foz thẽglish marchaũtes, willing them to kepe ỹ marte at Caleys, but thei ãswered, that ỹ towne of Caleis, was a towne of warre, & al marchaũtes must haue libertie at all houres of the night, in the marte season, whiche they coulde not haue at Caleis: also the hauen is not able to receiue greate Hulkes, and Carikes that come
The Marte to be kept at Calice. to a marte: but some merchaũtes to please the Cardinall, bzought their clothes to Caleis, and so caused ther frendes of Andwarpe to come to Caleis, & to say, that thei had bought the marchaũtes clothes, & ther at Caleis paied the custome, & so caried them, to the towne of Andwarp at thẽglish mẽnes charge, & ther sold thẽ to the great losse of thenglishmẽ.

While the Cardinall lay in Caleis, the Frenche men daily resozted to Calleis, to welcome the Cardinall, and sodenly there vpon a noyse sprang that Calleis should be deliuered, to the Frenche kyng, whiche vayne saiyng, made many men muse,

But the .xxii. day of Juli, the Cardinall departed oute of Calleis, and with hym was the lozde Cutberd Tũstal bishop of London, the Lozde Sandes, Chamberlayn to the kyng, the Earle of Darby, sir Henry Guildfozde, sir Thomas Moze, with many knightes and squyzes, to ỹ numbze of .xii. C, hozse & in the cariages .lxxx. Wagõs, & .lx. moyles and sumpter hozses & at Sandifelde, met with him the coũtie Bzian gouer-nour of Picardie, & Monsir de Becs, capitaine of Bullein, with .iiii. C. men of armes, well appareiled, with banners displaied & al well hozsed, which with trumpets & melodie receiued the Cardinal, & at Marguisõ
The receas ving of the Cardinall to Boleyne. there met hym the Cardinall of Lozayn, & .vi. bishoppes, & .xl. gentlemẽ, wel furnished, & in their company .iiii. C. hozse, and so they rode furthe to Bullein where the burgesses them receiued.

And at the gate was made a pageaunte in the whiche was a Nonne called holy churche, & thze Spaniardes & thze Almaynes had her vio-lated, and a Cardinall her reskued, and set her vp of newe agayne.

Another Pageaunte, was a Cardinall geuyng a Paxe to the Kyng

of

of England and the French kyng, in token of peace, a nother Pageant was the Pope, lyng vnder, and the Emperour sittyng in his Maiestie, and a Cardinall pulled downe the Emperoure, and set vp the Pope.

When wise men sawe this Pagiaunt, thei smiled & saied, well, can the Frenche kyng flatter, for harde it were for one Cardinall to subdue him that hath pulled downe the master of all Cardinalles.

Many wordes wer spoken in reproue of this pageaunt, but stil with great triumph rode these.ii. Cardinalls together, to the Abbey vnder a
x Canapie borne ouer them, and there lodged.

The morow beyng the thre & twêtie day he with al his traine remoued toward Muttrel, & .ii. mile without the towne ther met with him the baylies, ther to him was made a solempne oracion, and when he came to the towne he was receiued with the Clergie, and ther the Englishmen had strayt lodging, the nombre was so great, and so the morowe he remoued toward Abbeuil wher he was receiued of the Baylife and aduocates of the towne, and then of the garison of mẽ of warre of the towne, and there was he receiued with procession, and Pageauntes to his praise vnder a Canapie, and so brought to the Church, and after to his lodging, and al
xx the Canapies were set with T C for Thomas Cardinal, and so were all his seruauntes cotes.

The third day of August in the Citie of Amias, came the Frenche kyng in a cote of blacke Veluet vpon whyte Satin, and tied with laces agglated with golde, and with him, the kyng of Nauer, and the Cardinall of Burbon, the greate master, the Duke of Vandosme, Monsir de Guise, and Monsir Vaudemount his brother, and the Frenche kynges mother, with many Lordes and Ladies, which were there solemplie receiued.

And on Sõday the.iiii.daie of August, the Cardinal came fro Pickxx queny toward Amias, in which towne he lay the night before, and in the way he was receiued with the prouost of the Citie, and many honorable personages of the citie, and after them came the Justices and aduocates and with an eloquent oracion saluted him, and when he was with in halfe a myle of the towne, the Frenche kyng hym selfe with all his Nobles mette with him, and louinglie embraced him, and welcommed hym and after toke all the Nobles of England, by the hand, and so brought thesaied Cardinall to Amias: where for hym were deuysed many Pagiauntes, to his prayse, and euer he was called *Cardinalis pacificus* the Cardinall pacifique, and so was writen at the gate of his lodg-
xl ing.

The Frẽche kyng brought the Cardinal to his lodgyng, & he would haue brought the kyng to his Courte agayne, but he would in nowise suffre him, but left him in his lodgyng, and thesame night the Cardinall rode to visit the Frenche kynges mother, & there he had long communicacion and so departed to his lodgyng.

The

The.v.day of August the Cardinall with the great estates of Fraũce was conueighed to the ffrenche kynges Courte, where he was receiued of the Frenche kynges garde, and in the first Chambze he was receiued of Knightes and gentlemen, In the secound Chambze, of Earls Barõs and bishoppes. In the third of Ladies, in which chambze the kynge lay on a bed, and his mother sate by him, because he had a soze Legg. Then the Cardinal shewed his commission, which was very large, and in that was none but he alone: the Bishop of London and the Lozde Sandes, were in another commission, but that was not shewed than, noz they called to counsail. There was the Cardinall highly thanked of the greate loue that he bare to the house of Fraunce: Then he & the Frẽch Lozdes fell to counsail, fyrst concernyng the Articles of peace, and foz the suerty of perfozmaunce of the same, and so that day they sat foure houres, and so euery day was the Cardinall in Counsaile with the Frenche kynges Counsaile, tyll the.xviii.daye of August, at whyche daye was made in the Cathedzall Churche of Amies, foz the Cardinall of Englande a place on the Nozth side of the Churche foz hys Trauers, and directly in the middes of the quere was a curious chappell wzoughte of carued wood al gilt set foz the Frenche kyng and his mother, which was couered wyth Crimosyn beluet, richely embzodered & hanged wyth clothes of Antike makyng, set with pearle & stone, very curiously: The Masse was song, by a Cardinal, and after Masse, the French kyng and diuers of his Lozdes, wer swozne to kepe the league, & then was a great Charter sealed on the high aultare, & diliuered to the Cardinal by the kinges awne hand, and then the Cardinal of England gaue to theim all (as he saied clere remission) and then was Te *deum* song, and so they all departed.

Now will I leaue the Cardinall styll at Amias in counsaill, and retozne to Sir Fraunces Poynes, & Clarẽceaux which ware at this tyme arriued in Spaine, in the towne of Uale Dolise the third day of July, where thei found Doctoz Lee the kynges Almoner there ambassadour foz the kyng of Englande, & with hym taried till the sixte day of July, & then Sir Fraunces Poynes was bzought to his pzesẽce, and deliuered the kyng his masters letter, and beside that pzaied his Maiestie to consider what the king of England had doen foz hym sence his tendze age, how that he holpe him at all times with money and treasure, and howe that at suche tyme as the Lozdes of Spayne would not receiue him as there kyng duryng his mothers life, yet by the kynges meane and hys greate labour and cost, he was to that Realme receiued: And also howe the kyng of England had alwaies defended and pzotected the contreys of Flaunders, Bzabant, and Zeland, against all persones, and in the quarel of themperoure he had strongly inuaded the Realme of Fraũce so that by his inuasion at home, themperour had obteyned great victozie in fozein places, which he could not haue done, if al the whole realme of Fraunce had ben without any enemies at home: wherefoze the kyng

desired

him as reason would, the one halfe of the profite of the battail of Pauy and also for his parte he required the duke of Orleaunce to bee delyuered to him, and also to paie to the king, fourtie thousand pownd, which he ought to him as money lēt, towardes his charges: and farther that he should deliuer the Pope, and make him a reasonable amendes, & no farther to make warre on him or his dominions. The Emperor after this demaunde, answered, sir we assure you that the loue of our vncle of England, toward vs and the manyfolde benefites that we haue receiued by him and his meanes we shal neuer forget, & althoughe oure
x power be not able to recompence thesame, yet our good wil shall neuer fayle, to endeuer vs to do him pleasure: and as concerning his letters we with oure counsayle shal take aduice, and we trust you shall haue a reasonable answere, duryng which time, you may repose you, & althinges necessarie shalbe at your commaundement: with this answer, Sir Fraunces departed at this tyme. Whē it was knowen in Spain, ỹ the kyng of England was alied with the Frenche kyng, the Spanyardes spake largely and said that thei cared not for the king of England, and said farther that all this was the dryft of the Cardynall, and by reason hereof the Englishe marchauntes wer euyl entertained in Spain, but
xx the Emperour perceiuyng this, gaue a generall commaundemēt, that al Englyshmen shoulde be ordered and reputed as his louing frendes.

Thēperours answere.

In this very moneth, tidinges was brought to the Emperour, how the inhabitauntes of Turney cōspired to destroy Monsire Delanoies their Capitayn, and deuised to bid him to a banket, & so to sley him & al that loued the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowlege of this treason, and toke the chiefe Capitaynes, and dyd on them sharpe execucyon, for feare whereof many fled into Fraunce.

The Emperor within a day or twayne called to him Doctor Lee, & Syr Fraunces Poynes the kyng of Englands Ambassadors, & sayed:
xxx my lordes, we haue perceiued the king your maisters requestes, which be great and of a waighty Importaunce, wherfore we entend wyth al spede to wryte to the kyng our vncle, and when we haue receiued answere frō him, we shal delyuer you of suche thinges as you demaunde, prayng in the meane season, to take pacience, and so for the tyme they departed.

By this tyme was it knowen that the Cardinall of England was wyth the French kyng, & ful wel knew the Emperour that the Cardinal woulde do all for to ayde the Frenche kynge and to domage hym yet had he a great pencion of the Emperour.

xl The Englyshe Marchauntes fearynge the sequele of this matter, conueighed away their goodes daily out of the Emperors dominiōs. but still the Englyshe Ambassadours came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour sayed to them, my lordes, I maruell howe the kyng my vncle is moued agaynste me & my subiectes, I assure you

I wil no war with him, I truste in hys faythfull promes, & his accustomed goodnes, & his people I take as my frendes. If he loue ỹ Frenche kyng I may not so do, for he to me is vntrue & kepeth no iust promyse, and we neuer compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his owne mocion, and he also swore to mainteine the same, which he now refuseth, & to our great preiudice hath perswaded against vs our dere vncle of England by peruers Imaginacions, which I trust wyll neuer be our enemy. This many times the Emperor would comen with the Englyshe Ambassadors whiche lay in Spayne.

But now must I returne to the Cardinal of England which lay at x Amyas: there was great counsayling from day to day: First, how the Pope should be deliuered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quietnes: Secondarily, how to bryng the Emperor to some reasonable agremēt so that the French kynges chyldren might be deliuered. It was well consydered that the Emperor had a great forfel by reason of the sayde ij. hostages, which forfel might perchaunce so stomacke him ỹ he wold agre to no new condicions nor agremente. Then it was answered on the otherside that yf a great army were sent into Italy whych might driue the Emperors power out of Italy, then that army should set the Pope at libertie & also dryue the emperor to come to their purpose, or els xx he should lese both the realmes of Napels and Scicille, and the duchy of Millayn and other dominions, wherefore the Frēch kyng determined to send an army royal into Italy, vnder the conduict of Mounsire Odyt de Lawtryck erle of Foys, which was appointed afore in June to go to the borders of Italy with a smal nombre, but now to him was assigned viij. M. Bretons wyth notable capitaines of the same coūtrey and. viij. M. Normans wyth like capitaynes, and. viij. M. Gascoines, and. vj. M. Burgonions. iij. M. Sauoyns. viij. M. Swyches & Almaines, and vi. M. Picardes, of which men were. v. M. horsemen vnder the conduict of Mounsire Galias, & in thys army were syr Robert xxx Jernyngham & Jhon Carew of Hakam, and. lxxx. other English gentlemen, which were sent thyther by the Cardinall from Amias. When thys army was assembled, the Cardinall deliuered the kyng of Englādes money, ỹ he had broughte of out England in barrels as you haue heard, wyth which money was this army paied two monethes before hand, and the remnaūt was deliuered to sir Robert Jerninghā which was called treasorer of the warres. In this army were. iij. M. cariage men, and aduenturers. iij. thousand, so that when they were ouer the mountaynes they were. lix. M. men, & som writers say. C. thousand. This army was called in Latin *Exercitus Angliæ & Gallorum Regum, pro Pontificio Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to say, the armye of the kynges of Englande and Fraunce gathered for the delyueraunce of the byshoppe of Rome, and so was thys armye reputed. Although few people knewe at the beginninge in Englande of the conueiynge of the moneye ouer xl

English money deliuered

the sea, yet when the Englysh coyne was the common payment of the armie, it was then openly knowen: then many men sayde alas, so much money spent out of the realme, and of this charge the realme shall not be one peny the better, the kynge hathe had of vs a loane and that is not payde, and the great subsedy was graũted to make the kyng riche and now is that money to helpe our old enemies, and the Pope which neuer shall do vs good, this the people spake and muche worse. While the Cardinal was wyth the Frenche kyng, the Pope sent to him a bul, and made him Vicar general vnder him through all the kyng of Englandes dominions, and there by a bull he created Anthony de Prato bishop of Sens and Chauncelor to the French kyng a Cardinall wyth great solempnitie. The Cardinall for hys solace rode with the French kynge to Compeygne and Mountdedier, and was euer highly feasted of the kyng and hys mother and of the Chauncellour of Fraũce, and of al the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinal & the Frenche kynges counsayll what articles of offer should be sent to the Emperor, which yf he refused, then open defyaunce to be made to him in the name of both the kynges: The profers were these.

¶ First that the French kyng shoulde paye for his raunsome. xxv. M. xx crounes, which amounteth to. v. M. pounde sterlynge, one wryter calleth it two Millions of Crounes. m. marb. 6 129.

The second to release al the pencion that he had in Napels with al the ryght of thesame.

The third, that he should neuer clayme title to the Duchy of Millain.

The. iiij. that he should release the superiorite of Flaunders for euer & the ryght that he had to the citie of Turnay. m Dod. 162

The. v. to release al the homages of al other persones wythin thesayd countreyes.

The. vj. to wythdrawe hys army out of Italy.

xxx The. vij. to forsake the ayde of the Swyches against the Emperour.

The. viij. to take no more the part of Robert de la Marche against the Emperor.

The. ix. neuer to ayde the kyng of Nauerne against hym, although he had maried the kynges sister.

The. x. neuer to ayd ỹ duke of Gelder nor to chalenge thesame duchy.

The. xj. to ayde the Emperor wyth shippes and men to hys coronaciõ.

The. xij. to mary ladye Elianor the quene of Portingale syster to the Emperor.

The. xiij. that the Dolphyn should mary thesayd quenes daughter.

xl The. xiiij. that yf the French kyng had any childzen male by thesayde quene, then the duchy of Burgoyne to remayne to thesayd child being a male.

The. xv. that the French kyng should be frende to the Emperor & his frendes, and enemy to his enemies.

These with many other articles which wer not openly knowẽ wer

sent to the bishop of Tarby and the Vicount of Thorayn ambassadors to the Emperor from the French kyng. And other articles wer sent to the kynge of Englandes ambassadors beyng in Spayne: firste to moue the Emperor to take a reasonable peace wyth the French kyng.

Also that the kyng of England would release to him all the sommes of money due to him aswel by themperor Maximilian his graūdfather as by hym selfe, and take the French kyng as detter for thesame.

Item yf the Emperor would not therto agre, then the French king should mary the lady Mary doughter to the king of England and thei both to be enemies to the Emperor. x

When all these thinges wer concluded, the Cardinal toke his leaue of the French kyng and his mother (which tolde hym that a noble ambassade shoulde be shortly sent again into Englande from the realme of Fraunce for fortefiynge of all conclusyons) and so thesayde Cardynall wyth great rewardes returned wyth al his trayne & by iorneys ỹ last day of September, he came to Rychmond to the king of England and there assertayned the kyng of all his doynges, but so could no lord that then was in Cōmission with him, for they knew nothing of all his doynges, whiche sore greued their stomackes.

The Cardinal which much reioysed in this peace, came the first day xx of the terme into the starre chamber & there by his cōmaundemēt wer presente the lordes spirituall and temporall of the kinges counsaill, and the Maior and Aldermen of the citie of London, and the iudges of the law and al the Justices of peace of al shyres then beynge at Westmynster. And then he sayd, how much is the realme of Englande bounde to God for the hygh peace that now is concluded? A hygh peace, yea such a peace as was neuer concluded betwene no realm, for by my labor and industry I haue knit the realmes of Englande and Fraunce in suche a perfyt knot, ỹ it shall neuer fayle, for the thre estates of Fraunce (which here we cal a Parliamēt) haue affirmed thesame, and therfore now my xxi lordes be mery, for the king shal neuermore charge you with warres in Fraunce, nor the Mayer and other marchaūtes shal neuer be charged farther wyth expences, so that wyth exaccyons for warres of Fraūce you shall no more be charged, for the kynge shal haue no nede, because ỹ he by this league shalbe the rychest prince of the world, for I assure you he shall haue more treasur out of Fraūce yerely then al his reuenewes and customes amount to, yea and count his wardes, forfeytes and all such casualties. Now syth you haue such an honorable peace and suche a profitable peace, how much be you bound to him which hath brought this peace aboute, for this is a peace *in secula seculorum*. And because thys xxii peace is so noble, it is sealed wyth a seale of golde, and so he caused all there present to looke on the seale, which was the verye greate seale of Fraunce, printed in fine gold: at this tale many a man after laughed to thinke how the Cardinall lyed, for they knew, that he sayd was for his owne glory, and nothing should folowe as he sayd.

The

The Frenche kynge accordinge to his appoyntment sent the lorde Annas of Momorancy great mayster of his house and after that hygh Constable of Fraunce, and the bishop of Bayon, the chiefe president of Roan and Mounsire de Hunyers, as his Ambassadors to the kyng of England accompanyed with.lx. gentlemen wel appointed, whiche the xiiij. day of October lãded at Douer, whose seruauntes demeaned thẽ selfes so passing through Kent, that much busynes was to lodge them in Londõ, but the Cardinal cõmaunded corporaciõs of the citie to pro-
vide lodgyng for them, which was neuer sene before, wherat ỹ people murmured sore, saiyng that the Cardinal was al Frenche. So on the xx. day of October, thesayd Ambassadors were met on black heth by ỹ marques of Exceter, the bishop of London, the Vicoũt Rocheford and lord Mountioy wyth many men of honor & gentlemen to the nõber of v. hundred horses and more. The Maior and Aldermen of the citie of Londõ & the chiefe comminers on horsebacke in their gounes met the said Ambassadors at S. Georges bar, & there was made to them a so-
lẽpne oracio, & so frõ thence they were conueied through Londõ to ỹ bi-
shop of Lõdons palais, & ther & nere ther aboute thei wer wel lodged.

The citezens of London presented them with. v. fat orẽ. xx. shepe. xij. xx Swannes. xij. cranes. xij. Fesantz. iiij. dosin Partriches. xx. loaues of Suger, Comfettes and other spyce and waxe, and. viij. hoggesheades of wyne wyth many other thynges, whych I cannot reherse. A present geuen by ỹ city to the ffrech ambassadors

On Tewday being the. xxij. day of Septẽber, thesaid ambassadors wer conueyed by water to Grenewiche, where before the kyng sitting vnder his clothe of estate, the forsayed Mounsire Bayon presydent of Roan made an eloquent proprosicion, in the which he much thanked ỹ kyng for sendynge so high an ambassador as the Cardinall was, a man of such prudence & wit, as it appeared by ỹ knitinge of the league, that like to him could none be found, for by his onely mediacion, the. ij. prin-
xxx ces wer accorded so surely as neuer wer princes before that tyme, so ỹ by this confederacion the pope & his cardinals which wer in captiuitie & thaldrome should by the power of these. ij. princes be deliuered & al ỹ Emperors power should be clene banished & driuen oute of Italy, and the Pope shoulde be restored to his olde estate and dignitie agayne.

When this Dracion was done & an answere made to thesame, the kyng welcomed al the gentlemen of Fraunce, & then they had wyne & spyce brought to them, wherof they toke part and drãke & so departed to their barge. Dayly these ambassadors repayred to ỹ cardinals place and ther wer highly entertained, & the morow after S. Simons day xl & Jude the bishop of Bayon & a great nomber of the French gentlemẽ dyned at the Maiors feast, & so they taryed in London til Alhalonday on which day the kyng accompanied with the Ambassadors of Fraũce & all his nobilitie rode to the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul, wher the Cardinall sang Masse, & after masse done, ỹ people wer desired to pray that by their praiers Pope Clemẽt might the soner be deliuered out of

captiuitie: and when that was done the kynge of Englande before the aulter ſware to kepe and performe the league. The cõmon people ſayd what nede al this ſwearyng, the French kyng was once ſworne and al his nobilitie, yea & al hys good tounes, but yet they brake with vs, and ſo wyl they agayne when they ſe an auauntage.

The French kyng knyght of the Garter

For the more loue to be engẽdered betwene theſe two princes it was concluded ẏ the kyng of England ſhould elect the French kyng knight of the noble order of the Garter, and that the French kyng ſhould elect the kynge of Englande companion of his order of S. Michel, whyche eleccions paſſed on both parties. Wherefore in all ſpede the kynge ſent & ſir Arthur Plantagenet Vicoũt Liſle & baſtard ſonne to king Edward the fourth, Doctor Tailor Maiſter of the Rolles, ſir Nicholas Carew knight maiſter of ẏ kynges horſes, and ſyr Anthony Broune knyght, & ſir Thomas Wryotheſley knyght beyng Garter kyng of armes of the order, with the whole habite coller and habilimentes of ẏ order, which order he receyued on ſonday the .x. day of Nouẽber in ẏ citie of Paris & rode in the ſayd habit frõ the houſe of S. Poule to our ladye churche and there heard a ſolempne maſſe, & dyned in his robe of the order, hauyng wyth him thambaſſadors of Englãd, and the ſame night he made to them a banket, & ſo the next day thei departed. In likewyſe the ſelfe ſame ſonday, the king at Grenewiche receiued ẏ order of S. Michell by the handes of the great mayſter of Fraunce and Mounſire Huniers compaignions of the ſayd order: and they al there ware the mantles of the ſayd order which were of cloth of ſiluer embrodered with Fraũces knottes & kocle ſhelles, & the collor was of the ſame deuiſe hauing hangynge before the breſt the image of. S. Michel, and in theſe Mantels they went doune to the chaple to Maſſe, and there heard maſſe, which was ſong by a biſhop, & after maſſe they returned to the kynges chamber, wher was made a great feaſt, and after diner which was late they were conueyed into the tyltyard, and ther wer Juſtes of pleaſure. xii. againſt. xij. whych valyauntly furniſhed their courſes, til they had broken. C. ſtaues, and then they departed, for nyght was ſodainlye come. Then the kyng brought the Ambaſſadors to the new banket chamber, which was hanged wyth a coſtly verdor al new, the groũd therof was all gold and the flowers were all of Sattyn ſyluer ſo that by ẏ bryghtſomenes of the gold, the flowers appeared ſo freſhly that thei ſemed as they wer growyng in dede, the cupberdes of gold and gylt plate with the eweryes, the ſame Jouerpaſſe, becauſe you haue hearde thereof in the beginnyng of this yere. Then the kyng, quene & ambaſſadors ſatte doune to ſupper & were ſerued with .lxxxx. diſhes, al the galleries and chambers were ful of lordes, knyghtes & gentlemen, & the garrates aboue ful of French lackeys & verlettes, which wer plẽteouſly ſerued.

The kyng of England knight of the order of ſaint Michel.

The banquet houſe.

After ſupper was done, the king led the ambaſſadors into the great chamber of diſguyſinges, and in the ende of the ſame chãber was a foũtayne, and on the one ſyde was a Hawthorne tre al of ſilke wyth white flowers

flowers, and on the other syde of the fountayne was a Mulbery tre ful of of fayze beryes all silke, on the toppe of the Hawthoyne was ỹ armes of England compassed with the coller of the garter of S. Michel, & in the toppe of the Moulberie tree stode the armes of Fraunce wythin a garter. This fountayn was al of whyte Marble grauen & chased, the bases of thesame were balles of golde supporzted by rampynge beastes wounde in leaues of golde. In the first worzcke were gargilles of gold fiersly faced with spoutes running. The second receyt of this fountain was enuironed with wynged serpentes al of golde, which gryped the
x second receit of the fountain, & on the sõmit oz toppe of thesame was a fayze lady, out of whose brestes ran aboundantly water of merueilous delicious sauer. About this fountayn wer bẽches of Rosemary fretted in braydes layd on gold, all the sides sette wyth roses in braunches as they wer growyng about this fountayne. On the benches sat. viij. fair ladies in straung attier, & so rychly apparelled in cloth of golde embzodered and cut ouer siluer, that I cannot expzesse the conning worzkmãship therof. Then when the kyng and quene were set, there was playd before them by childzen in the Latin tongue in maner of Tragedy, the A play.
effect wherof was that ỹ pope was in captiuitie & the church brought
xx vnder the foote, wherfoze S. Peter appeared and put the Cardinal in authozitie to bzyng the Pope to his libertie, and to set vp the church agayn, and so the Cardinall made intercession to the kinges of England and of Fraunce, that they toke part together, and by their meanes the Pope was delyuered. Then in came the French kynges chyldzen, and complayned to the Cardinal, how the Emperour kept thẽ as hostages and wold not come to no reasonable point with their father, wherfoze thei desyzed ỹ Cardinal to helpe foz their deliueraũce, which wzought so wyth the kyng hys mayster & the French kyng that he bzought the Empezoz to a peace, and caused the two yong pzinces to be delyuered.
xxx At this play wisemen smiled & thought that it sounded moze glozious to the Cardinall, then true to the matter in deede.

When the playe was done, and. iiij. companies of maskers daunsed, the king, the great maister of Fraunce, the duke of Suffolke, the marques of Exceter, sir Edward Newel, and other thze apparelled in cloth of gold and purple Tynsyl sattyn set wyth cut warkes of clothe of sylner plyghted goozd fret and folded eche cloth vpõ other, and one plucked vnder another verye rychely: they had also mantels of Crymosyn Sattyn cast about them Bauderike wyse, so that the other garmẽtes myght largely appeare, and then thei entered with noyse of minstrelsy
xl and toke the ladies that sat about the fountayne and daũsed wyth thẽ very lustely, and when they had daunsed ynough, then thei put of their vysers, and were knowen, and so wyth disport al this night passed.

The next day the greate maister and al his company toke their leaue of the kyng (except the bishop of Bayon which abode as Ambassadoz in England) and were hyghly rewarded, and so passed to Douer, & toke The Ambassadors departed

shippe there and landed at Bulleyn.

After that the Frenchmē wer departed, ỹ cōmons spake sore against the Cardinal & sayd, that the Frenchmen did neuer good to England, and for the Cardinals pleasure we should forsake our old frendes, and receiue our olde enemies. When the Cardinal heard of these sayinges he was not content, wherfore he sent a Cōmission to the Maior of Lō-don to cōmaunde al men not to talke of ỹ kynges affaires & busynes or of ỹ quene, or of the kynges counsail. And yf any person spake or talked of any of these matters, then he to be taken & brought to the Cardinal. When this commaundement was once knowē, euery man mystrusted other, and noman durst breake his minde to other.

In this moneth of Nouember the Cardinal as legate called ỹ whole clergie before him at Westminster & there he saide that all the abusions of the church should be amended, but he did nothinge therto, but abiu-red, Arthur, Bylney, Geffery Lome, and Garret that spake against ỹ Popes auctho*r*itie and hys pompe and pryde.

Arthur, Bil-ney Geffrey Lome and Garret.

By reason of the great raynes, which fel in the sowing time & in the beginning of the last yere, now in the beginning of thys yere corne be-gan sore to fayle throughout the realme, in so muche that in the citie of London, bread for a whyle was bery skant and people did starue daily for bread, for wheat so fayled that none could be gottē for money. Sa-uyng that the king of his goodnes sent to the citie of his owne prouy-sion. vj. C. quarters, or els for a weeke ther had ben litle bread in Lon-don, yet was the scarcitie more then ỹ derth: For then wheat was only at. xv. s. the quarter, & frō thēce it rose to. xx. s. & after to. xxvj. s. viij. d the quarter. Men sayd that the negligēce was in sir Thomas Seimer knyght then Maior. Many substanciall men would haue made prouy-sion for their houses, but they feared lest the cōmunaltie would haue ta-ken it from them. Then were cōmissions sente into all shires and com-missioners appoynted to se what wheat was in the realme, and the cō-missioners ordered that no wheate should be conueyed out of one shire to another, which cōmaundement had lyke to haue raysed trouble, and specially the citie of London wher the same was sore agreued, for thei had no arable ground to sowe, but must make prouision with money, which prouision was them denied in diuerse shires by that commaundement, wherat the citezens grudged, so the Maior and Aldermen seyng that the people began to murmure, came to the Cardinall & moued him of ỹ mischiefe that was like to ensue: either the people must dye for famyne or elz they wyth strong hand wil fetche corne from them that haue it. To whō he answered ỹ they should haue wheat ynough out of Fraūce for the French kyng sayd to me quod the Cardinall that yf he had but three bushels of corne in all Fraunce, Englande shoulde haue twayne so muche he loueth & regardeth this realme: with this answer thei de-parted & euery day loked for Frēch wheat, but none came: and farther such wheat as ỹ Marchaūtes of England had brought and shipped in

A great derth of wheate.

Nor-

Normãdy, and other places wer ther restrained, so that the relefe ther failed, but the gentle marchauntes of ỹ Stylliard brought frõ Danske, Breme, Hainbrough and other places great plẽtie, also did other marchaũtes from Flaũders, Holand and Frisslande, so that wheat was better chepe in London, then in all England ouer. Then the people sayd, se how we had bene serued by the Frenchmen in our necessitie if thẽperors subiectes had not holpen vs. For this kindnes the cõmon people loued themperor the better & al hys subiectes. The kyng of hys goodnes hearyng that ỹ wheat in Fraunce was stopped, mused not a litle, & so for comfort of thys cyty of Londõ he lent. M. quarters, for ỹ whych thy y both thãked him and prayed for hym. Thẽ wythin short space the marchauntes of London so diligently made prouysyõ in all places for Wheat and Rye, that after Christmas they lacked none, and al the parties adioynyng to them wer fain to fetch wheate of them and none to them was denied, notwythstanding their vnkynd cõmaundement geuen that the Londoners should none haue of them.

xx Now let vs speake of the army ỹ the lord Lawtrick had into Italy at ỹ charges of the king of England & the Frenche kyng for the deliuerãce of pope Clemẽt. The lord Lawtrick after that hys whole army was come to hym to Liõs, & that al thynges necessary wer in redines, then he set forwarde wyth great diligence: but or he had passed ỹ moũtaines, ỹ Uenicians army was come into Lõbardy abydyng ỹ cõmyng of the Frenchmen, and in the meane season they marched toward thẽperors army which lay at ỹ citie of Millain. Wherof hearyng Anthony de Leua wyth. viij. C. Almaines and Spanyardes on fote, & as many Italians marched forward to mete wb thẽ, & by force caused thẽ to take the toune of Meligna for refuge, where he hearing ỹ Jhõ de Medices with a great nomber wer cõming toward the Uenicians, he in the euenyng or his enemies were aware sodainly set on the sayd Jhõ de Me-
xxx dyces, whiche began to set his men in an order, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his horse and fled and left his company alone, which were slayn almost al, and lost four great pieces of ordinaunce, whych Anthony de Leua caried with him to Millayn. In which season the lorde Lawtrick with his army was passed the mountaines and was come to the citie of Aster abyding the Swiches, wher he heard tell how that Lewes Erle of Lodrõ with a great crew of Almaines was come to the toune of Boske nye Alexandry with money & vytail to ayde the Almanies that kept Alexandry: wherfor he sent hys horsemen to stoppe them that they should not passe to Alexandry, and
xl after thẽ he folowed wyth his whole army, and besieged thẽ in Boske which a certain daies defended, but at the last they yelded the toune & became souldiers to the Lord Lawtrick. In this same season Andrew Dorie Admyral of the French Nauy lay before the hauen of Gene and kept the Genowayes from al marchaundise and vytailes which to the cyty might repaire, & in especiall he letted certain shippes of corne whi-

che

che lay at Pōt de Ferry betwene Gene and Sauona to come to Gene. The Genowayes which lacked cozne and were on the land side beſie-
ged by a citezen of their own which was on the French part called Ce-
ſar Fulgoſus, imagined how to bzing the ſhippes of cozne into the citie,
and when they ſawe that Andzewe Dozy had but. xvij. Galeys. They
pzepared. vj. Galeys to fyght with Andzew Dozye. Durynge whyche
fight the ſhippes with cozne ſhuld entre ẏ hauen. When the galeis wer
abzode, a ſodain tempeſt roſe wyth ſuch a violence, that Andzew Dozy
was fayne to take the pozt of Sauona foz his ſuccoz, and ſo the ſhippes
of cozne came ſafe into the hauen of Geane, & all the Galeys in ſafetie: x
this good was foztune to Geane at this tyme.

When the citezens of Geane were thus vitayled, they toke to them
good courage, & in warlyke maner iſſued oute againſt Ceſar Fulgoſus
which knew wel that thei had litle mozе then. iij. C. Spanyardes that
could ſkill of the war, and as foz the remnant were neither of ſtomacke
noz of experience in warre, wherfoze he boldely ſet on them, and whyle
they were fighting wythout, ẏ citezens wythin which be euer mutable
ſodainly cried Fraunce Fraunce, whiche clamour came to the eares of
Adurnus which was imperial, wherfoze he retyzed backe into the citie
to appeace the rumoz, but their enemies folowed them in ſuch haſt that xx
both entred together, and ſo Geane was become Frēch. Then thither
came the lozde Lawtrick, and put there a capitaine wyth a retinue foz
ẏ ſafe keping of the citie. Then Adurnus duke of Geane whych was in
the caſtle with diuers of the Emperozs frendes and lacked vitail & ſaw
no comfozt of reſkew, yelded the caſtle vpon condicion to departe wyth
bagge and baggage, & ſo they dyd. In the meane ſeaſon certain Frēch-
men which were left at Boſke defaced the toune, and then came befoze
Alexandzie, & there kepte a ſiege volant that no ayde oz ſuccoz ſhoulde
come to the toune, til the whole army wer aſſembled to beſiege ẏ toun.
But foz al that purpoſe, by the Dounes of Alexandzie, Albericke Bar- xxx
bian wyth. v. C ſouldiers came into the toune, whych much comfozted
the garryſon there which was in maner diſmayed becauſe their aid at
Boſke had fayled them. The Frenchmen beſieged the toune and bet it
wyth ozdynaūce, and they within manfully defended it, and made new
coūtermures, ſo that their enemies could not enter without ieoperdy.
But at the laſt ẏ Uenicias bzought thither great pieces of ozdinaūce.
whych ſo ſoze bet the walles that Baptiſt Lodzyn the capitayn ſaw ẏ
he was not able to defende it & ſo he delyuered ẏ toune vpō thys cōpo-
ſicion, that he & his ſhoulde depart wyth bagge & baggage, & he noz his
to weare no harnys againſt the Frēch kyng noz hys confederates by ẏ xl
ſpace of vj. monethes. Then the lozde Lawtryck deliuered ẏ toune to
Fraūces Sfozcia accozding to ẏ league, whych Fraūces put there a cō-
ueniēt garryſō. Thēce ẏ army remoued to Belgraſſe which to thē was
yelded & alſo deliuered to ẏ duke of Millain, & frō thence thei remoued
toward ẏ citie of Millain, wherof hering Anthony de Leua fozteſied ẏ

caſtle

of Millayn and sent Lewes Barbyan to defende the city of Pauy.

When the Lorde Lawtryck was within.viij.mile of Myllayn, he sodainly returned toward Pauy, which men iudged to be done for the displeasure ẏ was done there to ẏ Frenchmen, whē their king was taken, & so the.xix.day of Septēber thei besieged Pauy, & daily betwene them wer great skyrmisches, but at last they bet the walles so w̄ greate ordinaunce, that they made the toune assautable. Then the Frenchmē threwe into the dyches fagottes and emptye pipes, and shortly entred the toune. The capitayn perceiuing the toune entred, opened the gate
x and yelded himself prisoner. Then the Frenchmen slewe and kylled on euery syde, robbed and spoyled houses & churches, & spared no person nor place, and of crueltie raūsomed one man.v.or.vj.times, & the Gascoynes, which were most cruel, set fier in the fayre houses, & had brent the whole citie if the lord Lawtryck after.vij.dayes spoilyng had not commaunded them to cease. When Pauye was thus taken & spoyled, the Lorde Lawtrick determined with the Cardinal Innocent legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliueraunce of the pope incōtinēt to passe to Rome and to dryue away al the Emperors power frō thence and to restore the Pope to libertie.

xx Fraunces Sforcia duke of Myllayn hearing of this determinacion came to the lord Lawtrick to Pauye, and required him first to rid the duchy of Millayn of themperors souldiers, rather then to go forward and leaue his enemies behynd him. The Lord Lawtryck answered ẏ he was of thesame opinion, but the cōmission that he had of the French kyng, and the kyng of England was, that with all spede he shoulde go forward to delyuer the bishop of Rome, which done, he faythfully promised that he would returne and expulse all the Emperors powr out of Lombardy, and in the meane ceason he woulde that the duke & the Uenecians shoulde besiege Anthony de Leua in the castle of Millayn.

xxi Duke Fraunces semed to be content with this answer, but yet he perceiued, that the French kyng cared not for his restorying, lest he should be emperiall. So for that tyme the duke dissembled the matter & toke possession of the citie of Pauye. When the Lorde Lawtrick had layen xvj.dayes at Pauy, he dismissed the Swiches which in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherfor he marched forward w̄ his owne army & came to Pleasance, where he cōcluded a league with Alphōs duke of Farrer, & Frederycke marques of Mantua, so ẏ then he knew wel that he might wel passe in safetie: & then in good ordre of battail he marched toward Rome for ẏ finishing of this enterpryse. But or he was passed
xl out of Lōbardy thēperor had sent letters to the B. of Rome & excused him self, that he neither willed nor commaūded such mischief to be done & straightly cōmaunded his captaynes to delīuer him. The Prince of Orēge & other captayns of thēperors hearing his cōmaundemēt, toke agremēt w̄ ẏ pope & his Cardinals, & so he & .xij. cardinals wer bound to performe certen articles to ẏ nōber of.xi. & thē he was deliuered out

of

the Castle sayncte Angel the.x. day of December and was conueyed to
Clemẽt pope delyuered. Oruyet. wherafter he had payed certayn money for the souldiars wages he was put at full libertie & the Emperors people departed from him, and thence he remoued to Ancona. When tydynges was brought into Englande of his deliuerannce, the Cardinall in greate hast caused Te deum to be song on Newyeres day in the kinges Chapel and declared openly that he was escaped & sayd not delyuered, whyche made manye men to muse: & on sonday the.x. day of January the Cardinal w great triumph came to the church of S. Paule in London, and on him attẽded diuers prelates and the Clergy, and there Te deum was song againe and after that doctor Capon openlydeclared howe ỹ byshop Clement had ben long kept in distres by faulte of tyrannes and infideles, and so kept as prysoner to the behofe of Charles the Emperor, til now of late through the prayers of good Christen people he was escaped the handes of hys enemies, for whych cause he wylled all men to geue thankes to God. That nyght were great fyers made in the kynges courte and in al London. Shortlye after this trueth was knowen, that the Pope was delyuered by composicion, and not frely escaped as the Cardinall had blowen abroade, but men sayd that he coulde not leaue his liynge.

xx Whyle the lord Lawtrick was cõtinually goyng forwarde to delyuer pope Clemẽt, he was credibly enformed at Bonnony, that he was delluered and at his libertie, wherfore he thought his iorney voyde to go to Rome to do nothing, he therfor determined to turne toward Napels and to take the citie, yf it were not fortefyed or replenyshed wyth men of war, & so according to this purpose he iornied forward w great dilygence. The Emperors capitaynes perceyuyng the Frenchemens entent, caused al their souldioures to depart out of Rome in the beginnyng of Februarye (which was against the mynde of the souldiers) and so came into the realme of Napels and fortefied certain tounes as thei passed, and so came to a toune called Troy and there they taried: This xxx remouing was to thẽ very profitable. For yf thei had taried at Rome they had bene set on wyth the Italians on the one syde, & the Frẽchmẽ on the other syde, that by euery mans iudgemente they should al haue bene taken or slayne. The lorde Lawtrick departed from Bonnony to Inmole and so to Fayance Forlicke, Pezere, Senegal, Ancone, Rauẽna, Loret and to Ferne, which was at the foote of the mountaynes of Sybylles in the Duchie of Bresse percell of the realme of Napels, in whiche were certain nobles of that coũtrey whiche seynge the armye so puyssant departed thence to Napels. As the armye passed the moũtaines in the Lent season, there died of very cold .v.C. Gascoines and xl mo, and so wyth much payne they came nere to Troy in Puylle the.xv day of Marche, where the Spaniardes, and the Emperors army lay. Sir Robert Iernyngham of Englãd which was captain of the lyght horsemen, knowing their enemies so nere, desired the Lord Lawtrick that he wyth hys company might assay the Spaniardes. The Lorde

Lawtrick

Lawtreck(whether it was for lacke of corage, or ỹ he were corrupted by money)in no wise would suffre sir Robert Jerningham to fight,but saied he would take theim at a more auauntage shortly, which answere sore greued sir Robert,in somuche he said he would accuse hym,to both the kynges their Masters.

The Spaniardes which laie at Troy,thought to entre Naples before the Frenchmen,and so on the.xxi.daie of Marche beeyng Saterdaie,they remoued & came to Naples,& fortified the citie, whyche was happie for the Emperor,for surely yf ỹ Frenhemen had come first, they
x had been Masters of the citie. After ỹ Emperors people were departed from Troy,as you haue hard,the Frenchmen besieged it,and within a xi.daies it was to them yelded,& from thense thei remoued to Melphe a strõg litle toune,wher thei slewe & put to slight.iiij.M. Spaniardes but thei lost many of their men ther,so that this toune was not to them very profitable:Sith ỹ armie was entered into the realme of Naples there was euer some sickenes emongest them,and in especial there raygned emongest thẽ a sore hote feuer,of the which many gentlemen died or thei came to Naples,for at the toune of Uerse there died sir Richard Jernyngham,& Jhon Carew of Hackam, two valiant capitaines, sent
xi thether by the kyng of Englande and diuerse other,whiche two gentlemen be there buried.

When the Frenchmen had takẽ Melphe, thei remoued to Boniuent and from thence to Magdelon,where thei laye all Easter: & after Easter thei came before the citie of Naples, & firste they tooke the Palace that standeth without the citie,very pleasant to beholde,and after that was takẽ,thei planted their siege round aboute the citie, and cast trenches,& made forcifications, for the defence of sodain inuasions of their enemies:all the whole armie laie in an open plaine ground,without couerture very nere the citie,by reason whereof, thei wer sore cũbered wͤ
xxx hete and drouth, whereupon ensued greate mortalitie & death, for yf thei had lien on the hill side nere couerte,thei had liẽ more whole somly, but their intent was to lye nere the citie,to the intent to kepe their enemies straight,and therfore thei planted their siege in the playne,which turned them to muche displeasure & disease. Thus was the siege planted before Naples,in the beginnyng of Aprill, & cõtinued till the.xxvj. daie of August next insuyng, and then by meane of mortalitie they remoued as you shall here.

When the lord Lawtreck was thus passing toward Naples,sir Frãces Poynes Knight,which was sent with Clarẽseaux kyng of Armes
xl into Spain to the Emperor,returned into Englãd before Christmas, in thende of December,and left Clarenseaux behynd,to bryng farther answere frõ themperor of thynges demaũded,wherof he said he would take lõger aduice or he would answere. This sir Frances reported that the Emperor so muche fauored and estemed the kyng of England,that at his onely request and contemplaciõ, he had released and discharged

thelue artícles, which wer moste greuous & dispzofitable to the frēche kyng, not foz the French kynges sake, but at the intercessiō of the kyng of Englande: yet this notwithstandyng, the Cardinall so inuegled the kyng, that he so highly fauozed the French kyng, that all his causes he tooke and reputed as his awne, and did all that he might, to bzyng the Frenche kynges purposes aboute.

The Emperoz before this time had wzitten to the Frenche kynge, & also aduertised thereof the French Ambassadozs, that laye in Spaine, that he would that the Frenche kyng should sende to hym a diffinitiue answere, yf he would withdzawe his people out of Italy oz not, and let & the Duchie of Millain alone, and to cease of all Inuasions oz not, and this answere to be geuen the last day of January folowyng, and yf the sayd French kyng answered not by that day, thē the lacke of answer to be taken foz a defiaunce. Then the French Ambassadozs before the day, shewed to the Emperour, the pzoffer which the French kyng offered to hym in articles, as you haue harde before, in the conclusion taken at Amias by the Frenche kynge and the Cardinall in August laste passed.

Thēperozs answere to the foresaied Articles.

Which pzofers when the Emperoure had hard and seen, he saied to the Ambassadours, we thought surely that our cosin the French kyng and we, had been at a full conclusion, when the league and appoyntmēt was & agreed at our toune of Madzill: foz when he sued foz his deliueraunce to vs, he and his counsaill offered vs certain pzofers, whiche we neuer demaunded, but we of pitie hauyng compassion of his affliccion, accepted the saied offers, and agreed to his deliueraunce, whiche Artícles he pzomised in the othe of a kyng, & also on the holy Euangelistes, to perfozme to the vttermoste, & theim inuiolatly to obserue and kepe. Wherupon wee clerely remitted, and deliuered hym into his countrey, of all which pzomises he hath perfozmed none, wherfoze we take him as periured, and not wozthy to be trusted, and nowe he offereth newe offers, which he cannot perfozme, as foz the money we beleue he is able to pay, & but as foz money dewe foz the kyngdō of Naples, we knowe not suche dutie, foz it is our inheritaunce, although kyng Charles ỹ seuenth, by sotletie once vsurped thesame, which he longe not enioied: as to release his title to Millain, that release is voyde, foz ỹ Duchie is Imperiall, & in our gifte as many other seigniozies be: and as touchyng Tournay, ours it is of right and now in our possession: So that in all these thynges he would release and rendze thynges that he hath not: & as to the withdzawyng of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, foz we truste that our armie shall expell them al Italy, maugre their hartes. And as touchyng the kyng of Nauerr, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la & Marche, we of pitie let them alone till we se our tyme, & then they shall knowe our puyssaunce: And as touching his offre to aide vs wt a nauie, we trust we haue such a nauie pzouided, that we shal nede none of his: & where he saith he will mary our sister quene Aelienoz, daughter to ỹ kyng of Poztyngal, if he had been true, ỹ he might haue doē oz this, but

now

nowe wee entende not to geue her to our enemie: and as touchyng her daughter to bee maried to the Dolphyn, that wee leaue in suspence for this tyme. But wher he saieth that he wil defend vs, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne myght & puyssaunce, hath euer defended vs, and hym & his power hath defaced and vanquished wherefore we nede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hym self: & as touchyng the kynge of Englandes debt, we shall reasonably answere his Ambassadours, for that toucheth not the Frenche kyng: But now my Lordes Ambassadours, sayd the Emperor, let the French
x kyng your Master, fulfull the promise that he was sworne to, as a true Prince ought to do, & then he shall haue his children deliuered, or els accordyng to his othe, let hym yelde hymselfe prisoner agayn, & so shall his honor and truthe be saued, or els not: so with this answere the Ambassadors departed. Neuertheless thei daily sued to the Emperour & his Counsaill to take the offers whyche were profered by the Frenche kyng, & emongest other thynges, the warre was fore laied to the Frenche Ambassadours charge, for that that the Frenche kyng made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defiaūce, to whiche accusement they answered that that armye was procured by ỹ
xx Cardinal of Englande, when he was at Amias, for the deliuery of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the kynge of Englande bare the moste charge. When the Emperour hard this answere, he sent for ỹ Ambassadoure of Englande, and to hym saied: My Lorde Ambassadoure, I muche maruaill why the kyng your Master, hath so great loue to the Frenche kyng, his newe reconsiled frende, & withdrawen his loue from me, that am his cosyn & alye: How fortuneth this, that your olde auncient enemies bee now in fauoure, and your olde frendes cast out of fauoure. I se well there is indignaciō had at our estate, and waies sought to greue vs, whiche wee hope to wythstande: But who woulde haue
xxx though that our Uncle of Englande, would haue made warre on vs: How would he haue vs graunt his requestes & desires for the Frenche kyng, seyng he sheweth hymself our open enemy: Then the Ambassadoure discretly answered, that he neither heard nor knewe of suche doynges, on his faithe and honoure. Well saied the Emperoure, yf it bee true that is reported, myne Uncle is not the Prince that I haue taken hym for, and yf he be myne enemye, I muste withstande hym, and in a greate fury, the Emperoure withdrewe him from the Ambassadour, to his priuie chamber.

Daily the Ambassadours, bothe of Englande and of Fraunce, solli-
xl cited themperor and his counsail, to accept the French Kynges offers, which made euer answere, that thei would not truste to the newe promise, seyng that the olde promise which was sworne, was not obserued and kept. Nowe whosoeuer indifferently shall consider, the Articles which were offered in the treatie of Madrill, and the Articles offered now at Amias shall openly perceiue, that the greatest thyng which the

Frenche kyng refused to do, was the deliuery of ỹ Duchie of Burgoyn and the Countie Charoloys, for declaracion whereof, the French kyng sent for all the nobles of bothe the countreys, and declared theim thys promise and concord, takē wyth the Emperor, which answered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forrein prince or person without the sentence, agrement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of thesame countrey, and therefore they would neuer assent to ỹ alteracio: This answer was deliuered to lorde Charles de la Noa Uiceroy of Naples, then Ambassador for the Emperor in Fraunce, which thereof certified the Emperours counsaill. But the Emperoure & hys Counsaill thought this to bee but a deceipte, in so muche as the French kyng had onely called suche of Burgoyne, as hym pleased, and not the substanciall of the countrey. And farther the Emperor so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire there of bloud discended from duke Philip, soonne to kyng Jhon of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would haue that article broken, but he would haue that Duchie. The French kyng perceiued his mynd, & offered to hym great sommes of money for ỹ redemyng of that article, the kyng of England also offered to be suretie for the paiment: but all this could not moue ỹ Emperour, but he would haue Burgoyne, and all thesaied treatie and agrement performed.

The kyng of England considerynge how muche he had doen for the Emperor, and callyng to his remembraunce, bothe that the Lordes & Commons of Spaine, would not haue taken hym as kyng his mother liuyng (although she wer Lunatike) because she was heire, without his greate labour and intercession, and also that he holpe hym to be elected Emperour, which the Frenche kyng had obteigned, yf he had not put thereunto his aide, and sent Docter Richard Pace his Secretory to ỹ Electors to Franckeford, and moste of all that he at all tymes, had succoured thesaied Emperoure with money, and was not paied, wherfore he was not alitle displeased with the Emperours wilfulnes, but more with his vnkyndnes, and perceiued clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgottē al the kyndnes to him shewed wherfore he thought to make him to knowe hymself by warres, the soner to bryng hym to accomplishe his request, & to make him to remember his olde kyndnes, & so by the auise of the Cardinal of Yorke (which loued not the Emperoure, for the Bishoppe of Romes case) and other of his counsaill, he sent wooyde to Clarenseaux knyg of armes, to make defiaunce to the Emperour, and so Guyau Herault for the French kyng and thesayd Clarenseaux for the kyng of England, the. xiij. day of January, in the citie of Burgues in Castle, came before the Emperour beynge nobly accompaignied with Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, and Barons, in his greate hall, and there made their defiaunce.

Defiaunces made to the Emperour.

When the defiaunces were made by bothe the Kynges of Armes, as you haue heard, all the nobles which were present, as the Constable of

Castell,

Castell, the Duke of Malledonia, the Duke of Inuancalo, the Duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nassaw, or Nazareth, the Duke of Aluoy, the Marques of Sturgus, the Marques of Agular, the Marques of Ullafranca, the Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, the Erle Boniuent, the Erle Arowen, the Erle Agulard, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Geneuer, with sixe great Lordes Cõmendatories Crossed, and many other noble menne and gentlemen, for a truthe to ỹ nomber, of seuen hundred at the least: all these drewe out their swerdes and sware that the defiaunces then made should be reuenged, & sayed
x to the Emperour: Sir, yf the dispite of this defiaunce be vnreuenged, the infamy & rebuke thereof, shall remain to vs and our heires for euer wherfore our landes, lifes, and lordshippes, shalbe at your commaundement, and while any lyen of your succession remain, thys ignominie shalbe euer newe and not dye, till you haue obteigned the double honor against all your enemies.

When the Emperor was thus defied, the warre was Proclaimed in Ciuill, in Valedolite, in Burgus, & in other places through all Spain: But when the commen people heard of this defiaunce, they wrong thẽ selfes by the berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes should
xx be spent, for the honor of the Emperor, & to be reuenged on the French kyng, whom they called periured Prince, and so the common people cried in ỹ stretes, now is come the tyme, that Spain shalbe renoumed, and reuenged on the Frenchmen, for their falsenes & wrong doynges. But alas saied they, why should we make warre with the Englishe nacion, whiche euer loued vs, & neuer offended vs: but this defiance procedeth not of them, but onely of the French kyng, and of the Cardinall of Englande, whiche is sworne French: thus the Spanyardes talked, and euer excused the kyng of Englande, and accused the Cardinall and
saied, that he had a greate pencion out of Spain, and that notwithstã-
xxx dyng, because he might not haue the bishoprycke of Toledo, he caused al this warre. This Proclamacion of warre, was proclamed with baners displaied, in the which were painted a redde swerde, and a Cresset burnyng, against the French kyng and his parte takers, not meanyng the kyng of Englande, by expresse name, but it was rehersed in the Proclamacion, that the kyng of England had manaced, and defied the Emperour, in the French kynges querell. Then wer the Englishe Merchantes in Spain attached, and their goodes put in safe custody, and to thẽ was saied that they were staied onely, till ỹ Emperour was aduertised how his subiectes were ordered in England.

The Englishe Merchantes arrested in Spain.

xl Tidynges of this was first knowen in Fraunce, and from thence letters were sent to the French Ambassadours in Londõ, how bothe the Ambassadors of Fraunce and of Englande, beyng in Spaine, & Guien and Clarenseaux officers of Armes, wer retained by the Emperor as prisoners, which report was false, for thei were at libertie, and wel cherished, and in especiall the Englishe Ambassadors and Clarẽseaux wer

frendly enterteined in all places. When the Cardinal hard this repoꝛt he was to light of credence (which he foꝛthought afterward) and was soꝛe there with moued, and in his fury the.xij. day of Febꝛuary, he caused Don Hugo de Ꝛ̄dosa, the Emperoꝛs Ambassadoꝛ, to be taken out of his house, in sainct Swithines lane in London, and to be bꝛought to sir Jhon Dounces place in Marke lane, as a pꝛisoner, & his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinalles seruauntes, till the kynges plesure wer farther knowen.

The Cardinalles saiyng in the Starre Chamber.

The moꝛowe after beyng the.xiij. day of Febꝛuary, the Cardinal beyng in the Starre chamber, called befoꝛe hym al Justices of the Peace & and other honest personages to a greate nomber, & to them sayed: My loꝛdes and all you the kynges louyng subiectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, howe that his highnes, not of his awne seking, but rather against his will and intent, is entered into warre: foꝛ the electe Emperoꝛ Charles the fifth, hath hym so handeled & moued, that he must of necessitie with him make war. First, it is not vnknowen to you all, how good the kyng hath been to hym, sithe his infancie, how he hath defended his lowe countreis duryng his noneage: Ye what payn ꝑ kyng toke by his Ambassadoꝛs, to sollicite the loꝛdes of Spayn, which refused to take him as their kyng, while his mother liued, & by ꝑ & kynges onely laboꝛ, he came to the kyngdom of Spain, what it cost the kyng to helpe him to be Emperoꝛ, we that be his counsailers can tel, foꝛ yf the kyng had not been, surely ꝑ Frēche kyng had been Emperoꝛ. Beside all these kyndnesses, he hath lent to the said Emperoꝛ, diuerse great sommes of money, to defend his countreys, & what pꝛofite his coūtreis haue by the resoꝛt of Englishmen thether, ye that be Merchauntes can tell: foꝛ these thynges with many mo pꝛoffites, cōmodities, and gratuities, the kynge of him is so litle regarded, that I am halfe asshamed to repoꝛt it. True it is that Frances the Frenche kyng, was to hym pꝛisoner (which chaunce hath happened to many high pꝛinces) the kyng our & & master, highly regardyng the peace of Christen pꝛinces, by which peace God might the moꝛe be gloꝛified: desired the Emperoꝛ to take some resonable ende foꝛ his deliueraunce and foꝛ that purpose hath sent to him sondery Ambassadoꝛs, which gaue them eares, but dalied with them, & nothyng would do at all, and regarded no moꝛe his requestes, then I would the desire of my seruaunt (and perauenture not so much) so that foꝛ all gratuities and frendshippes to hym, by the kyng our souereigne loꝛde, at all tymes shewed, he sheweth himself ingrate and vngentle, & foꝛ kyndnes rendereth vnkyndnes: as foꝛ the Frenche kyng I assure you, he hath hūbled hymself asmuche as a pꝛince maie, his honoꝛ saued. & He hath offered hym so great offers, that excepte he shoulde geue hym his realme and Croune, he can offer no moꝛe larger, which offers I assure you, soꝛe minishe the beautie of his Croune, whiche I shall bꝛeuely declare vnto you. Foꝛ he offereth to paie fiue hundꝛed thousand pounds sterlyng, whereof thꝛee hundꝛed thousande, to be paied in hand, foꝛ

the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bound, and farther to discharge the Emperoure, of all suche sommes of money, as he oweth to the kyng of Englande, and to deliuer hym a sufficient acquitaunce for thesame. Also where the French kyng should haue, out of the kyngdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crounes yerely, the Frenche kyng will release thesame pencion, with all the arrerages whiche are no smal some. Also he will release his whole title and right, which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, hys very enheritaunce, and he neuer to chalenge or claime thesame nor his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flaūders
x maye lawfully appeale to the Parliamentes of Fraunce, from iudgementes geuen by the Emperour or his Justices, he is contēt to release thesame superiorite and resorte, which is a greate minishement to the prerogatiue royall, of the Realme of Fraunce, for whiche of you (sayed the Cardinal) would consent that the kyng should release his Seigniorite or superiorite of Wales, Irelande, or Cornewall, I dare saie you would rather spende your liues and goodes.

Farther where the Frenche kyng bought of the kynge the Citie of Tournay, for sixe hundred thousande Crounes and odde, yet he is content to yelde and release thesame Citie to the Emperoure for euer, yea,
xi and beside this he offereth to take to wyfe, Elianor quene Dowager of Portyngall, without any dower, yea, in her kirtel, & to endowe her with tenne thousande Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the child yf it be a male, whiche shalbe gotten of theim two, shalbe duke of Burgoyne, and be partetaker of all the honours of Fraunce, whiche is a greate thyng: Also that ỹ Dolphyn his sonne and heire, shall mary the daughter of thesaied Ladye Elianor, without any treasure to bee receiued for thesame, whiche proffer is worthe two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Farther more, he wol lende the Emperour Shippes and Mariners
xii to conueigh hym to Rome, and also defende him against all menne, yea, what woll he doo more, although the kyng of Nauer haue maried hys awne sister, whose Kyngdome the Emperour kepeth by force, yet he offereth neither to ayde nor comforte hym against the Emperour, but in his querel to be against him: Also he offereth to forsake his old and approued frendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, whiche faithfully hat serued the realme of Fraunce, and al for the Emperours sake. But the Emperoure saied he, is so indurate, so vnkynde and wilfull, that he neither regardes the reasonable requestes, nor yet the kynges praiers nor requestes, but answered and sayed: that yf the
xi Frenche kyng can dooe all this, he shall haue his children. So that the Emperoure woll truste no manne, but euery manne muste truste hym: Yet the French kyng offereth farther, to withdrawe the puyssaun armye of the Lorde Lawtrecke in Italy, and yet thesame passeth prosperously forwarde, and is like to doo the Emperour more disauauntage, then I wyll now reherse: but the Emperour is so proude, & his people

so cruell, ȳ he nothyng regardeth these offers: for what a crueltie was this, to pull doune Goddes Uicar of Rome, and persecut the holy fathers by extreme tyranny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threw ȳ hostes doune on the aultar, and like robbers toke the Pixe: & farther in the Churche, they violated Uirgins, and stupred matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the citie of Roms. And like as the kyng in huntyng tyme hath slain. iij. C. dere, and the garbage & paunches bee cast round about, in euery quarter of the Parke, so (saied the Cardinal) euery strete laye full of the priuie members and genitures of the Cardinalles & holy prelates: the whole history were to abhominable to tel. x
Yet notwithstandyng al these offers mocioned, & nothyng regardyng this detestable tyranny, the which euery good Christē man abhorreth, he will encline to no reason, I am sure that I could shewe you. xx. articles of promises, which he hath broken with the kyng: so that I assure you, he kepeth no promise with our souereigne lord, also *contra ius Gencium*, which I am sure the greate Turke woulde not doue, he kepeth prisoner the kynges Ambassador Docter Lee, the French Ambassador, and the Ambassadour of Uenice: and for asmuche as the Emperor refuseth these offers, which amount to eight kynges raunsomes, I trust by this warre we shall bridle hym, & bryng hym to peace, and this occasion of xx warre, I would al I you should declare in your countrey.

The murmor of the people

When the Cardinal had saied, some knocked other on the elbow, and sayd softly he lieth, other sayd, ȳ euill wil sayd neuer well, other saied ȳ the French crounes, made him speake euill of themperor, but thei that knewe all that you haue hard before saied, that it was shame for hym to lie in suche an audience. The common people much lamented, that war should arise betwene the kyng and themperor, and especiall their consideration was, because the Emperors dominions, had holpē them with corne, and releued thē with grain, whē thei could haue no corne, or litle out of Fraunce. And in this rumor wer diuerse ships come out of Flaū xxx
ders and that parties, ladē with Heryng, Sturgion, & all other victale necessary, beside eight faire shippes, which wer laden with corne, all the saied shippes, and all the shippes of Spain, wer staied and arested, and their sailes taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doyng was muche talked of by Merchantes, which frequented the Emperors dominiyns, for thei knewe and openly sayd, that the let of the entercourse of Merchantes, should turne to the greate losse of the Princes, but yet Englishemen were content, to obeye their kyng and his counsaill.

Shippes cu rested.

The declaracion of warre in Englande against the Emperoure, and the restraint of Shippes of the Emperoures Subiectes, were shortly xl
knowen to the Lady Margaret daughter of Sauoy, and aunte to the Emperour, which was gouernor of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zelande and of all the Lowe Countreis: wherfore she by the auice of the Emperoures Counsaill to her associate, caused all the Englishemen and their goodes and Shippes to be restrained, and thei and their goodes were

put

put in safe keppyng. Thus the poore Merchantes suffered greate losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace saieth: *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achini:* what soeuer kynges do, the Commons be punished. Now after this sodain storme, which the Cardinal had moued openly against the Emperour, for euill entreatyng of the kynges Ambassadour, he had perfect knowlege that the Emperor, bothe did the kynges Ambassador greate honour, and also that he neuer restrained hym from his libertie, wherupon he caused the Emperors Ambassador, which before was re-
x strained of his libertie, to bee sent to his awne lodgyng again, and saied that by the reporte made by the French Ambassadours, he him restraygned, and now sithe he knewe the truthe, he mocioned the kyng for his deliueraunce.

The Emperours Ambassadour, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparant signes: and the Cardinall the more to auoyde suspicion on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, saied: the kyng was enformed by the French Ambassadours, that the Ambassadours of bothe Princes were put in prison, and farhter he saied that Clarenseaux had made the defiaunce to the Emperoure without the kynges commaundement, but onely did it by the mocion of the French Ambas-
xx sadours, to accompaignie the Freneh Herault, and for this presumpteous act, he should suffre death at Calice at his returne: all these excuses the Cardinall shewed to the Emperors Ambassador, which certified ỹ Emperour of euery poynt, and sent the letter by poste into Spaine, which letters were opened & copied, by ỹ capitain of Bayon, as ỹ poste passed that waye. And when Clarenseaux returned homeward out of Spain, the Capitain gently shewed to him the copie of the letters, that the Emperours Ambassadoure had written. Thynke you not but Cla- Clarenseaux made a feard
renseaux was dismaied, to here his daies so shorte: yet he trusstynge in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein,
xxx where he hard worde again of the danger that he was in, wherfore like a wise man he left Calice, and tooke a Ship at Bullein, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the kyng, laye, & by frendeship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kynges priuie chamber, he was brought to the kynges presence, or ỹ Cardinall wist of his returne and to hym shewed the three Letters, whiche the Cardinal had sent to hym, chargyng hym to make the defiaunce, or he did intimate the war. He declared farther, that neither the Ambassadours of the kyng, nor ỹ Frenche kyng, nor he wer neuer sequestered frō libertie, but gently entertained, and to the kyng he shewed a chayne, to the value of seuē hun-
xl dred Ducates, which the Emperoure had geuen hym, and shewed also the copie of the Emperoures Ambassadoures letters, whiche he had at Bayon. When the kynge had heard all the circumstaunce of his decla- The wise saiyng of the kyng.
racion, he mused a greate while, and saied: O Lord Jesu, he that I trusted moste, tolde me all these thynges cōtrary, well Clarenseaux I will be no more of so light credence hereafter, for nowe I see perfectly, that

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I am made to beleue the thyng that was neuer doen.

Then the kyng sent for the Cardinall, and priuily talked with hym, but whatsoeuer he saied to hym, the Cardinal was not very mery, and after that tyme, the kyng mistrusted hym euer after. When the kynge and his Counsaill, had well digested the Emperoures answere, and his gentle demeanor toward the kynges Ambassadors, & also had pondered that the lowe countreis of ỹ Emperor, wer glad to please the kyng of Englande and his Subiectes: wherefore the kynge commaunded, sir Jhon Stile knight, to discharge all the Duchemen and their Shippes, and deliuered their Sailes, and gaue thē license to returne: Naye said the Duchmen, the Spanyardes and we be the Emperours Subiectes, why should not thei be also discharged: sir Jhō Stile answered thē, that his Commission was onely to discharge them. The Duchmen fearyng that the Frenchemen would take the seas before them, & so to stop thē, departed hastely, cursſyng ỹ Cardinall as aucthor of this war.

When the Lady Margaret heard tell, howe the Duche naciō with their Shippes & goodes were released, and not the Spanyardes, she sent for the Englishe Merchauntes, and to theim sayed: Sirs, sithe the kyng your Master, hath deliuered onely the Duche men, and not the Spaniardes, we relese your bodies free, to go at your libertie, but your goodes shall remaine, till we knowe what shal become of the Spaniardes, and when they be deliuered, come for your goodes, and you shall haue theim deliuered, thus the Englishemen departed, and came to the kyng, and declared to hym and his counsaill, how thei were entreated.

Cōplaynt of ỹ Clothiers.

This warr with the Emperor was displeasant, both to Merchātes and Clothiers, for the Merchauntes durste not auēture into Spaine, sithe Apryll last past, & now was come the.xj. daye of March, wherfore all brode Clothes, Kerseis, & Cottons, laye on their hādes. In somuch as whē the Clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Sukfolk, & other shires which vse Clothmakyng, brought clothes into Blackewel hall of London, to be sold as thei wer wont to do: fewe Merchātes or none bought any cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then thei put frō theim their spinners, carders, thickers, & such other ỹ liue by clothworkyng which caused the people greatly to murmor, and specially in Suffolke, for yf the duke of Norffolk had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but thei had fallen to some riotous act. When the kynges counsail was aduertised of this inconuenience, the Cardinall sent for a greate nōber of the Merchantes of London, & to them saied: Sirs the kynge is informed, that you vse not your selfes like Merchantes, but like Grasiers & artificers: for wher the Clothiers do daily bryng clothes, to your market for your ease, to their greate cost, and there be ready to sell thē, you of your wilfulnes will not bye thē, as you haue been accustomed to do: what maner of men be you sayd the Cardinall: I tel you that the kyng straightly commaundeth you to bye their Clothes, as before tyme you haue been accustomed to do, vpon payn of hys high displeasure.

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The Merchantes answered, my lord you knowe well, that we haue had no trade outward this twelue monethes paste, & we haue so many clothes in our handes, that we knowe not how to vtter thē, therfore it were greate losse to vs to bye any more: wherfore we trust you wil not moue vs to bye the thyng, whiche we cannot vtter, for in all places our vent is stopped and forbidden. Well layed the Cardinal, yf you will not bye the clothes at Blackewell hall, they shall be brought to the White Hall at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the libertie, and the kyng shall bye them all, & sell them to Merchant straungers. Then & answered a wise Merchant, my lord, the kyng maye bye them aswel at Blackewell hall, yf it please him, & the straungers wyll gladlyer receiue theim there, then at Westminster: You shal not ordre that matter, saied the Cardinall, and first I will sende into London, to knowe what Clothes you haue in your hādes, and that doen the kyng and his counsaill shall appoynt who shall bye the Clothes I warrant you, with this answere the Londoners departed.

When the Clothiers hard that the Cardinall toke their part, they waxed proude, & spake euill of the Merchantes, & when the Merchantes came to bye Clothes, ỹ Clothiers set thē hire, then thei were accustomed to be solde: but at length thei were fain, bothe to abate the price, & also to seke of the Merchant men, for all the Cardinalles layinge.

If this warre was displeasaunt to many in Englande (as you haue hard) surely it was asmuch or more displeasant, to the tounes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Zelande, and in especiall to the tounes of Andwarpe and Barrow, where the Martes wer kept, & where the resorte of Englishmen was, for thei saied that their Martes were vndoen, yf the Englishemen came not there, and yf there were no Marte, their Shippes, Hoyes, and Waggons might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might slepe, and so the people should fal into miserie and pouertie, of these thinges daily complaintes were made to the lady Margaret, and the Emperors counsail, whiche wisely pondered the complaintes, and after long cōsultacion had, thei appoynted certain Ambassadors to go to the kyng of England, and to entreate for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into Englād, and associated themselfes with Don Hugo de Mendosa, Ambassadour there for the Emperor: the one Ambassador was Prouoste of Cassell, & the other Master Jhon Lay souereigne of Flaūders: these. iij. Ambassadors came to the kyng, the. xxix. day of Marche to Richemōd & after reuerence doen, the lorde Hugo de Mēdosa laid to ỹ kyng, sir thempe- & rours Maiestie so much knowlegeth hymself bound to your grace, for manifolde kynde actes and beneuolences, doen and shewed to hym sith his tendre age, that he in no wise wold take the defiaunce, doen by your Herault as a peremptory intimacio of warre, tyll he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therfore his counsaill hath sent hether these twoo noble personnes and me, to knowe your determinate answer, and finall resolucion

The saiynge of Hugo de Mendosa.

The kynges answere.

resolucion in that behalfe. The kynge after a good auisement had, answered and saied: Of warre I am nothyng ioyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull, I thanke God I haue no cause to care for warre, for I haue bothe men and money, and all thyng ready prepared for the same, (whiche thynges I knowe ỹ other princes lacke, for all their high wordes) and therfore to that question of warre, I could sone agre, but or I make you a determinate answere, some part of my mynd I will declare to you, and I tell you although your Master be a greate Emperor, and a mightie Prince, I cannot nor maie not suffre hym, to bere doune and destroye the realme of Fraunce, which is our true inheritance & for the which our brother and alie the French kyng, paieth vs yerely a great pencion and tribute, wherefore we of Justice & equitie, muste maintein that lande, out of whiche we haue so faire a rent and suche a profite.

Then saied the Prouost of Cassell, yea sir, and it please you to call to your remembraunce, the olde and auncient loue & familiaritie, whiche hath been betwene youre Realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and the lowe countreys, I assure you the people of all those countreis will liue & dye with you, aboue all men next their souereigne Lord, wherefore moste noble Prince neuer consent, that olde loue that hath so long continued, be now broke and seperated: we saie this for no feare, for we be well furnished for war, bothe of men and strong castles, all whiche before this tyme hath been at your cõmaundement, & therfore the loue that we haue euer borne you, we cõtinue & offer you nowe to cõtinue: and where we offre you choyse of war or peace, at your pleasure, surely ỹ Emperour meaneth that for youre honor, as though you should commaunde which you would: and yf you chose warre, we haue commissiõ to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we haue like commission to thanke you, and to offre vs and ours at your cõmaundemẽt.

The kynge of Hugo de Mendosa.

Then saied the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa to the kyng, sir of very right the Emperor and his countreis, ought to haue your loue and fauor, before the French kyng and his nacion: for the Frenchmen in the tyme of their affliccion, made humble sutes and requestes to your grace, which they neuer would do in the tyme of their prosperitie, but the Emperour hath euer continued one man at all tymes, wherefore he is better to be trusted, then they which neuer wer long true to you. Wel laid the kyng sithe I haue well perceiued the intent of your commyng, I woll be auised, and then I will make you an auised answere, and in the meane season I am content, that there be an abstinence of warre for a tyme, so the Ambassadours departed for a season, and the Prouost of Castelles, departed to the lady Margaret with this answere.

After this the kyng which was wise, well learned, and a farre castyng prince, consulted with his counsaill of this matter, and there after long debatyng it was considered, that the kynge was riche, strong, & puyssant inough to make warre with any prince Christẽ, and that no prince could hurte hym by warre or inuasion, therfore some thought it best to

haue

haue warre, but the king & the wiser sort cõsidered that yf he had war with the Emperor, that his marchauntes should lese mnche, and if thei lost, the clothiers and the clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should lese and be brought to extreme pouertie. For it was considered, that the Emperor was Lord of all Spayne, Napels, Sardinia & so southward to Epuskaia, and likewise northest ward frõ Graueling to Rye and Reuel, so that Englysh marchauntes passyng on those coastes were euer in daũger. Also no Alame could come into England but through hys dominions, by reason wherof cloth making should decay.

x Wherfore the kyng considered if the marchauntes lost, the poer sorte should lese, and at length he should lese in his customes. Wherfore leauing the glorye of warre he tooke mercy on hys subiectes and concluded to take peace for a tyme, til farther communicacion myght be had betwene hys coũsayl & the Emperors. And vpõ this point letters wer sent into Spayne, Fraunce, and Flaunders, and so this matter continued vndetermined til answeres wer brought from outward partes.

In this season the bishop of Baion whiche afterward was bishop & Cardinall of Paris beyng ambassador from the French kynge & soiornyng in Londõ, heard tel how the Empetors ambassadors made much
xx suite to the kynge and his counsayll, wher he came to ỹ court & desyred to speake wyth the kynge, and so was brought to the kinges presence, to whõ he sayd: pleaseth your hyghnes to consyder the great and high peace, that is concluded betwene you and your louinge brother & perpetual alye the French king my maister, which is ratefyed and confirmed by the thre estates of the realme of Fraunce, by ỹ whych you haue yerely. xx. M. pound sterlyng, which realme you haue promised to defende against al persones: Nowe in shewyng your loue that you beare to the Frenche kyng & his subiectes. If you would make sharpe warre on the Emperors subiectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraunce
xxx would take it so thankefullye that it should neuer bee forgotten. Well sayd the kyng, as touching the league and amitie betwene my brother of Fraũce and me it shalbe inuiolately kept for me, but sir to enter into warre it nedeth no counsayl, but how to end war with honor & profyte men must nedes study. As touchyng ỹ defence of the realme of Fraũce, I assure you it shalbe defended to my power thoughe it bee to my losse, and my studie is no lesse to haue a peace whiche myght be honorable to your mayster, then to myne owne selfe. With which saying the Ambassador held wel contented. So that you may perceyue that the greate pencion and profyt that the kyng of England had out of Fraunce with
xl the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the kyng of England so much helde wyth the French kyng & not for mere loue. For thys matter was dayly great counsayles, & one day the Emperors ambassador was present, another day the French kings ambassador was present, but ỹ Cardinal was euer on the French part. So thus contynued this dayly counsayles wer great study.

The supte of the ffrenche ambassadors

The kynges answere.

In thesame season a Frenche Crayer of. xxx. tonne manned wyth xxviij. Frenchemen lay at Margate to wayte for a pray for some Flemyng that shoulde come out of the riuer of Thames, and by chaunce a Crayer of Armew which was appointed to waft the fisher boates betwene Graueleyn & Ostend, was come by North of Goodwyn sandes to Northland head and so came to Grauesend and toke in bread: This Crayer was of. xxviij. tonne and had in her. xxiij. Fleminges: When she was victayled she made to the sea warde, and sodainly he espyed the Frenchmen whyche houed vnder a saile. The Flemynges mystrusted and incontinent put themselfes in a readynes and came so nye that he hayled the Frenchman, the Frenchman shot a piece of ordinaunce and with that layde the Fleminge aborde, there was sore fightinge, for the Frenchman had crosbowes and the Fleminges had handgunnes. The Frencheman fell of & would haue bene gone, that seyng the Flemynge whysteled and after the Frenchman made sayle. Now the winde was so straynable East that the Frenchman could saile no whither but into the Thames, and so he did and the Fleming folowed, and before Grauesend the Flemyng borded the Frenchman, and there they fought again, but away again went the Frenchman and the Fleminge after w all his sailes, and so farre sailed the Frenchman that he ranne a longe xx the Tower wharfe, as though he should haue reuen hys shyppe, the Flemyng set on and entered the shippe for anye thinge the Frenchman could do and cryed I haue taken the these. Sir Emond Walsingham Liuetenaunt of the Tower was on the wharfe & saw thē fight called his men vnd entered the shippes and toke bothe capitaynes and their men. The Fleming boldlye chalenged his pryse, for he sayde that open warre was betwene Fraunce and Flaūders, and sayd farther that the Frencheman was a Pyrate: The kynges counsail toke vp the matter, and made an ende betwene them. Thys chaunce was much talked of, that twoo shippes shoulde sayle in chase from Margate to the Tower xxx wharfe because that before time such a like thing had neuer ben hard.

A ship chased to the Tower wharfe.

Froissart de gestis. fol. 409.

Now let vs returne to the lord Lawtrick which had gotten many tounes in Italy, and had with his great army besieged the citie of Napels and so it happened that the Prince of Orenge and other captaynes the. xix. day of Apryl set on a great part of the Frenche army, and notwythstādyng their hardines the Emperors army obteyned the victory, so from that tyme forth the Frenchemen lost, what by pestylence whyche then was great in Italy, and what by sodaine skirmyshes. Thys yere the. xxij. day of Februarye the kynge created at Windsor Sir Pierce Buelar of Ireland, erle of Osserey. xl

The

The.xx.yere.



He kyng kept the day of sainct George with the companions of the order of the Garter wyth great solempnitie at his manor of Richemond, where to him came tidynges from the army of the lorde Lawtrick in Italy, which letters shewed that the lorde Lawtrick had sent the Lorde Peter de Nauarro the third day of Marche last past to a great toune called Melffe with.x.M.Frenchmen, & within the toune were.viij.C.Spanyardes good men of warre, the lord Peter de Nauarro besieged ẏ toune, & after gaue to ẏ same a great assaute, but the Spaniardes so defended them with ordinaũce & resistences that they slew.v.or.vj.M.Frenchmẽ & caused them to retrete. The lord Lawtrick hearyng this came in person with a great nomber to the toune of Smel & merueilously bet the toune with ordinaunce and then gaue to it a great and fierse assaut, and so sore that ẏ Spãiardes were put back, yet they defended them, so ẏ it was meruail to beholde, for they slewe & destroyed.iiij.M.Frenchmen. The Frenche kyng entered the toune on all sides, & yet the Spãyardes kept ẏ market with their ordinaũce, as long as they might, but at the last beyng oppressed wyth multitude
xx they al were slayne without mercy, so cruell were the Frenchmen: In this toune was taken the prince of Melff a noble man perteignynge to the Emperor. Thus was the toune of Melffe taken and spoyled, not greatly to the Frenchemennes profyte, for they lost almost.x.M. men which sore diminished their power.

Although that this season was an abstinẽce or war taken betwene the kyng of Englande & the lady Margaret so that the dutche nacyon might safely come & go into Englãd, and the Englishmen might safely repaire thither, yet betwene the Frenchmen and ẏ Flemings was hot warre on the frontiers, and many a prisoner was taken, & manye men
xxx slain, & like wise the one part toke ẏ other on the seas, and sometime the Frenchmen woulde spoyle Englishe shyppes, saiynge that they hadde Flemynges goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Flemynges would enter the Englyshe shyppes, and say they had Frenchmẽs goodes, so the Englishmen lost til the kyng sent shippes to kepe the sea: But for a trueth the Spanyardes were stronge on the sea, and to the Frenchmen dyd much harme. The kynge perceiuinge that there was nothing concluded betwene thẽperor & him, thought not to be behinde hand, wherfore he ordayned that the lord Sandes shuld passe to Guisnes with a.M.souldiers that was.v.C.archers and.v.C.horsemen
xl & that the duke of Suffolke should passe ouer after wyth a great army to inuade Flaunders. These lordes made much preparaciõ & mustred their men at ẏ Mantels beside S. Jhones & was redy to departe, but the Emperors ambassador & thambassadors of Flaunders so much did with the kinge & his counsail (& ẏ Frẽch king also assented) that truce was taken betwene England, Flaunders, & the coũtreyes of Picardy

on thys syde the water of Some for. viij. monethes, ỹ peace to begin ỹ first day of May, and to endure to ỹ last daye of Februarye. Thys peace was proclaymed in London the. xix. daye of June, so that now al Englishmẽ myght lawfully passe into ỹ low coũtreis, but not into Spain, which sore greued marchauntes that haunted that parties. In ỹ same proclamacion was farther conteined, that yf a final peace wer not fully agreed betwene the said thre princes wythin ỹ sayde. viij. monethes, ỹ then al marchaũtes should haue two monethes after to passe into their owne countreyes with their wares & marchaundyses in safetie. The Emperor sone enclyued to thys peace, for he saw that by ỹ Wart many of his frendes in high Dutchland and other places toke greate profite and especially his own low coũtreys, wherfore he thought not to hurt his frendes for the displeasure he bare to hys enemies of Fraunce, and also to shew him self louing to the king of England he was content to take this peace. x

In this season the duke Charles of Gelders perceiuing ỹ Emperor was at war with Fraunce, raised a great power of horsemen & came to a great toune of Holland called the Hage where the lawe and iustice is kept for that coũtrey, by reason wherof the toune was very ryche, and sodainly he entred the toune without resistẽce and spoyled and robbed the toune, and slew diuerse persons and with much riches laded their wagons, and so departed and caryed with him diuers rich prysoners. The lady Margarete gouernesse of the low countreis hearing of this raised a great power vnder the conduict of ỹ lord Jselsteinge, whych lord with a great puissance entered Gelderland and gat the toune of Hatton, the castle of Howtyng, and forrayed and destroyed ỹ coũtrey: lastly on Whitsonday beynge the laste day of Maye the Gelders gaue battel to the lord Jselsteinge, and fought valiauntly as any mẽ coulde do, but yet by fortune of warre they were ouercome and fled, and wer chased a great way & many slayn. This chaunce was while the treatie of peace was in England. xx xx

The swea-tyng sicknes

In the very ende of May began in the citie of London the sicknes called the sweating sicknes, and afterwarde went al the realme almost of the which many died within. v. or. vj. houres. By reason of this sicknes the terme was adiorned and the circuities of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plage, for diuers dyed in the court, of whõ one was sir Fraunces Poynes which was Ambassador in Spayne, & other, so that the kyng for a space remoued almost euery day, tyl at the last he came to Titynhangar a place of the Abbotte of S. Albones and there he with a few determined to byde the chaunce that God wouldè xl send him, whych place was so purged dayly with fyers and other preseruatiues, ỹ neither he nor the quene nor none of their cõpany was enfected wyth ỹ disease, such was the pleasur of God. In this great plage dyed sir Wyliyam Compton knyght & William Cary esquyer whyche wer of the kinges priuy chamber, and whom the kyng hyghly fauored

and

and many other worshipful men and women in England.

By reason of this plague the watches whiche were wont to be kept yerely in Londō on saint Jhons euen at Mydsommer & saint Peters euen were by the kyng & hys counsaill commaunded to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armores made great suite to the Kynge & declared their great hynderaunce, whiche was not so muche considered as the mischief that might haue ensued yf that so great a nomber should haue assembled together in that hote time & the plage of sweatyng rayning. Now let vs leaue England all this Sommer season troubled & vexed
x with this sweating sickness, and let vs returne to the affayres of Italy.

The Emperor whiche knew how ỹ lord Lawtrick was in Italy wt a great army, thought it not for his profite to leaue his army there vnsuccored, wherfore he sent ỹ lorde Henry the yonger duke of Brūswike with a great cōpany of Almaynes both on fote and horsebacke. Wherfore the Uenitians set Fraunces Duke of Orbyne to kepe the straytes and to stoppe him the passage: But when he heard of the puissaunce of the duke of Brūswycke and the great municions & prouisiōs of warre that the Almaynes brought, he turned his iorney, and by aduise of the Uenicians determined to fortifie the tounes & to defende them against
xx the Almaynes, and so the duke of Brūswyke with his armye passed the mountaines & entered Italy burnyng, ralynge & raunsomyng tounes as he passed, & euer he marched toward Myllain, wherof hearyng the Mylleners which were brought to extreme pouertie by these warres beganne to lament and waile for the great tyranny that they iudged to folowe whiche folowed in dede. For when the Almaines came to Mylayn and demaunded money of the Citezens, they that had nothyng to paye, were tyed in chaynes and kept miserably in prison tyll they had made some prouision for the payment, whyche caused the Citezens to flee out of the citie and to leaue it in maner desolate: whiche thyng An-
xxx thony de Leua perceiuyng, moued with great compassion for the desolacion of the citie called the Citezens together and promised them that yf they would paye the wages of the souldiers for.xx.dayes onely, he would cause all the whole army to remoue out of the citie, the poore citezens made shyft and payed the souldiers, and so they all departed frō Myllayne and came to the citie of Pauye and toke it with litle labor & after that tooke diuers other tounes.

Anthony de Leua knewe well the Duke of Brunswycke woulde in the spryng of the yere set forward towarde Naples to ayde the Emperors armye against the lorde Lawtrick, therfore he desired the Duke
xl that or he passed out of the duchye of Myllayne, he woulde put all the Frenchemen out of suche fortresses as they kept, whiche thyng he sayd might be easely done considerynge the great puissaunce of the Almaynes and the debilitie and lacke of power of the Duke of Myllayne,

and in especiall consideryng that the Uenicians kept their tounes and wold not ayde the Frenche parte, to the whiche persuasions the Duke agreed and went toward the citie of Lawde to the which thei gaue the assaut, but they within so well defended it that the Almaynes lost moze then they wanne, wherfoze the duke determined to famishe thē within foz he knewe by their great nomber that their vitaile must nedes fayle and so it did in dede, so that no creature but men of war had any vitaile and therfoze the pooze Citezens were compelled either to go into the handes of their enemies oz to dye foz famyn.

In this season was throughout all Italy a vniuersall warre, famyn and pestilence oz a mozreyn wherof the people died in euery place, & in especially in the Dukes armye whiche caused the moste part of the Almaynes to returne into their countrey, wherfoze the duke wisely cōsidered the chaūce and saw that his army was greatly minisshed by death, and saw farther that foz lacke of vitaile and money he was not able to conuey the remnaunt of his armye to Naples, by the aduise of Anthony de Leua concluded to returne and so shoztly after in good ozder returned and lost moze by the pestilence then by his enemies.

The Frenche kyng was aduertised by the lozde Lawtrick how his people decayed soze before Naples, and how the Duke of Bzunswyke was commyng to raise the siege & reskue the citie, wherfoze the French kyng sent lozde Fraunces erle saint Poul bzother to the duke of Uandosme with .viij. M. men to folowe the duke of Bzūswyke to Naples, and yf he went not to Naples, then he should ioyne himselfe with Fraūces Sfozcia duke of Myllayne and the Uenicians and so to expel Anthony de Leua and all the Emperozs souldiers out of Lombardy.

The Spaniardes within Naples were aduertised that new succozs were commyng to the Frenchmen, wherfoze they determined to fight with them oz their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the citie and fought with the Frenchemen and slewe many of them, but by xxx foze they were compelled to returne. The lozde Lawtrick knew well that the citie could not holde long foz lacke of vitaile (foz a suertie yf vitaile had not come by sea, the toune had been yelded) wherfoze the lozd Lawtrick suffered his armye to lye still in the plaine fielde all the heate of the Sommer and brought theim not to the shadow, by reason wherof there fell suche a disease amongest his armye that they dyed daily in great nomber and he hymselfe fell sicke and lefte the Armye and lay at Uerse, of the whiche moztalitie there dyed in the Frenche campe aboue xxiiij. M. men besyde the moste parte of all their hozses and beastes, of whiche nomber as diuers wzyters do agree there dyed aboue .b. M. gentlemen, amongest whom there dyed the lozd Uawdemont bzother to Anthony duke of Lozraine, the lozde of Grauntmount, the capitain Molyac, the lozde Lauall of the Dolphenye, the capitaine Luper, the

The death at Naples.

lozde

lorde Charles Uyuone lorde of Chataygneray sonne to the Lord Andrewe of Uyuone Seneschal of Poytew, and many other noblemen of name.

Duryng whiche plague the toune of Cappe (whiche moste of all the tonnes in the realme of Naples helde on the Frenche part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part. Whereof hearyng the lorde Lawtrick made therfore great sorowe, & beyng some what amended of his disease, tooke his horse and came to visite the Campe, and when he sawe his nomber so minished and his Campe so desolate of people
x that he perceiued that his enterprise could not be performed, he fell into suche a malencoly ỹ his sickenes toke him more feruẽtly then before, so that within two daies after, which was ỹ. xxj. day of August he died at and hys body was sered and conueyed after into Fraunce.

The Marques of Saluce which was Liuetenaunt vnder the lorde Lawtrick called to counsel the erle Guy of Rancon and Peter de Nauer and other capitaines that wer left, and after long cõsultacion they cõsidered their nomber to be to small either to kepe ỹ siege or to abide battell, for they passed not. v. M. in all. Wherfore they cõcluded to leue the siege and to returne, and so the. xxv. daye of August they brake vp
xx their Campe and returned toward Fraũce, in which returne the Spaniardes euer costed them, and when thei tooke any Frencheman at aduauntage, they either slewe or tooke them. Thus was the ende of this iorney by reason of the great mortalitie, which yf it had not happened, the citie and the whole realme of Naples had been recouered: For the citie of Naples could not haue holden. x. daies, after the army remoued as they confessed after.

The Erle of saint Poul (whiche was appointed to passe into Italye as you haue heard before) knew nothyng of the mortalitie at Naples. Wherfore with all spede he passed the mountaines thesame season that
xxx the duke of Brũlwyke returned & came into the duchy of Myllain and tooke certaine fortresses which the Emperors power had wonne, and after that the aydes of the Uenicians and Duke Fraunces Sforcias were ioyned with him, he besieged the citie of Pauye and within a fewe dayes the citie was taken by force and the walles beaten doune to the ground for dispite that the Frenche kyng was taken before the toune. These doynges were not so muche pleasaunt to the Frenche kynge as the losse of the citie of Geane was to him displeasaunt. For the same season Andrewe Dorye whyche was all the doer for the French kyng on the sea, & had before tyme in the Frenche kynges quarel vanquished
xl the lord Hugo Uiceroy of Naples, & had takẽ the Marques of Gnasto & Alcayne de Columna & other capitaine belongyng to the Emperor, whiche prisoners the French kyng cõmaunded hym to deliuer into his hãdes, which thing Andrew Dory thought not reasonable, cõsideryng that

that he tooke him, and for that cause and because his wages was not payed, he tooke his Galeys and sayled to Geane where he was borne and also was there of great authoritie and estimacion, and there he so persuaded the people that they became imperiall and toke Trenulsius the Frenche kynges frende and put him in warde, and prepared to defende the citie against the French kynges power, whereof hearyng the Erle of saint Poule sent in all hast his light horsemen to succor the citie but or thei came the citezens wer so furnished that the Frenchmen had no hope of recouery, wherfore thei returned to Alexandry, & there thei counsailed together how to take the citie of Myllayne which was sore desolate of people and brought to greate mischiefe by the crueltie of Spaniardes and Almaines, but whē they heard tel that the Emperor had sent .iij. M. Spaniardes to ayde Anthony de Leua, thei chaunged their purpose & determined to recouer the citie of Geane againe. For which purpose the Earle left the Uenicians at Calyan, & the power of duke Fraunces Sforcie he left at Paupe to kepe the passages that the Spaniardes should not stray farre abrode, and also to kepe the passages that no vitayle should come to ỹ Spaniardes whiche at that tyme had onely the citie and castle of Myllain and none other fortresse to resorte to. And therle hymselfe lay at a byllage called Landryan, and for ỹ more spede of his enterprise he sent his forward with all his artillery before toward Geane, hauyng with him his middle warde and rereward. Of all these doynges Anthony de Leua lyng at Myllayn by his espyals was truly from tyme to tyme aduertised, wherfore he lyke a politike capitaine considered how the erle had done folishly to sende his ordinaunce and forward before, he therfore determined to take the auauntage of the Frenchemen yf he might, and so called to him all hys capitaines and to theim sayd: Felowes in armes and souldiors to the Emperor our master, see and consider what a great occasion of victory is offered to vs this present day, for the Uenicians and the Sforcians be seuered from the Frenchemen, and therle of saint Poul with part of his army lyeth at Landryan & hath sent his forward & his ordinaunce forward Geane, wherefore we wil set on him sodaynly if you agree, and if we ouercome him the prayse shalbe ours, and if he flye at our cōmyng yet folowyng hym we shall get a great pray and botie. To this entent all the other souldiers agreed (for thei wer very nedy and glad to haue somewhat) and so he caused it to be proclaymed that all his men should be redy at an houre, and that euery man shoulde haue a white shyrte aboue his apparel that one in the darke might know another, and when euery man was ready and the euenyng approched, Anthony de Leua according to his enterprise set forwarde and was all armed and satte in a chayre caried by .iiij. strong persones.

Anthony de Leua encorageth his souldiers.

A Camisado.

When ỹ citezens of Myllain saw him thus armed & borne in chayre

and

and knew wel that he had a ronning gout and could not stirre him self, they meruayled much of his audacitie, but by ỹ experiẽce of other thinges by hym done, they iudged that he entended some great enterpryse, but because the nomber of his people was so litle, they doubted the sequele of hys aduenture. But for all theyr imagynacyons he wyth hys people secretely issued out of Millain and passed forward without any noyse, and in the mornyng sodaynly set on therle of S. Poule and hys army, so that the erle had no leysure to send for hys ordinaũce, and forward, but was fayne to trust to such as were then wyth hym. And at ỹ
x fyrst brunte the Almaynes fled, and the Frẽch horsemen also, and with a litle fight al the other fled, and as the Erle him self was flyenge ouer a great diche on horsebacke, he with the erle Guy of Raucon & the lord Castyllyõ and many other lordes and gentlemen wer taken prisoners and al their vitail, purueyaunce and artillery wer prayes to themperors souldiers whych much refreshed thẽ. After this iorney the Frẽch kyng had no army in Italy, wherfore Fraunces Sforcia seing hymself destitute of ayde, made meanes to the Emperor by Pope Clement for the appointment both of the duchy of Myllain and also for his answer of certain treasons, of the which he was accused to themperor, to whõ
xi themperor answered that the next sommer he would come into Italy to receiue hys Emperial croune, ond then he would take such an order as ryght and equitie should require. This was the ende of the warres begon betwene the king of England and the Frẽch king on ỹ one party and the emperor on the other partie. in the. xix. yere of the king as you haue heard before. For after thys iorney the lady Margaret duches of Sauoy & aunt to thẽperor', and ỹ lady Loyse duches of Angulesme and mother to the French kyng continually labored for a peace, so that by their meanes a treaty was appointed' to be kept at Cãbray in June folowyng, as you shal heare after.

xxx Now let vs returne to the kyng of England which was in a great scruple of his conscience and not quyet in hysmynd, because ỹ dyuers diuines well learned secretely enformed him that he liued in adultry wỹ hys brothers wife to the great peril of his soule, and told him farther ỹ the court of Rome could not dispẽce wỹ Gods cõmaũdemẽt & precept. These thinges were talked among the cõmon people sith the fyrst day of his mariage as you haue heard before, insomuch that now the kynges counsailors aduysed hym to know the trueth. Wherfore he lyke a wyse prynce for quyeting of his conscyence called together the best lerned of the realme which were of seueral opiniõs, wherfore he thought
xl to know ỹ trueth by indifferent iudges lest peraduenture ỹ Spãiardes in fauor of ỹ quene would say that hys owne subiectes wer not indifferent iudges, wherfore he wrote hys cause to Rome because ỹ best clerkes in Christendom wer there, and also he sent to al the vniuersities of Italy and Fraũce and to the great Clerkes of al christendom to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realm a

legate

legate to heare the cause debated whiche should be indifferent and of a great iudgement. At whose request the whole consistorie of the college of Rome sent thyther Laurence Campeius a preest Cardinal, a man of great wit and experiẽce, but more lerned in ỹ papal law then in diuinitie, which was sent as legate into Englãd in the.x. yere of this king as you haue heard in thesayd yere, and with him was ioyned in cõmissiõ ỹ cardinal of Yorke and legate of Englãd, and so this cardinal Cãpeius by long iorneyes came into Englãd, and much preparacion was made to receiue him triumphãtly into Londõ, but he was so sore vexed with the goute, that he refused al suche solẽpnities, and desired hertely that he might without pompe be cõueyed to his lodging for his more quiet and rest, & so ỹ.ix. day of October he came from saint Mary Ouereys by water to the bishop of Bathes place wythout Temple barre, where he lodged the last tyme he was in England. Where he was visited of ỹ Cardinall of Yorke & diuers other estates and prelates. And after he had rested him a season & was somewhat releued of his payne, he was brought to ỹ kinges presence then liyng at Bridewel by ỹ cardinall of yorke & was caryed in a chayer of Crimosin veluet borne betwene.iiij. persones, for he was not able to stand, and the cardynall of yorke & he sat both on the ryght hand of the kinges throne, and there one Fraun- xx
ciso secretary to cardinal Campeius made an eloquent Oracion in the latin tongue, in ỹ whiche he rehersed, first with what crueltie the Emperors soldiers had handeled the pope, what tyrãny they had shewed the cardinals and priestes, what sacrilege & spoyle thei had committed in sainct Peters churche, how thei had violat virgins, rauished mẽnes wiues, and in conclusion spoiled, robbed & tormented al ỹ Romaines & inhabitauntes in the cyty of Rome: & farther he shewed what frẽdship the college of Rome found at the kinges handes and ỹ French kynges in ỹ tyme of ỹ tribulaciõ, that yf they had not ioyned together, the cyty of Rome with al their gouernors had bene brought to vtter ruine and xxx
decay, for ỹ which he sayd that pope Clemẽt and al his college of cardinals and the Senators of ỹ cyty w̃ al the cytezens rendered to ỹ king their harty thãkes, & promised him their loue, fauor & amity perpetual

The cardinal Campeius cõmyng to London.

The oracion.

Thys oracion (as cõcerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth wyth such lamentacyons, such abhominable actes and tyrannies that ỹ most part of the hearers thought it more eloquent then true. To the which Oracion doctor Fox Prouost of Cambridge made a discrete ãnswer & as to the fyrst poynt he declared that the king much lamented to heare hys frendes, yea or any other Christẽ men to be ordered or hãdeled w̃ such tyranny and oppression: and as touching the second poynt he sayd xl
that the kyng did but the dutie of a christen prince to releue his frẽdes beyng in captiuitie, for the which he wold that the whole citie of Rome shoulde geue thankes to God and not to him. After whiche aunswere made the two legates communed secretely wyth the king a long space and after departed to their lodgyng.

The answere.

Of

Of the cõming of this Legate the common people beyng ignorante of the truth and in especial women & other that fauored the quene talked largely, & said that the king would for his owne pleasure haue another wife & had sent for this legate to be deuorsed frõ his quene, with many folysbe wordes, insomuche, that whosoeuer spake against the mariage was of the cõmon people abhorred & reproued, which cõmon rumour & folisbe cõmunicacions wer related to ỹ king, wherfore he lyke a prudẽ prince and circũspect doer in all his affaires, & willing all men to know his entent and purpose, caused al his nobilitie, Judges & counsaylors
x & diuers other persons to come to his palace of Bridewell on sonday the.viij.day of Nouẽber at after none in his great chamber and there to them sayd as nere as my witte could beare away these wordes folowyng.

Our trustie and welbeloued subiectes both you of the nobilitie and you of the meaner sort, it is not vnknowẽ to you how that we, both by Goddes prouision and true and lawful inheritaũce haue reigned ouer this realme of England almost the terme of.xx.yeres. During which time we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God, that no outward enemy hath oppressed you nor taken any thyng from vs, nor we haue inuaded
xx no realme, but we haue had victory & honor, so that we thinke that you nor none of your predecessors neuer liued more quietly, more weathly, nor in more estimacion vnder any of our noble progenitors: But when we remember our mortalitie and that we must die, then we thinke that al our doynges in our lyfe time are clerely defaced & worthy of no memorie if we leaue you in trouble at the time of our death. For if our true heire be not knowen at the time of our death, se what mischiefe & trouble shal succede to you and your children. The experience therof some of you haue sene after the death of oure noble grandfather kynge Edward the.iiij. and some haue heard what mischiefe and manslaughter
xxx continues in this realme betwene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, by ỹ which dissension this realme was like to haue bene clerely destroyed. And although it hath pleased almighty God to send vs a fayre doughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort & ioy, yet it hath ben told vs by diuerse great clerkes, that neither she is our lawfull doughter nor her mother our lawful wyfe, but ỹ we lyue together abhominably and detestably in open adultry, in so much that when our ambassade was last in Fraunce & mocion was made that the Duke of Orleance should mary our sayd doughter, one of ỹ said chief cõsaylors to the French kyng sayd, It wer wel done to know whither she bee the
xl kyng of Englãd his lawfull doughter or not, for well knowen it is that he begat her on his brothers wyfe whych is directly against gods law & his precept. Thinke you my lordes that these wordes touche not by body & soule, thinke you ỹ these doynges do not daily & hourly trouble my cõscience & vexe my spirites, yes we doubt not but & yf it wer your owne cause euery man would seke remedy, whẽ the peril of your soul &

The kynges Oracion concernyng his first mariage

the

the losse of your inheritaunce is openly layd to you. For this only cause I protest before God & in the worde of a prince, I haue asked counsayll of the greatest clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this legate as a man indifferent only to know the truth & so to setle my conscience, and for none other cause as God can iudge. And as touching the quene, yf it be adiudged by ỹ law of God that she is my lawfull wyfe, there was neuer thinge more pleasaunt nor more acceptable to me in my lyfe bothe for the discharge and clering of my cõscience and also for ỹ good qualities and condiciõs the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the whiche she is discended (as you wel know) she is a woman of moste gentlenes, of moste humilitie and buxumnes, yea and of al good qualities apperteignynge to nobilitie, she is wythoute comparyson, as I this. xx. yeres almoste haue had the true experiment, so that yf I were to mary agayne if the mariage myght be good I would surely chose her aboue al other women: But yf it be determined by iudgement that our mariage was against Goddes law and clerely voyde, then I shal not onelye sorowe the departing from so good a Lady and louing companion, but muche more lament and bewayle my infortunate chaunce that I haue so long liued in adultery to Goddes great displeasure, and haue no true heire of my bodye to inherite this realme. These bee the sores that vexe my minde, these be the panges that trouble my cõscience, and for these greues, I seke a remedy. Therfore I require of you al as our trust and cõfydence is in you to declare to our subiectes our mynde and entent according to our true meaning, and desyre them to pray with vs that the very trueth may be knowen for the discharge of our conscience and sauyng of our soule, and for the declaracion hereof I haue assembled you together, and now you may depart.

The prayse of ỹ Quene.

To see what coũtenaunce was made amongest the hearers of this Oracion, it was a straunge sight, for some syghed and sayd nothynge other were sory to heare the kyng so troubled in his conscience. Other that fauored the quene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so euery man spake as his hert serued him, but the kynge euer labored to know the trueth for discharge of his conscience.

Shortly after this the two Legates came to the quene at the same place of Bridewel, and declared to her how they wer deputed iudges indifferent betwene the kyng and her to heare and determin whether the mariage betwene them stode wyth Goddes law or not. When she heard the cause of their comming, no meruel though she wer astonnied for it touched her very nere. And when she had paused a while she answered: Alas my lordes it is now a question whether I be the kynges lawful wife or no. When I haue ben maried to him almost. xx. yeres & in the meane season neuer questiõ was made before. Dyuers prelates yet beyng alyue & lordes also & priuie coũsailors with the kyng at that tyme, then adiudged our mariage lawful and honest, and now to say it

The saipnge of ỹ Legate.

The quenes aunswere.

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is detestable and abhominable, I thinke it great maruel: and in especi all when I consider, what a wyse prince the kinges father was, and also the loue and natural affeccion, that kyng Fernando my father bare vnto me: I thinke in my self that neither of our fathers, were so vncircumspect, so vnwise, and of so smal imaginacion, but they forsawe what might folowe of our mariage, and in especiall the kyng my father, sent to the Court of Rome, and there after long suite, with great coste and charge, obteigned a license and dispensacion, that I beyng the one brothers wyfe, and parauenture carnally knowen, might without scrupul
x of conscience, mary wyth the other brother lawfully, which license vnder lead I haue yet to shew, which thinges make me to say, and surely beleue, that oure mariage was both lawfull, good and Godlye: But of thys trouble I onely may thanke you my lorde Cardinal of Yorke, for because I haue wõdered at your hygh pride & vainglory, and abhorre your volupteous life, and abhominable Lechery, and litle regard your presumpteous power and tiranny, therfore of malice you haue kindled thys fyre, and set thys matter a broche, & in especial for ỹ great malice that you beare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpiõ, because he would not satisfie your amxx bicion, and make you Pope by force, and therfore you haue sayed more then once, that you would trouble him and hys frendes, and you haue kept hym true promyse, for of al hys warres and vexaciõs, he only may thanke you, and as for me hys poore aunte and kynswomã, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commyt my cause according to the truth. The cardinal of Yorke excused himself saying, that he was not the begynner, nor the mouer of the doubte, & that it was sore agaynst hys wyl, that euer ỹ mariage should come in question, but he sayd that by his superior the Bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Judge to heare the cause, which he sware on his xxx profession to heare indifferently, but whatsoeuer was said, she beleued hym not, and so the Legates toke their leaue of her & departed. These wordes were spoken in Frenche, and written by Cardinall Campeius secretary, which was present, and by me translated as nere as I could.

The kyng notwithstandyng that hys mynde was vnquiete, yet he kept a good coũtenaunce toward the Quene, with almuch loue, honor and gentlenes, as could be shewed to such a Princes, but he absteyned from her bed, til the truth was tryed, accordyng as his Ghostly coũsail had auysed hym, whych was to hym no lytle payne, for surely he loued her as wel, as any Prince might loue his wyfe, and she him againe, and xl therfore it was great pitie, that their mariage was not good.

The more to quicken hys spirites and for recreacion, the kyng kept hys Christmas at Grenewiche, wyth much solempnitie and great plẽty of vyandes, and thether came the two Legates, which wer receiued by twoo Dukes, and diuerse Erles, Barons and Gentlemen, to whom the kyng shewed great pleasures, both of Justes, Tornay, Banketres,

Maskes and dysguisinges, & on the.xij.day he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinal Campeius, borne in wedlocke, knight, and gaue him a col-
Cardinal Campeius sonne made knight.
ler of ss. of golde: but the Quene shewed to them no maner of countenaunce, & made no great ioye of nothing, her mynd was so troubled.

This doyng in England, was spred ouer al Christendom by letters and in euery region except Spain, and the Emperors dominions, thei adiudged the kyng a wise, a verteous, & a prudēt prynce, for tryng out of the truthe, considerynge that the question was not onely doubtful to learned men in Diuinitie, but vpon the vncertaintie of thesame, depēded the ruine of his realme, and the succession of thesame, whyche was a waightie thing to consider, and no wysedome to let so great a doubt lye vndiscussed.

After Christmas and all Lent tyl Easter, was none other thing cōmoned of, but onely of the kinges mariage, the Archebishop of Cātorbury sent for the famous docters, of both the Vniuersities to Lambeth and ther wer euery day disputacions, and cōmoninges of this matter, and because the king perceiued & knewe wel, that the quene was wedded to her owne opinion, and that she wold that he shoulde do nothing wythout counsayl, he bad her chose the best clerkes of his realme, to be of her counsayl, and licensed them to do the best on her part ỹ thei could accordyng to the trueth: then she elected Wylliam Warhā Archbishop of Cantorbury, & Nicholas West byshop of Elie, docters of the lawes, and Jhon Fysher byshop of Rochester, and Henry Standish byshop of sainct Asse, docters of diuinitie, and many other docters and wel learned men, whiche for a suertie lyke men wel learned, defended her cause as far as learnyng myght defend it, as you shal here in the yere folowynge. This yere was sir James Spenser Maior of London, in whose tyme the watche in London on Midsomer night was laied doune.

xxv

¶ The.xxi. yere.

The.xxi.yere



The Courte at the Blacke Friers.

N the beginning of this yere, in a great Hal within ỹ black Friers of London, was ordeined a solēpne place for ỹ two legates to set in, wyth two cheyers couered with cloth of gold, & cushyons of thesame, and a Dormāt table railed before, lyke a solempne court, al couered with Carpettes & Tapissery: on ỹ right hād of the court was hanged a clothe of estate, w a chayer and cushyons of ryche Tyssue, for the kyng, and on the left hand of the courte was set a ryche chayer for the quene. When the place was redy, the kyng and ỹ quene wer ascited by docter Sampson, to appere befor the legates, and ỹ forxl named place, the twentie and eyght day of May, beyng then ỹ morow after the feast of *Corpus Christi*, in proper person, or by their Proctors. At ỹ daye assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses Pillers, Axes, and al the Ceremonyes belonginge to their degrees, & after that thei wer set (the Cardinal of Yorke sitting on the right hād)

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their Commission was redde, and the cause of their comming thyther openly declared, the effect wherof was, that the Courte of Rome was informed, that great Clerkes and learned men, had enformed the king that his mariage with his brothers wife was vnlawful, dãpnable and directly against the Law of God, wherfore they wer directed and appoynted by thesayd Court, to be iudges in the cause, and to hear what on both parties could be alledged: after this was done the kynge was called by name, for whom two procters appered, then the Quene was called, which wythin short space, beyng accompaignied wyth the foure
x Bishoppes and other of her counsaill, and a great compaignie of Ladies and gentle women folowing her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obeysaunce, sadly and wyth great grauitie done, she appeled from them, as Judges not competent for that cause, to ỹ court of Rome, & after that done she departed againe. Notwithstãding this appele, the Legates sat wekely, & euery day wer argumentes on both partes, and nothing els done. appealed. The Quene

The kyng whych onely desired, to haue an ende in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Court the of June, and the Quene also, where he standyng vnder his cloth of estate, said these
xx wordes in effect folowyng: My lordes, Legates of the Sea Apposto- The kynges Oracion.
lyke, whych be deputied Judges, in thys great and waighty matter, I most hartely beseche you, to ponder my mynde and entent, which only is to haue a final ende, for the discharge of my cõscience, for euery good christẽ man knoweth what pain, & what vnquietnes he suffreth, which hath his conscience greued, for I assure you on myne honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, & troubled my spirites, that I can scantely study any thinge, whiche should be proffitable for my Realme and people. And for to haue a quietnes in body and soule is my desyre and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I haue maried
xxx for I dare saye that for her womanhode, wysdom, nobilitie, and gẽtlenes, neuer Prince had suche another, & therfore yf I would willyngly chaunge I wer not wise: wherfore my suite is to you my lordes at this tyme, to haue a spedy ende, accordyng to ryght, for the quietnes of my mynd and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth.

When the kyng had sayd, the Quene departed without any thing saiyng, then she was called, to know whether she would bide by her appeale, or answer there before the Legates, her Procter answered, that she would byde by her appeale, that notwithstanding the Counsailers on both sides euery day almoste met, and debated this matter substan-
xl cially, so that at the last the Diuines wer al of opinion, that the mariage was against the lawe of God, yf she were carnallye knowen, by the first brother (which thing she clerely denied) but to that was answered that Prince Arthur her husbande, confessed the act done, whẽ he called for drynke earely in the morning, saiyng that he had bene in Spayne that nyght, whych was a hote countrey, meaning that he had carnally

vsed her,farther,at ỹ tyme of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and iudged that she was wyth childe,and for that cause, the king was deferred from the Title and Creacion of the Prince of Wales, almost halfe a yere, whiche thynge coulde not haue bene iudged,yf she had not bene carnally knowen.

Also she her selfe caused a bull to be purchased, in the whyche were these wordes, *Vel forsan cognitam*, which is asmuche to say, as peraduenture carnally knowen,whiche wordes were not in the first Bull graunted by July at her seconde mariage to the kyng, which seconde Bull wyth that clause was only purchased, to dispence with the second Matrimony, although there were carnall copulacion before, whiche Bull neded not to haue bene purchased, yf there had bene no carnal copulacion, for then the first Bull had bene sufficient. x

When the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that groũd, then they fel to perswasions of Natural reason, how this should not be vndone, for thre causes: One was because if it shoulde be broken, the onely childe of the kyng, shoulde be a Bastarde, whiche were a greate mischiefe to the realme: Secondly, the separacion should be cause of great vnkyndnes, betwene her kynred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the continuaunce of so longe space, had made the Mariage honest: These perswasyons wyth manye other, were set furthe by the Quenes Counsayl, and in especiall by the Bysshop of Rochester, which stode stiffe in her cause, but yet Gods precept was not answered, wherfore they left that ground and fel to pleading, that the Court of Rome had dispensed wyth that Mariage: To this some lawers sayd, that no yearthely persone is able to dispence wyth the positiue lawe of God. xx

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Diuines, & sawe that their opinion for the moste parte, was against ỹ Matrimony, and that now the question was brought to dyspute the aucthoritie of the Court of Rome, they begamne a litle to quicken: For they considered ỹ if they woulde saye and determyne, that the Courte of Rome myght not dispẽce in that case, that few men wold thinke, that they might dispence in anye other case, whych shoulde be to theim, a greate losse and hurt. Wherfore they dissimuled the matter and euer told the king, that he should haue an end shortly, and tracted furth the tyme with Oracyons and Sophistical argumentes, til August began to approche: then Cardinall Campeius sayd, ỹ they myght not syt after July, tyll October, all whyche season was a vacacyon in thee Courte of Rome, and their court beynge a member of the Courte of Rome, they must nedes do thesame: thys saiyng was reported to the kynge, which by that saiyng knewe perfectly, that he shoulde then haue no ende, and then he cõplayned to ỹ dukes of Norfolk and Suffolke, and other nobles of hys counsayl, how he was delayed, and wylled them at the next Session, to require them to make an end of the cause, and what iudgement soeuer they gaue he woulde gladly accept it, for the quyetnes of his conscience. xxx xl

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These noble men came to the place, wher the Legates sat, the.xxx. day of August, beyng Friday, where as Cardinal Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and sware on his honor and fayth that he bare to ỹ church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there be, at thend of July, to suspende all causes, till the.iiij. day of October, and yf anye cause be treated, and iudged in the meane season, that iudgemēt to be clerely voide, and therfore he required the kyng to take pacience, til that time, trusting that then thei should procede toward sentēce, so that he shuld be contented: the noble menne desired theim to make an ende, whatsoeuer it were, that day or the next day, which was the laste daye of July: but they answered that they coulde sitt no more till October, whyche answere sore displeased the noble menne, whiche the king had sent thether, in so much that Charles Duke of Suffolke, seyng the delay gaue a great clappe on the Table wyth his hād and sayd: by the Masse, now I see that the olde sayd saw is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardynall, that dyd good in Englande, and wyth that saiynge all the Temporall Lordes departed to the king, leauing the Legates sitting one lookyng on the other sore astonnied because they saw the Temporall lordes depart in anger.

xx You may be sure, that the king was not wel content, when he hard of this delay, but yet lyke a wyse Prince, he tooke it pacientlye, trusting to haue an ende in October ensuyng: But whē he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he shoulde wyth spede, returne into Italy, and that he prouided for his iorney. Then he opēly perceiued, that the Legates dissimuled the tyme to haue the matter in the Courte Rome, for the mainteynaunce of their aucthoritie, knoweyng perfectly, that there he should bee foded furth with argumentes so long, that he should be in maner wery; and also all that tyme, he should bee vnquiet in his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had

xxx but the seconde care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke, (whom he so hyghly fauoured and trusted, and whom he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishoprycke of Yorke, and the Bishoprickes of Winchester, Duresme, and the Abbay of Saincte Albones, wᵗ manye other greate dignities and promocions, beside the chauncellorshippe of Englande) so vnfaithfullye to dyssimule with hym, and not to open the very trueth, which caused hym clerely to cast hym out of hys fauor, in the which he had long bene.

When the nobles and prelates perceiued, that the kings fauor was from the Cardinal sore minished, euerye man of the kynges counsail,

xl beganne to laye to hym suche offences, as they knewe by hym, and all their accusacyons were writtē in a boke, and all their handes sett to it, to the nombre of thirtie and foure, which boke they presented to the kyng. When the kyng saw the boke, he marueyled not a litle, for by the Artycles conteigned in thesame, he euidently perceiued the high pride and coueteousnes of the Cardinal, and saw openlye wyth what dyssy-

inulacion and clokyng, he had hãdeled the kinges causes: how he with faire lying wordes, had blynded and defrauded the kyng, moste vntruly, wherych accusacyons sore moued the kynge agaynste hym, but yet he kepte it close for a time, and so the kyng rode on his progresse wyth the Quene to Woodstocke. And at the feast of the Natiuitie of oure Lady he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanely receiued, sauyng that the kynge made to theim good semblaunce, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the sayd Campeius toke his leaue of the king, and then the kyng him conueighed to the chamber dore, and there they departed, & the Cardinal of Yorke also went with his compaignion to Tocester, and on the morowe he came to Grafton to speake with the kyng, which was then ridyng out on hunting, and sent him worde by Henry Norreys, that he should accompaignie Campeius to London, and when the kyng came to London, he would more cõmen with hym: thus almost dismaied the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his compaignion to Tocester, and so thei came together to London, where to the Cardinal Campeius, wer deliuered great rewardes, and so he toke his iorney toward ỹ sea side. xx
Where the kynges counsayl, caused his chestes and cariages to be opened, to to se what letters the Cardinall of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, & ther wer but a few letters found, for they were sent before in post, but in many chestes wer found, old hosen, old coates, & such vile stuffe, as no honest man wold cary to haue it, which serch much displeased Cãpeius, & ỹ more because his coffers wer likewise opened in chepe by the rashenes of a Moyle, as you heard in the tẽth yere of this king.

The last tyme the Cardinall came to the kyngs presence.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the crafty Cardinall Campeius, leauyng behynd him hys subtle felowe, whiche after their departinge from the kynge at Grafton, neuer sawe the kynge, nor came in his presence. This greate Session of the legates, was cõ- xxx
muned of through Christendome, and in especyall in Spain, and other the Emperors Dominiõs, which sore grudged that the Quene should bee diuorsed from the kyng: and surely the most part of the laye people of Englande, which knew not the lawe of god, sore murmured at the matter, and much the more, because there was a gentle woman in the Court, called Anne Bulleyne, doughter to sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheforde, whom the kyng much fauoured in all honestie, and surely none otherwyse, as al the world wel knew after. For this cause the Quenes ladies, gentlewomen, and seruauntes largely spake & said that she so entysed the kyng, and brought him in such amours, that only for her sake and occasion, he would be diuorsed from his Quene, this xl
was the foolishe communicacion of people, contrary to trueth, as you haue heard declared before.

The kinge whiche after twentie yere past, had bene ruled by other, and in especial by the Cardinal of yorke, began now to be a ruler, and a

kyng

kynge, yea, a kyng of suche wytte, wisedome and pollicie, that the lyke hath not reygned ouer this realme, as you shall playnly perceyue here after, aswell for the setting furth of true Doctryne, as also for the augmentacion of his Croune. For when he perceiued, howe the Cardinalles had handeled hym, and saw playnly that the lawe of god was clere that he myght not mary his brothers wyfe, he thoughte to sende hys Ambassadours to all the Uniuersities in Fraunce and Italy, to knowe their determinacions, and for that cause he sent Docter Stokesley, & Doctor Fore, two great Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall
x hear after declared, when the matter serueth.

The kyng continually studiyng on this matter, called a counsayl of the chief of the nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first daye of October next ensuing, and also somoned a Parliamēt, to begin the third day of Nouēber, then immediatly folowyng, & declared that thesame coūsail, should deuise diuerse actes, necessarye and nedefull to bee passed at thesayd Parliament, for reformacion of certain exaccions, done by the clergie to the lay people, to which counsayl and Parliamente, the Cardinal was warned and somoned, whych muche comforted hym, that he outwardly litle abashed: and so he and al the counsayl, came to the coū-
xx sayl chamber at Westminster, and ther diuerse dayes, communed of diuerse thynges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinal shewed him self, much more humblier, then he was wont to be, and the lordes shewed them selfes more hygher & straunger, then thei wer wont to bee, but for all that he abashed not his countenaunce, but came into Westminster hal with al his trayne, the first day of the Terme: but none of the kynges seruauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sat in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre chamber, for all the lordes and other the kinges counsayl, wer gone to Wynsore to the kyng, where they enformed the kyng, that all thinges that he had
xxx done almoste, by hys power Legantine, were in the case of the Premunire and Prouyson: and that the Cardinall had forfected, al his lādes, tenementes, goodes and catelles to the kyng: wherfore the kyng willyng order to him, according to ỹ order of hys lawes, caused hys attorney Christopher Hales, to sue out a Writte of Premunire against him, in the whiche he lycensed hym, to make an attorney.

The kynge begynneth to rule.

The Cardynalles pryde abated.

The Cardinall in the Premunire.

And farther the seuentene day of Nouember, he sent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, to hys place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of Englande, whiche he was loth to delyuer, yf there had bene any remedy, but in conclusion he deliuered it, to the two Du-
xl kes, whych deliuered thesame to Docter Taylor Maister of the Rolles, to cary it to the kyng, which so did the next day: & beside this the kyng sent sir William Fitz William knyght of the Garter, and Threasorer of hys house, and Docter Stephin Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to se that no goodes shuld be embeshled out of hys house: & farther ordeined that the Cardinal should remoue to Asher beside Kyngston, there

to tary the kinges pleasur, & to haue all thines deliuered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his olde pompeous & superfluous fashion. For all his goodes wer seazed to the kinges vse. Whē the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the Dukes of Norffolk and Suffolk, with many Erles, Bishoppes and Barons, came into the Starre chamber, the .xix. day of October, wher the duke of Norffolk declared that the kynges hyghnes, for diuerse & sondry offences, had taken frō hym his greate Seale, and deposed him of all offices, and leaste menne might complayn for lacke of Justice, he had appointed him & the Duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lordes, to sit in the Starre chā- ber, to hear and determin causes indifferently, and that of all thynges the Kinges pleasure and commaundement was, that they should kepe their handes close, from anye rewardes takyng, or maintenaunce, and so that weke they sat in the Starre chamber, and determined causes.

On the day of thesame moneth, the Cardinall remoued out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse saiyng, that he would he had neuer borne more, meaning that by hys crosse, ỹ he bare as legate which degre taking was his confusion, as you se openly, and so he toke his barge, and went to Putney by water, and there toke his horse and rode to Asher, where he remaigned til Lent after.

The Cardynalles remouinge from Yorke place.

During which tyme, he beyng called on for an answere in the kynges Bench, to the premunire, for geuynge benefyces by preuensyon, in disturbaunce of mens enherytaunce, and diuerse other open causes in the premunire, he according to ỹ kynges licence, cōstituted Jhō Scute and Edmond Jenny, apprentices of the lawe his attorneys, which by his owne warrant signed wyth hys hande, confessed all thinges cōcer- ning thesaid suite, for they wer to open to be cloked or hidden, & so iud- gement was geuen, that he shuld forfet al his lādes, tenemētes, goodes and catalles, and should be out of the kynges proteccion, but for all that the kyng sent him a sufficient protection: & of his gentlenes left to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Wynchester, aud gaue to him plate and stuffe, cōuenient for his degre, and the bishoprike of Duresme, he gaue to docter Tunstal bishop of London, and the Abbey of saynt Albones, he gaue to the Prior of Norwiche, and to Londō he promoted Docter Jhon Stokesley, then Ambassador to the Uniuersities, for the kinges mariage, as you haue heard before. For all these kyndnes shewed to ỹ Cardinall, yet stil he maligned against the kynge, as you shall perceyue hereafter, by his vntrue doynges, which brought him to confusyon.

The twenty and thre day of October, the kyng came to his Manor of Grenewich, and there much consulted wyth his counsayl, for a mete manne to bee his Chauncellour, so that in no wise he were no manne of the Spiritualtie, and so after long debate the kyng resoluted him selfe vpon sir Thomas More knyght, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lan- castre, a manne well learned in the toungues, and also in the Common Lawe, whose wytte was fine, and full of imaginaciōs, by reason wher-

of

of, he was to'muche geuen to mockinge, whyche was to his grauitie a great blemishe. And then on the Sonday, the twentie and foure daye of the same moneth, the kynge made hym hys Chauncellour, & deliuered him the great Seale, which Lord Chauncellour, the next morow after, was ledde into the Chauncery, by the two dukes of Norffolk and Suffolk, and there swore, and then the Mace was borne before him. Sir Thomas Moze made Chaũcellor.

Now let vs returne to the treatie of Cambray, which was appointed to be kept the last sommer, for the conclusion of a peace, betwene the Emperour on the one part, and the kyng of England, and the French
x kyng on the other part, for whyche conclusion there came to Cambrey, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy, Aunt to the Emperour, and the Ladye Loyse Duches of Angulesme, and mother to the Frenche kyng, and Docter Tunstall Bysshop of London, and after Bysshoppe of Duresme, and sir Thomas Moze knight, after made Chauncellour of Englande, and diuerse other for the kinge of Englande, all these mette there in the beginning of July, accompanied with diuerse great Princes and Counsailers, on euery parte, and after long debating on bothe sides, there was a good conclusion taken, the fyfth day of August, in the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrill, should stande in hys
xi full strength and vertue, sauyng the thirde and fourth, and the leuenth and fourtenth articles, which touch the Duchie of Burgoin, and other lordeshippes.

Item, it was agreed that the French kyng should haue hys childrẽ deliuered again, paiyng to the Emperour two Myllyons of Crounes of gold, wherof he should paye at the deliuering of the chyldrẽ, twelue hundred thousand Crounes.

Item, that the Frenche kyng shoulde acquite the Emperor, against the kynge of Englande, of foure skore and tenne thousande Crounes,
xxx whiche the Emperour ought to the king of England, and the kyng of Englande to deliuer all suche bondes and gages, as he had of the emperoures.

Item, as touching the remnãt, which was fiue hundred and tenne thousand Crounes, the Emperor shuld haue. xxv. thousande crounes rent yerely, for the which he should haue the landes, of the Duches of Uandosme, lyng in Flaunders, and Brabant bounde.

Item, that Flaũders and diuerse other coũtreys, should not be hold in chief, nor haue resort to the croune of Fraunce.
xl

Item, that the realme of Napels, the Duchy of Millain, & the countie of Ast, should for euer remain to the Emperour.

Item, that the French kynge should wythdrawe all such souldiers as he had, out of Italy.

Item

Item,that the Ladye Elianor should be brought into Fraunce, wyth the French kinges chyldren,and in time conuenient shoulde be maried to the French king.

Item,that the French kyng should ayde the Emperor wyth twelue Gallies to go into Italy.

Item,that al pryfoners on both parties should be acquited.

Item,that the French kyng should not ayde Robert de la Marche, against the Bishop of Luke.

Item,that al the goodes moueable & vnmoueable, of Charles late Duke of Burbon,should be restored to his heyres, they paiyng to lord Hēry,Marques of Dapenete,and erle of Nassaw, the lord Chamberlayne to the Emperor,tenne thousande Ducates,whith he lent to the sayed Duke of Burbon.

Item,that Jhon erle of Panthieure, should be remitted to all such goodes,as were Erle Rene his fathers.

Item,the Lord Lawrence de Gorowod,great Maister to the Emperour,should be restored to the lordshippes of Chalmount,and Monteualle,whiche he bought of the Duke of Burbon, or elles to haue hys money agayne.

Item,Philip de Chalon Prince of Orenge and Uiceroy of Napels is to be restored to al his landes in Burgoone.

Item,that the Duches of Uandosme, and Loys Earle of Nauers should haue al such ryght and accions,as they shoulde haue had,before the warre began.

In the Emperors countreis,when al thinges were written,sealed and finished,there was a solempne Masse song in the cathedral church of Cambrey,the two ladies Ambassadors of the king of Englande, sittynge in greate estate,and after Masse the peace was proclaymed,betwene the thre Princes, and *Te deum* song,and money cast to the people, and greate fires made throughe the citie. Thesame night the Frenche kyng came into Cambrey,wel and nobly accompanied and saluted the Ladies,and to them made diuerse banbettes,and then al persones departed into their countrey glad of this concord. xxij

The womēnes peace.

This peace was called the womēnes peace, for because that notwithstandyng this conclusyon,yet neyther ỹ Emperor trusted the Frenche kyng,nor he neyther trusted nor loued him,and their Subiectes,were in thesame case. Thys Proclamacyon was proclaymed solempnely by Heraldes,wyth trompettes of the citie of London,which Proclamacion,much reioysed the Englysh Merchauntes,repairing into Spain

Flaunders &

Flaunders, Brabant, zelande, and other the Emperors dominions, for
duryng the warres, Merchauntes wer euyl handeled on both parties
which caused them to be destrous of peace.

Here is to be remẽbred, that at this present time, William Tindale had newly translated and emprinted the new Testament in Englysh, and the Bishop of London not pleased with the translacion therof, debated with him self, how he might compasse and deuise, to destroy that false and erronious translacion, (as he sayd). And so it happened that one Augustine Packington, a Mercer and Merchaunt of Londõ, and
x of a great honestie, the same tyme was in Andwarp, where the Bishop then was, and this Packyngton was a man that highly fauored Wyliam Tyndale, but to the bishop vtterly shewed him self to the cõtrary. The bishop desirous to haue hys purpose brought to passe, commoned of the New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bie them. Packington then hearyng that he wished for, sayd vnto the byshop, my Lord, yf it be your pleasure, I can in this matter doo more I dare saye, then moste of the Merchauntes of England that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers, that haue bought theim of Tindale, and haue theim here to sel, so that yf it be your lordeshippes pleasure, to pay
xx for them (for otherwyse I cãnot come by them, but I must disburse money for theim) I wil then assure you, to haue euery boke of them, that is imprinted and is here vnsolde. The Bishop thinking that he had God by the too, when in dede he had (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, said, gentle maister Packington, do your diligence and get them and with al my hart I will paye for them, whatsoeuer thei cost you, for the bokes are erronious and naughtes, and I entend surely to destroy theim all, and to burne theim at Paules Crosse. Augustine Packingtõ came to Willyam Tyndale and sayed, Willyam I knowe thou arte a
xxx poor man, and hast a hepe of newe Testamentes and bokes by thee for the whiche thou hast bothe indaungered thy frẽdes, and beggered thy self, and I haue now gotten the a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of al that thou hast, if you thynke it so profitable for your self. Who is the Merchaũt said Tindale? The bishoppe of London saied Packyngton, O that is because he wil burne them saied Tyndale, ye Mary quod Packingtõ, I am ỹ gladder said Tyndale, for these twoo benefites shall come thereof, I shal gett moneye of hym for these bokes, to bring my self out of debt (& the whole world shall cry out vpon the burning of Goddes worde). And the ouerplus of the money that shal remain to me, shal make me more studious, to correct the sayd
xl New Testament, and so newly to Imprint the same once again, and I trust the second wyl much better lyke you, then euer did the first: And so forwarde went the bargain, the byshop had the bokes, Packyngton the thankes, and Tyndal had the money.

Cuthart Tunstal bishop of Lõdõ, bought Newe Testamentes to burne.

Augustine Packyngton the Bishop of Londõs merchaunt.

Afterward, when mo new Testamentes wer imprinted, they came thicke and thyckefold into England, the bishop of London hearyng that

stil there were so many Newe Testamentes abroad, sent for Augustin Packington and sayd vnto him: Sir how commeth this, that ther are so many New Testamentes abroad, and you promised and assured me ỹ you had bought al: then said Packington, I promes you I boughte al that then was to be had: but I perceiue they haue made more sence, and it wil neuer be better, as long as they haue the letters and stampes, therfore it wer best for your lordeshyp, to bye the stampes to, and then are you sure: the byshop smiled at him and said, wel Packyngton well, and so ended this matter.

George constantyne.

Shortly after it fortuned one George Cõstantine to be apprehẽded ỹ by sir Thomas More, which then was lord Chauncellor of England, of suspicion of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng w̃ More after diuerse examinacions of dyuerse thinges, emong other, Maister More said in this wise to Constantine. Constantine I would haue the plain with me, in one thing that I wyl aske of the, and I promes the I will shew the fauor, in all the other thinges, wherof thou art accused to me. There is beyonde the sea Tyndale, Joye and a great many mo of you, I know they cannot lyue without helpe, some sendeth theim money and succoureth theim, and thy self beyng one of them, haddest part therof, and therfore knowest from whence it came. I pray the who be thei that thus helpe them: My lord quod Constantine, wil you that I shal tel you ỹ truth: Yea I pray the quod my lord. Mary I will quod Constantine, truly quod he it is the Bishop of London that hath holpẽ vs, for he hath bestowed emonge vs, a great deale of moneye in Newe Testamẽtes to burne theim, and that hath and yet is our onely succour and comfort. Nowe by my trouth quod More, I thinke euen thesame, and I sayd so much to the bishop, when he went about to bie them. xx

While this treatie was thus in communicacion at Cambrey, themperor which knew that his people lacked ayd in Italy, and also perceiued that the people in Germany and Italy, had him not in suche honor as they would, if he wer once crouned Emperor, for in al writings thei called him only Charles elected Emperor, wherfore he determined to go into Italy with a great puyssaunce, bothe to receiue his Imperiall Croune, and also to ayde his people, which there remayned, and so accõpaigned with many Princes and noble men of Spayne, and men of war, he toke ship at Barcilona, and sailed to Geane, wher he was receiued with ỹ seigniorie of the cyty, with great triumphe & honor, & great presentes geuen to him. Pope Clement hearyng that themperor was come into Italy, with al hys Cardinalles and whole court came to his citie of Bononie, and there taryed the Emperors comming. xxi

The Pope came to Bononye.

While the Emperor lay at Geane, thither came to him diuerse great Princes of Italy, with great powers, and when al thinges wer redy he set forward in good ordre of battayl toward Bononie, and in euery toune he was receiued, & presented wyth great giftes & feasted, and so by long iorneys he came nere to Bononie, where firste met with him, al

the

the Clergie of the Citie with procession, then all the vniuersitie in ther habites, al on horsebacke, then came all the Childrē of the citie, in white sattin fringed with gold, after thē the marchauntes of the citie, al in crimosyn Damaske, then folowed the potestates & gouernors of the citie all in Crimosyn veluet, & within a myle of the citie there met hym foure and twentie Cardinalles: with this triumph thēperor was cōueyghed to the Cathedrall church, wher on the steppes, of ỹ west dore in a chair sat Pope Clement, and then the Emperour a lighted & kyssed his fote and then they embrassed together, & went into the churche together & after went in to the pallace where they wer lodged both, & daily kepte great counsayles together. While the Cardinall laye at Bonenie, ther came to hym Fraunces Sforse Duke of Millane, to excuse hymselfe of all thynges to hym obiected, and by muche entreatyng at the Popes request he pardoned hym hys offence, and restored hym to his dignitie and possession, paiyng to hym nine hundreth thousand Ducates, & tyll they wer pated, the Castle of Millarne, & the toune of Crome, shoulde abide in themperours possession. After this agrement, the Emperoure sent for Anthony de leua, and made him capitayne of his ordinaunce, & so now the duchy of Millayne was brought to quiet. In the same season the kyng of Englād sent sir Nicholas Carewe knight master of hys horses, & Doctor Sāpson to Bononie for the ratification of the league concluded at Cambray, to the performance whereof the Emperour was solemplie sworne, & so the Ambassadours departed: lyke wyse themperour sent into England, Peter Lord of Rosebec, which lyke wise sawe the kyng of England sworne to persorme the same.

Thēperoure kisseth ỹ Popes fete.

According to the somons the kyng of England began his high court of parliamēt, ỹ third day of Nouembre. On which day he came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he & his nobles put on there robes of parliament, & so came to the blacke Freers churche, wher a Masse of the holy ghost was solemplie song by the kynges Chappell, & after the Masse, the kyng with al the Lordes of the parliament, and Commons which were somoned to appere at that day came into ỹ parliamēt chāber, wher the kyng sat in his Throne or seate royall, and Sir Thomas More his Chauncelor standyng on the right hand of the kyng behinde the barre made an eloquent Oracion, declarynge that lyke as a good shepard whiche not alonely kepeth and attendeth well his shepe, but also forseeth & prouideth for althyng, which either may be hurtful or noysome to his flocke, or may preserue and defende thesame agaynst all peryles that may chaunce to come, so the kyng whiche was the sheaperd, ruler and gouernour of his realme, vigilātly forseyng thinges to come cōsidered how diuers lawes before this tyme wer made nowe by longe continuaunce of tyme & mutaciō of thinges, very insufficient, & vnperfight, & also by the frayl condicion of man, diuers new enormities were sprong amongest the people, for the whiche no law was yet made to reforme thesame, which was the very cause why at that tyme ỹ kyng had somoned

An Oracion.

somoned his high court of parliament: and he resembled the kyng to a shepard, or heard man for this cause, for yf a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a richeman, yf a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honorable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people and the numbre of his flocke, thē he is a ruler, a gouernor of might and puissaunce, so that his people maketh him a prince, as of the multitude of shepe, commeth the name of a shepherd: and as you se that emongest a great flocke of shepe some be rottē and fauty which the good sheperd sendeth from the good shepe, so the great wether which is of late fallen as you all knowe, so craftely, so scabedly, ye & so vntruly iuggled wyth the kynge, that all men must nedes gesse and thinke that he thought in him self, that the had no wit to perceiue his craftie doyng, or els that he presumed that the kyng woulde not se nor know his fraudulent Jugeling and attemptes: but he was deceiued, for his graces sight was so quicke and penetrable, that he saw him, ye and saw through hym, both with in and without, so that all thing to him was open, and accordyng to his desert he hath had a gentle correction, which smal ponishmēt the kynge will not to be an example to other offendoures, but clerly declareth that whosoeuer here after shall make like attempt or commit like offence, shall not escape with lyke ponyshment: and because you of the xxv common house be a grosse multitude, and cannot speake all at one time: Therefore the kynges pleasure is, that you shall resortē to the nether house, and there emonge your selfes accordyng to the olde and aunciēt custome to chose an able person to be your cōmon mouth & speaker, & after youre election so made to aduertise his grace therof, which wyl declare to you his pleasure what day he wil haue him presēt in this place.

After this done, the cōmons resorted to ỹ nether house, & they chose Thomas Audelei chosen speaker. for there speaker Thomas Audeley Esquier & attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster, and the same day was the parliamēt adiourned to Westminster. On the sixt day of the same moneth the kyng came in to ỹ parliament chambre and all the Lordes in there robes, and ther the commons of the nether house presented there speker, which there made an An oracion. eloquent Oracion which cōsisted in two poynctes, the first poynct was that he muche praysed the kyng for his equitie and Justice, mixed with mercy and pitie, so that none offence was forgottē and left vnponished nor in the punishment the extremitie nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which shuld be a cause to bridel all men from doinge lyke offences, and also a comforte to offendors to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliacion. xxvi

The second poinct was, ỹ he disabled him selfe, both for lacke of wyt learnyng and discrecio to so high an office, besechyng the kynge to cause his comons to resort eftsones to ther common house, and ther to chose an other speaker for that parliament. xxvij

To this the kyng (by the mouth of the Lord Chauncelor) answered that where he disabled hym selfe in wit and learnyng, his awne ornate

oracion

oracion there made testified the contrary, & as touchyng his discrecion and other qualities, the kyng hym selfe had wel knowē him and his doynges, sith he was in his seruice, to be both wise and discrete, and so for an hable man he accepted hym, and for the speaker he hym admitted.

When ỹ commons were assembled in the nether house, thei began to cōmon of their greses wherwith the spiritualtie had before tyme greuously oppressed them, both cōtrarie to ỹ lawe of the realme, & cōtrarie to all righte, & in especial thei were sore moued with sixe greate causes.

The first for the excesse fynes, which ỹ ordinaries toke for probat of Testamentes, in so muche that sir henry Guilford knight of the gartir and comptroller of the kynges house, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other beynge executors to Sir Wyllyam Compton knight paied for the probate of his wil to the Cardinall & the Archbishop of Cauntorburie a thousand Marke sterlyng: after this declaracion were shewed so many extorcions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to muche to rehearse. 1

The second cause was the great polling & extreme exaccion, whiche the spirituall men vsed in takyng of corps presentes or mortuaries, for the childzen of the defunct should al dye for hunger and go a beggynge rather then thei would of charitie geue to them the sely kow which the dead man ought yf he had but only one, suche was the charitie then. 2

The third cause was, that priestes beyng surueiors, stuardes and officers to Bishoppes, Abbotes, and other spirituall heddes, had and occupied Fermes, Graunges, & grasing in euery contrey, so that the pore husbandmen coulde haue nothynge but of them, and yet for that they should pay derely. 3

The fourth cause was that Abbotes, Priors and spirituall men kept Tanne houses, & bought and soulde woll, clothe and all maner of marchaundise as other temporall marchauntes dyd. 4

The fift cause, was because ỹ spiritual persones promoted to greate benefices & hauyng there liuyng of ther flocke, were lyng in the courte in lordes houses, & toke al of the parishoners, & nothing spent on thē at al, so that for lacke of residēce both the poore of the parishe lacked refreshyng, & vniuersally all ỹ parishioners lacked preaching, & true instruccion of Gods wordes, to the greate perell of there soules. 5

The sixt cause was to se one preest beyng litle learned to haue tenne or twelue benefices and to be residen on none, and to know many well learned scholers in the vniuersitie which wer able to preche and teache to haue nether benefice nor exhibicion. 6

These thynges before this time might in nowise be towched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heritike, or lese al that he had, for the bishoppes were chauncelors, and had all the rule about the kyng, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thyng contrary to their proffit, or commoditie.

But now when God had illumined the eies of the kynge, & that ther subtell doynges was once espied: then men began charitably to desyre a reformacion, and so at this Parliament menne began to shewe there grudges.

Where vpon the Burgesses of the Parliament, appointed suche as were learned in the law beyng of the cõmon house, to drawe one bill of the probates of Testamentes, a nother for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none residence, pluralities, and takyng of Fermes by spiritual men.

The learned men toke muche payne, and firste set furthe the byll of Mortuaries, whiche passed the common house, and was sent vp to the Lordes.

To this byll, the spirituall Lordes made a fayre face, saiynge that surely prestes and curates toke more then they should, and therfore it were well done to take some reasonable ordre, thus thei spake because it touched them litle.

But with in two daies after was sent vp the bill cõcerning probates of Testamentes, at the which the Archbishop of Cauntorburie in especiall, and all other bishoppes in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched ther profite, in so much as Doctor Jhon Fisher bishop of Rochester, saied openlie in the Parliament chambre these woordes, my Lordes, you se daily what billes come hither from the cõmon house and all is to the distruction of the churche, for Godes sake se what a Realme the kyngdome of Boheme was, and when the Churche went doune, then fell the glory of the kyngdome, now with the Commons is nothing but doune with the Church, and all this me semeth is for lacke of faith only.

The saiyng of. J. ffisher B. of Rochester.

When these woordes were reported to the Commons of the nether house, that the bishop should say that all ther doynges were for lacke of faith, thei toke the matter greuously, for thei Imagined that the bishop estemed them as Heretikes, and so by his slaunderous woordes would haue perswaded the temporall Lordes to haue restrained ther consent from the saied twoo billes, whiche they before had passed, as you haue hard before.

Wherfore the Commons after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the Parliamẽt to the kinges highnes, with a greuous complaynt, agaynst the bishop of Rochester, and so on a day when the kyng was at layser, Thomas Audeley the speaker for the commons and thirtie of the chief of the common house, came to the kynges presence in his palace at Westminster, whiche before was called Yorke place and there very eloquently declared what a dishonour to the kyng and the realme it was to say that they which wer elected for the wysest men of all the Shyres, Cities, and borroughes with in the realme of Englãd shoulde be declared in so noble and open presence to lacke faith, whyche was equuualent to say, that thei were Infidelles and no Christians, as ill as

A cõplaynt made to the kyng.

as Turkes or Saralins, so that what payne or studie so euer thei toke for the commō wealth, or what actes or lawes so euer thei made or stablished, shulde be taken as lawes made by Panyms and hethen people, & not worthy to be kept by christian men: wherfore he most humbly besought the kynges highnes, to call ỹ saied byshop before hym & to cause him to speake more discretly of such a nomber as was in ỹ cōmō house.

The kyng was not well contented with the saiyng of the bishop, yet he gently answered the speaker, that he would sende for the bishop and send them worde what answere he made, and so they departed agayn.

¶ After this the kyng sent for the archebishope of Cauntorburie and sire other bishopes, and for the bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to hym the grudge of the commons, to the which the byshop answered that he ment the doinges of the Bohemians was for lacke of faith, and not the doynges of them that were in the common house, which saiyng was confirmed by the bishopes being present, whiche had him in greate reputaciō, and so by that only saiyng the kyng accepted his excuse and therfore sent woord to the comons by sir William Fitz william knight treasorer of his househoulde, which blind excuse pleased the commons nothyng at all. The bishops excuse.

¶ After this diuers assemblies wer kept betwene certein of the lordes & certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates of Testamentes, and the mortuaries: the temporaltie laied to the spiritualtie ther awne lawes and constitucions, & the spiritualtie sore defended them by prescripcion and vsage, to whome an answere was made by a gentleman of Greyes Inne: the vsage hath euer ben of theues to robbe on shoters hill, ergo is it lawfull & with this answere the spirituall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men stode still by there saiynges, in so muche the sayed gentle man sayd to the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, that both the exaccion of probates of Testamentes, and the takynge of Mortuaries, as they were vsed were open robbery & theft: after long disputacion, the temporall lordes began to leane to ỹ cōmons, but for all that, the billes remayned vnconcluded a while.

In the meane season, there was a bill assented by the Lordes, and sent doune to the cōmons, the effect wherof was, that the whole realme by the saied acte, did release to the kynge, all suche somes of money as he had borowed of them at the loane, in the fiftene yere of his raigne (as you haue hard before) this byll was sore argued in the common house but the moste parte of the commons were the kynges seruauntes, and the other were so labored to by other, that the bill was assented to. The loane released.

When this release of the loane was knowen to the commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake ill of the hole Parliament, for almoste euery man counted it his dette, and reconed suerly of the

payment of the same, and therfore some made there wylles of thesame, and some other dyd set it ouer to other for debt, and so many men had losse by it, whiche caused thē sore to murmur, but ther was no remedy. The Kynge lyke a good and a discrete Prince, seynge that hys commons in the Parliament house had released the loane, entendyng some what to requite thesame, graunted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayne greate offences and debtes only xcept: also he aided them for the redresse of there greues against the spiritualtie, and caused twoo newe bylles to be made indifferetly, bothe for the probate of Testamentes and mortuaries, whiche billes were so resonable that the spyrituall Lordes assented to them all though thei were sore againste there myndes, and in especial the probate of Testamentes sore displeased the Byshopes, and the mortuaries sore displeased the persones and Vicars. x

After these Actes, thus agreed, the Commons made another Acte for pluralities of benefices, none residence, biyng and sellyng & takyng of fermes by spirituall persones, which acte so displeased ỹ spiritualtie that the priestes railed on the commons of the common house, and called them heretikes and scismatikes, for the whych diuerse priestes wer ponished. xx

This acte was sore debated aboue in the parliament chambre, and the Lordes spirituall woulde in nowise consent. Wherefore the Kyng perceiuing the grudge of his commons, caused eight lordes and eight of his commons to mete in the starre chambre at an after none, & there was sore debatyng of the cause, in so muche that the temporall Lordes of the vpper house, whiche were there, toke parte with the Commons, agaynst the spirituall Lordes and by force of reason caused them to assent to the byll with a litle qualifiyng, whyche byll the nexte daye was wholy agreed to in the lordes house, to the great reioysynge of the lay people, and to the greate displeasor of the spirituall persones. xxx

Duryng this Parliament was brought doune to the commons, the boke of articles whiche the Lordes had put to the Kynge agaynst the Cardinall, the chief articles were these.

First that he without the kynges assent had procured to be a Legat, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all bishopes and spirituall persons.

Item, in all writynges which he wrote to Rome or any other foreyn Prince, he wrot *Ego & Rex meus*, I and my Kyng, as who woulde say that the Kyng were hys seruaunt.

Item, that he hath sclaundered the church of England in the courte of Rome, for his suggestion to be legate was to reforme the churche of Englande, whiche as he wrote was *Facta in reprobum censum*. xl

Item, he without the kynges assent, caried ỹ Kynges great Seale, with

with hym into Flaunders when he was sent Ambassad to the Emperoure.

Item, he without the kynges assent, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassado, knighte, to conclude a league betwene the kyng and the Duke of Farrar, without the kynges knowlege.

Item, that he hauyng the Frenche pockes presumed to come & byeth on the kyng.

Item, that he caused the Cardinalles hat to be put on the kynges coyne.

x Item, that he woulde not suffer the kynges clarke of the market, to sit at Saunct Talbons.

Item, that he had sent innumerable substaunce to Rome, for the obteinyng of his dignities to the greate enpourishment of the realme.

These Articles with many more, red in the common house, and signed with the Cardinalles hande, was cõfessed by hym, & also there was shewed a writyng sealed with his Seale, by the whiche he gaue to the kyng all his mouables and vnmouables.

On the day of the concepcion of oure Lady, the kyng at Yorke place at Westminster, in the parliament tyme created the vicount Rochforth
xx Earle of Wilshire, and the Vicount Fitzwater, was created Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Hastynges, was created Earle of Huntyngton.

When althynges were concluded in the Parliament house, the kyng came to the Parliament chambre the seuentene day of Decembre, and there put his royall assent, to althynges done by the Lordes and commons, and so proroged his court of Parliament, tyll the next yere.

After the Parliamẽt was thus ended, the kyng remoued to Greneswiche and ther kept his Christemas with the quene in great triumph: with great plentie of viaundes, and diuerse disguisynges and Enter-
xxx ludes, to the greate reioysyng of his people.

You haue harde before how the Emperoure and the Pope was at Bononie, wher the Emperour made great preparacion for the solempnisyng of his coronacion, which was appoincted to be of Saincte Mathias day, or the foure and twentie day of Februarye, on whych day, he was borne, and that day also the French kyng was taken, and because that that day had ben euer fortunate to hym he appoincted his coronacion on that daye: he apoincted it also at that place, because he woulde the soner passe into Almayne, to appece suche striefes and debates as was risen betwene the princes there.

xl And so whan the day came & euery thing was redy, he was crowned Emperor, in ỹ churhe of S. Peter, in ỹ citie of Bononi by pope Clemẽt the. viij. with al ỹ ceremonies therto belõging. At this coronaciõ were

presente the Dukes of Sauoy and Millayn, duke Frederick brother to the Palantine of Rine, & the deputies to all the seuen Electors and the moste parte of all the nobles of Italye, and Spayne. Thys coronacion was done with great solemnities, there was feastyng, iustyng and tornay, and all thinges that might sounde to honoure was there shewed bothe in apparell, and viaunde: and after that the Emperoure and the Pope, with the hole college of Cardinalles, and al the noble men beyng presente rode in procession through the hie stretes of Bononi, with suche a pompe and triumphe as had not bene sene in Italye manye yeres before.

While the Emperoure lay thus at Bononie, the kynge of Englande was aduertised by hys Ambassadoures, whiche he had sent to diuers vniuersities for the assoluyng of the doubt cõcernyng his mariage, that the saied vniuersities were agreed and had clerely concluded, that the one brother to mary the other brothers wyfe, carnally knowne, was directlie agaynst Gods lawe, & that the Pope nor the courte of Rome could in no wyse dispence with the same.

Wherefore the kyng knowyng themperour and the bishop of Rome to be together at Bononie, determined to send thether a solempne ambassade, both to declare to them the law of God, and the determinacion of the vniuersities, and also to require the bishop of Rome to do Justice accordyng to the treuth, and also to shewe to the Emperoure that the kyng did not moue this matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the quene his awnt, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnes of his Realme.

When this purpose was agreed by the kynges counsayle, the kynge appointed Sir Thomas Bulleyne late created Earle of Wylshier and Doctor Stokesley elected bishop of London, and Doctor Edward Lee, his almoner, two great Clarkes, for his ambassadours & with thẽ he sent diuers Doctors both of the lawe and diuinitie. These Ambassadoures made greate preparacion, & about the begynnyng of Februarie thei set forward, and so muche thei trauailed that they came to Sauoy wher the Duke in the fayre toune of Cambrey, caused them honorably to be receiued and fested.

So they passed the Mountaynes, & so through the Duchie of Millain & by long iorneis thei came to Bononie in lent, wher they wer honorably receiued by the maister of the Emperoures house, and diuers Lordes & Gentlemen belongyng to the Pope, & within short space the sayed Ambassadoures were firste conueighed to the Pope, and there declared ther message and shewed the determinaciõ of the great Doctors and famous vniuersities. Pope Clement whyche was a man of no learnyng but of a great wit made to them a gentle answere, & sayed that he woulde here the matter disputed when he came to Rome

The Popes answer.

and

and accordyng to right he woulde do Justice. But hys entent was all contrarie, for he knewe well that yf he shoulde geue sentence, that Pope July coulde not dispence wyth the breache of Godes lawe, that then the aucthoritie of the Courte of Rome woulde litle be regarded, and also he feared the Emperours displeasure yf he shoulde geue sentence againste his awnte, so that for feare of losinge aucthoritie, and of the Emperours displeasure, Bishop Clement, durste not Judge accordynge to Goddes lawe. After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperour, whyche them gently receyued, and after they had
x done their message, he answered them that he in no wyse woulde be agaynst the lawe of God, and yf the Courte of Rome woulde adiudge that ỹ matrimonie were not good, he would be content, but he thought all otherwyse, for he solicited the Pope and all the Cardinalles whych were hys frendes to staude by the dispensacion, whyche he iudged to be as strong as Goddes lawe. After this answere they toke ther leaue of the Emperour, whyche the nexte weke after departed out of Bononie toward Almayne in good order of battail, he him selfe in gilt harnes and hys nobles in white harnes wyth ryche cotes and trappers very curiously sene.

xx After that the Emperour was gone out of Bononie, the Ambassadoures of England toke there leaue of the Bysshoppe of Rome, whyche went toward Rome agayne, and retorned toward Englande, through the Duchy of Millayn, whiche was receiued by the Earle Lodouick, great counsaylor to the Duke of Millayn, whych Earle conducted thē through the whole Duchie of Millayne, and paied all their charges by the Dukes cōmaundemene. And when these Ambassadors wer passed the mountaynes, they receiued letters frō the kyng, which appoincted the Earle of Wilshire to go ambassade to the French kyng, whych then lay at Burdeaux makynge prouisions for money for the redemynge of
xxx his childzen: & the Bishop of London was appoyncted to go to Padua and other vniuersities in Italye to know ther opinions in the kynges cace, and the kynges almoner was appoincted to retorne into Englād, and so he dyd, thus was the ende of this Ambassad.

You haue hard before how the Cardinall was attainted in the premunire and how he was put out of the office of the chauncelor and laye at Asher: In this Lent season the kynge by the aduice of his counsayle licenced hym to go into his diocesse of Yorke, and gaue him commaundement to kepe hym in his diocesse & not to returne southwarde without the kynges speciall licence in writyng.

xl So he made great prouision to go Northwarde and appareled his seruauntes newly & bought many costely thinges for his houshould & so he might wel inough, for he had of the kynges gentlenes the bishoppricks of Yorke & Winchester, which wer no smal thinges, but at this time diuers of his seruaūtes departed from him to the kynges seruice, and

Thomas crō well came in to the kynges seruice.

and in especiall Thomas Crumwel one of his chief counsayle and chefe doer for him in the suppressiō of abbeis. After that al thinges necessarie for his iornay wer prepared, he toke his iorney northward til he came to South wel whiche is in his dioces & their he continued this yere euer grudgyng at his fall as you shall here after: but the landes whiche he had geuen to his Colleges in Oxforde & Ypswych, were now come to the kinges handes, by his atteinder in the premunire, and yet the kyng of his gentlenes and for fauour that he bare to good learnyng erected agayne the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles College, he called it the kynges College, and endewed it with faire possessions, and put in newe statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ypswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he lefte that dissolued.

The last Somer while the peace was treated at Cambray as you haue hard before, Ferdinādo brother to the Emperour, recouered certayne tounes which the Turkes had taken from hym in Hungary, and put to flighte his ennemy Jhon the Uainoda, whiche falsly named hym selfe kynge of Hungary. This Uainoda destitute of all succoure fled to Sultan Soliman the great Turke, desiryng hym of succor, to recouer Hungry a gaine. The Turke being glad to haue an occasion to distroy Hungry, assembled a puissaunt army, and entred into Hungry, & made proclamation that what toune or Citie woulde not obey kynge Jhon as ther kyng, should be put to fire & sworde. This proclamacion so feard the Hungarians, that all in maner yelded thē selfe subiectes to the Uainoda, the citie of Bude onely except: whiche at the last was yelden, by composicion that thei should depart with bag and baggage, but for al there safe conduit signed withe the great Turkes hand, they wer firste robbed of the Janizeres, and after that shamefully slayn.

Crueltie of ỹ Turkes.

When the Turke had thus Bude in possession, he left there the Uainoda, and Lewes great bastard sonne to the duke of Uenice, with fiue thousand fotemen, and two thousand horsmen, and he with all haste entered into Austrice, wher his people committed such crueltie and tirannye, as neuer hath been hard nor writtē, for of some thei put out ỹ eies of other they cut of the noses & eares, of other thei cut of the priuy mēbers, of women thei cut of the pappes, and rauished Uirgins and of women great with child, thei cut ther bellies and brent the childzen, beside this, as thei passed thei brent corne, trees, howses, & al that woulde be brent to make the contry desolate, and at the last the two & twentie day of September, the turkes armie came nye to Uienne, a riche and a famous Citie in Austrice.

The same was that he had twoo hundreth and fiftie thousande men in his armie, and fiue and twentie thosande tentes in the sighte of the Citie.

At the beginnyng of the siege certein Christian men were taken of the Turkes, which Turkes cut of the heddes of foure lepers in a lazer cote

cote,without the citie & put them vpon poles, & made christē prisoners
presēt thē to ỹ great turck,which therof toke great ioy:of ỹ which pri-
soners he released certain and bad them go to the captaynes and to tell
thē that yf they would yeld ỹ citie to him, they should depart wyth bag
and bagage,and yf thei would kept it by force,he woulde suerly haue it
& put thē all to the swoꝛde. Now in the citie was captayn duke Phillip
of Bauier,Earle Palantine of the Rine,and nephew to the Palsgraue
electoꝛ,a young man, but of noble coꝛage, and with him were twentie
thousand Almaynes,and two thousand hoꝛsemē,which nothing feared
x the Turkes threatnynges. The Turke perceiuyng ther boldnes bent
his grete oꝛdinaunce,which were thꝛe hundꝛeth peces agaynst ỹ wal-
les,& commaundyd the towne to be assauted:the Turkes gaue a great
assaut,but the chꝛisten men valiantly defended thē, so that the Turkes
were compelled to fle,and many of them were slaine.

The fourth daye of Octobꝛe, the Turke bent all his Oꝛdinaunce
against the wal which so shoke ỹ wall that all men within supposed that
the walles would haue fallē doune,but thei did litle harme, which was
sone amended. The sixt day of Octobꝛe, eight thousand chꝛisten men
issued out of the toune,& came wher the Turkes miners wer woꝛkyng
xi and slew a great nombꝛe & destroyed ỹ mines. The same day the Tur-
kes gaue a greate assaute to the citie:the chꝛistyan men valiantly them
defended,and thꝛewe doune great logges & barres of Iron,and slewe
many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assauted the citie a leuen tymes,and
so many tymes they wer betē away,but the great & terrible assaut was
the twelue day of Octobꝛe,at which assaut ỹ chꝛistyan men so valiantly
defended them selfe and slewe and hurte so many of the Turkes that
after that day,foꝛ no commandement that the Turke could geue, they
woulde nomoꝛe geue assaute.

The Turke perceiued well bothe the strength of the Citie and the
xxx coꝛage of the capitaines with in, and also the winter there was muche
moꝛe colder then in his contreys,which soꝛe troubled hym and his peo-
ple,wheꝛfoꝛe he called his counsaill & concluded to bꝛeake vp his siege
and to departe, & so the foureteene day of Octobꝛe he shot great stones
into the citie al day till night:and aboute tenne of the cloke in the night
he caused his tentes to be taken vp, and set fire on the strawe, & suche
other stuffe,and so remoued all his armie,towarde Bude,sauinge fiftie
thousande hoꝛsemen whiche taried all the next daye behynde,caryng
with hym a greate nombꝛe of Chꝛistyan pꝛisoners, which he put to the
mynes and suche other vile seruice.

pl At this siege the Turke lost by Murder,Sickes,and could, aboue foure-
scoꝛe thousand men, as one of his bassates dyd afterwarde con-
fesse. The nnmbꝛe of the turkes that died.

Thus was the citie of Uienne defended agaynst the greate Turke,
and all his power,whiche was to him a greate displeasure, and in espe-
cially because he neuer beseged citie befoꝛe, but either it was yelden, oꝛ

taken

taken, of the tyme of this siege a metrician made these verses.

Cæsar in Italiam quo uenit Carolus anno
Cincta est ripheis nostra Vienna getis.

In this yere themperour gaue to the lord master of saynt Jhones of Jerusalem, and his bretherne the Iland of Malto lyng betwene Scicile and Barbarie, there to employ them selfe vpon Christes enemies which lorde master had no place suer to enhabite there sith he was put from the Rodes by this Turke that beseged Vienne, as you haue hard before.

The.xxij.yere.

the.xxij.yere



IN the beginnyng of this two and twentie yere, the kyng like a politike & a prudent prince, perceiued that his subiectes and other persons had diuers times within foure yeres last past, brought into his realme, great nombre of printed bokes, of the new Testament, translated into the English tongue by Tyndall, Joy, & other, whiche bokes the cõmon people vsed & dayly red priuely, which ỹ clargie woulde not admit, for they punished suche persones as had red, studied or taught thesame with greate extremitie, but bycause ỹ multitude was so great, it was not in their power to redresse there grefe: wherefore they made complaint to the Chauncelor (which leaned much to the spiritual menes part, in all causes) where vpon he imprisoned and punished a great nomber, so that for this cause a great rumor and cõtrouersie rose daily emongest the people: wherfore the kyng cõsideryng what good might come of readyng of the new Testament with reuerence and folowyng thesame, & what euell might come of the readyng of thesame yf it were euill translated, and not folowed: came into the starre chambre the fiue and twentie day of May, and there commoned with his counsaile and the prelates concernynge this cause, and after longe debatyng, it was alleged that the translacion of Tyndal and Joy were not truely translated, and also that in them were prologues and prefaces which sounded to heresie, and rayled against the bishopes vncharitably, wherfore all suche bokes were prohibited & commaundement geuen by the kyng to the bishoppes, that they callyng to them the best learned men of the vniuersities should cause a new translacion to be made, so that the people should not be ignorant in the law of God: And notwithstandynge this commaundemẽt the byshopes dyd nothing at al to set furth a new translaciõ, which caused the people to study Tindalles translacion, by reason where of many thinges came to light, as you shall here after.

The newe testament forbidden.

In this yere in May, the bishop of London caused all his newe Testamentes which he had bought with many other bokes to be brought into Paules churcheyarde in London and there was openly burned.

In the ende of this yere, the wilde Irishmen knowyng the Earle of Kildare to be in England, entered his lande, and spoyled and brent hys

contrey

coũtrey,and diuers other contreys, and the Earle of Ossery being the kynges deputie made litle resistaunce,for lacke of power,wherfore the kyng sent the earle of Kildare into Ireland,and with him sir Wyllyam Skeuyngton knight, Mayster of the kynges ordinaunce and dyuers Gunners with hym,whych so pollitickly ordered them selfe that their enemies were glad to offre amendes and to treate for truce, and so sir Wyllyam Skeuyngton the nexte yere returned into England leuing there the Erle of Kildare for the kynges deputie.

Now I wil returne to ỹ execucion of the treatie of Cambray in the
xwhich it was agreed that the Lady Elianor and the Frenche kynges chyldren should be deliuered,when the raunsome appointed was paid as you haue heard in the last yere: Wherfore ỹ French kyng gathered money of hys subiectes w̃ all spede,and when the money was ready he sent the great Master of Fraunce called Annas de Memorancy , and diuers other nobles to Bayon wyth the money,and to receiue the lady and the children. And thyther came to them the great Cõstable of Castle and Mounsire Prat for the Emperor , and there the crounes wer wayed and touched,and what fault soeuer the Spaniardes founde in theim,they would not receiue a great nõber of them,and so thei caried
xx the chyldren backe frõ Foũtraby into Spayn. Thus the great maister of Fraunce , and his company lay still at Bayon wythout hauinge hys purpose performed from Marche til the ende of June,and lenger had lyen,yf ỹ king of England had not sent sir Fraunces Bryan to Bayon to warrant the payment: wherupon the day of delyueraunce was appointed to be on S. Peters daye in June. At whiche daye the greate Maister wyth.xxxj. Mulettes laden w̃ the crounes came to ỹ one side of the riuer of Auday,which ryuer departeth Spayne and Fraunce, & there taried til the first day of July: on which daye the ladye Elianor, & the children wer put into two great boates,hauing only.xij. gentlemẽ
xxx of Spayne with them: and in lyke maner the great Maister with two great boates in the which the money was,and.xij. gentlemen w̃ hym. All these boates met at a bridge made in the middes of the riuer : The Constable of Spayn,and his.xij.gentlemen met with ỹ great maister of Fraunce,and his.xij.gentlemẽ on the bridge, and after a litle salutacion the Frenchmen entered into the. ij. boates wher the lady and the two children were,and the Spaniardes into the two boates wher the money was,and then eche part hasted to land. Thus wer the Frenche kyngs wyfe and children deliuered into his handes,for whych delyueraunce was great ioy, & triumph made in Fraunce, & also in July were
xl fiers made in London & diuers other places for thesame consideraciõ and cause.

The delyueraunce of the Frenche kinges children.

The Emperor as you haue heard the last yere,passed out of Italy into Germany,and was receyued wyth great honor and triumph into ỹ citie of Ausborough or August,where in June were present al the elec-

toꝛs and almoſte all the pꝛinces of the Empire: there was kept a great counſayl foꝛ the pꝛinces of Germany were of two ſeueral opinions and of ſeueral names, the part that fauoꝛed the pope, and all thynges done by hys aucthoꝛitie were called catholycal, and the other part which folowed and pꝛeached only the goſpel of Chꝛiſt were called euangelical. Of theſe and other thynges concerning our fayth ther wer many coũſayles: but Cardinal Cãpeius the Popes legate would not ſuffer the Euangelycal perſones (whom he called Lutherans) to argue againſte ỹ catholycal men (whõ ỹ Euãgelical perſons called papiſtes) leſt by the openyng of the ſcꝛypture ỹ aucthoꝛitie of ỹ court of Rome ſhould haue ꝓ bene damned, and therfoꝛe the Emperoꝛ put of the matter till another tyme: But thys matter was not ſo let ſlyppe, foꝛ of thys mocion men ſo ſerched the law of God that within a few yeres after, many people refuſed the Pope foꝛ the heade of the Churche and foꝛſoke hym and hys pardons.

A Pꝛoclamacyon.

On the.xix. daye of September in the cytye of London was made thys Pꝛoclamacyõ. The kynges hyghnes ſtrayghtly chargeth & commaũdeth ỹ no maner of perſon of what eſtate, degꝛe oꝛ condiciõ ſoeuer he oꝛ they be of, do purchaſe oꝛ attẽpt to purchaſe frõ ỹ court of Rome oꝛ elſ where, noꝛ vſe & put in execucion, diuulge oꝛ publyſh any thynge heretofoꝛe wythin thys yere paſſed, purchaſed, oꝛ to be purchaſed hereafter contaynyng matter pꝛeiudicial to ỹ hygh auctoꝛitie, iuriſdiccyon and pꝛerogatiue royal, of thys his layd realm, oꝛ to ỹ let, hynderaunce oꝛ impechement of his graces noble and verteous entended purpoſes in the pꝛemyſſes, vpon payne of incurryng hys hyghnes indignacyõ & impꝛiſonment & farther punyſhment of theyꝛ bodyes foꝛ theyꝛ ſo doing at hys graces pleaſure, to the dꝛeadful example of all other.

Thys pꝛoclamacion was muche muſed at and euery woꝛde of the ſame well noted. Some ſayd that it was made becauſe that the quene had purchaſed a newe Bull foꝛ the ratifycacyon of her mariage, other ſayde that it was made becauſe the Cardinall had purchaſed a Bull to curſe the kyng, yf he would not reſtoꝛe hym to hys old dignities, and ỹ the king ſhould ſuffer him to coꝛrect the ſpiritualtie, and he not to medle wyth theſame. This inuencyon ſounded moſte to the trueth as you ſhall heare afterward.

In October the ryuer of Tyber was of ſuche an heygth that in Rome and other places about Rome almoſt. xij. M. perſons wer dꝛowned and in the next mone th zeland, Holland and Bꝛabant were ſoꝛe noyed with waters, and many people and much cattel were dꝛowned.

You haue heard in the laſt yere how the Cardinal of Yoꝛke was attainted in the pꝛemunire and that notwithſtandyng the king had geuẽ him the biſhopꝛickes of Yoꝛke and Wincheſter wyth greate plentye of ſubſtaunce, & had lycenſed him to lye in hys dioces of Yoꝛke. He beyng this in his dioces grudgyng at his fall & not remembꝛyng the kynges

kindnes

kyndnes shewed to hym, wrote to the Court of Rome and to diuers o-
ther prynces letters in reproche of the kyng, and in as much as in hym
lay, he stirred them to reuenge his cause agaynst the kynge and hys re-
alme, in so muche that diuers opprobrious woordes of the kynge were
spoken to Doctor Edward Kecrne the kynges Orator at Rome, and it
was sayd to him that for the Cardinals sake, the kinge should haue the
worse spede in the suite of hys matrimony. The Cardinal also woulde The pryde of
speake fayre to the people to wynne their heartes, and declared euer, the Cardinal
that he was vniustlye and vntruely ordered, whyche fayre speakynge
x made manye men beleue that he sayde true: and to gentlemen he gaue
great gyftes to allure them vnto him: And to be had in the more repu-
tacion among the people he determined to be installed or inthronised at
Yorke with all the pompe that might be, and caused a throne to be erec-
tee in the Cathedral church in such an heygth and fashyō as was neuer
sene, and sent to al the lordes, Abbottes, Priors, knyghtes, esquyers &
gentlemen of hys dioces, to be at hys Manor of Cawod the. vj. day of
Nouember and so to bryng hym to yorke with al maner of Pompe and
solempnitie.

The kyng whiche knew hys doynges and priuye conueyaunce, all
x this yere dissembled the matter to see what he woulde do at length, tyll
that he saw hys proud hart so hyghly exalted that he would be so triū-
phantly installed wythout making the kyng priuye, yea and in maner
in disdayne of the kynge, thoughte it not mete nor conuenyent to suffer
hym any lenger to continue in his malicious and proude purposes and
attemptes: wherfore he directed his letters to Henry ỹ. vj. erle of Nor-
thumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the Cardinal and
to deliuer him to therle of Shrewsbury great stewarde of the kynges
housholde: When the erle had sene the letters, he with a conuenient nō-
ber came to the Manor of Cawod the. iiij. day of Nouember, and when
xxx he was brought to the Cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, my lord
I pray you take pacience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayde ỹ Car-
dinal, yea sayd the erle I haue a commaundement so to do: you haue no The Cardy-
such power sayd the Cardinall, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate nal arrested.
de Latere and a pere of the College of Rome & ought not to be arrested
by any Temporall power, for I am not subiect to that power, wherfore
if you arrest me, I wyl withstand it: wel sayd the erle, here is the kings
Commission (which he shewed him) and therfore I charge you to obey:
the Cardinal somewhat remembred hym selfe and sayd, wel my lord I
am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into the pu-
xl nishment of the Premunire and lost by the lawe all my landes and goo-
des, yet my person was in the kynges protection and I was pardoned
that offence, wherfore I maruell why I nowe shoulde be arrested and
specially consyderynge that I am a member of the sea Apostolike on
whō no temporall man ought to lay violent landes, well I see the king

lacketh good counsayll: wel sayd the erle when I was swoꝛne Warden of the Marches, you your self told me, that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a kynge, and now I am moꝛe stronger foꝛ I haue a cõmission so to do whiche you haue sene. The Cardinall at length obeyed and was kepte in a pꝛiuye chamber and his goodes seazed, and his officers discharged, and his Phisician called Doctoꝛ Augustyne was likewyse arrested, and bꝛought to the Tower by sir Walter Welshe one of the kynges chamber. The. vj. day of Nouember he was cõueyed from Cawod to Sheffeld castle and there deliuered to therle of Shꝛewsburies keping til the kinges pleasure were knowẽ: Of this attachement was muche commoning amongest the common people, wheꝛefoꝛe manye were glad, foꝛ surelye he was not in the fauoꝛ of the communaltie. x

When the Cardinal was thus arrested the kynge sent sir Wyllyam Kingston knyght capitayne of the Garde and Constable of the Tower of London, wyth certayn yomen of the Gard to Sheffeld to fetch the Cardinall to the Tower. When the Cardinal saw the capitaine of the Garde, he was soꝛe astonnied and shoꝛtly became sicke, foꝛ then he perceyued some great trouble toward him; and foꝛ that cause men sayde, that he willingly toke so much quantitie of strong purgacion, that hys nature was not able to beare it: but sir Wyllyam Kyngston comfoꝛted him, and by easy ioꝛnaies he bꝛought him to the Abbay of Leceste the xxbij. daye of Nouember, where foꝛ very feblenes of nature caused by purgacions and vomities he dyed the second night folowynge, and in thesame abbay lyeth buryed. This Cardinall as you may perceyue in this stoꝛy was of a great stomacke, foꝛ he compted him selfe egall with pꝛinces, and by craftye suggestion gatte into his handes innumerable treasure: He foꝛced litle be symony & was not pityful and stode affectionate in his owne opinion: In open pꝛesence he would lye and say vntrueth and was double both in speche and meanyng: He wold pꝛomise muche and peꝛfoꝛme lytle: He was vicious of his body and gaue the clergie euyl example: He hated soꝛe the citie of London and feared it: It was told him ỹ he shuld dye in the way toward London, wheꝛfoꝛe he feared lest the cõmons of the citie would aꝛise in riotous maner and so slaye him, yet foꝛ al that he dyed in the waye towarde London. The authoꝛitie of this Cardinal set the clergie in such a pꝛide that they dysdayned al men, wheꝛfoꝛe when he was fallen thei folowed after as you shall heare. To wꝛyte the lyfe and doynges of thys Cardinal, it were a great woꝛke, but whatsoeuer he did, God foꝛgeue his soule hys bodies misdedes. xi

The Cardinal dead and buried at Iepcester.

The description of ỹ Cardynal.

After the Cardinal was dead, the king remoued frõ Hampton court to Grenewiche, wher he wyth quene Katherine kept a solẽpne Chꝛistmas, and on the twelfe nyght he satte in the halle in his estate, wher as were dyuers Enterludes, ryche Maskes and dispoꝛtes, and after that xii

a greate

a great banket. And after Chriſtmas he came to hys Manor of Weſtminſter, which before was called Yorke place, for after that the Cardinal was attainted in the premunire & was gone Northward, he made a feoffement of theſame place to the kinge, and the chapiter of the Cathedrall church of Yorke by their writing cõfirmed theſame feoffemẽt and then the king chaunged the name and called it the kinges Manor of Weſtminſter and no more Yorke place.

The whole clergie of England euer ſupported and maintayned the power legantine of the Cardinall, wherfore the kinges counſayl learxned ſayd plainly that they all were in the Premunire, the ſpiritual lordes were called by Proces into the kinges Benche to anſwere, but before their day of apperaunce, they in their Conuocacion cuncluded an humble ſubmiſſion in writing and offered the kyng a. C. M. pound to be their good lorde, and alſo to geue them a pardon of all offences touching the Premunire by act of Parliament, the which offer with much labor was accepted, and their pardon promyſed. In this ſubmiſſiõ the Clergie called the kyng ſupreme head of ỹ church of Englande, which thing they neuer confeſſed before, wherevpon many thinges folowed after as you ſhall heare.

The kynge firſt named ſupreme hed.

xx When the Parliament was begon the. vj. day of January, the pardon of the ſpiritual perſones was ſigned with the kynges hand & ſente to the lordes which in tyme conuenient aſſented to the byll and ſent it to the cõmons in the lower houſe, & when it was read, diuers froward perſones would in no wyſe aſſente to it, except al men were pardoned, ſaying that all men which had any thinge to do with the Cardinal wer in theſame caſe: the wyſer ſort anſwered that they would not compell the king to geue them his pardon, and beſide that, it was vncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie and do themſelfes no good, wherfore they aduiſed them to conſent to the bill and after to ſue to the kyng for
xxx their pardon, which counſayl was not folowed, but they determyned firſt to ſend the Speaker to the kinge or they woulde aſſent to the bill, wherupon Thomas Audely ſpeaker for the commons with a cõueniẽt nomber of the common houſe came to the kynges preſence and ther eloquently declared to the king how the cõmons ſore lamented and bewayled their chaunce to thinke or imagine them ſelfes to be oute of his gracious fauor, becauſe that he had graciouſly geuen his pardon of the Premunire to his ſpirituall ſubiectes and not to them, wherfore they moſt humbly beſoughte hys grace of his accuſtomed goodnes and clemency to include them in theſame pardon.

xl The kyng wyſely anſwered that he was their prince & ſoueraigne lord, & that they ought not to reſtraine hym of hys libertie, nor to cõpel him to ſhewe his mercy, for it was at his pleaſure to vſe the extremitie of his lawes, or mitigate and pardõ theſame, wherfore ſith they denied to aſſent to the pardon of the ſpirituall perſones, which pardon he ſaid

he myght geue without their assent by his great seale, he would be wel aduised or he pardoned them, because he woulde not be noted to be cõpelled to do it: with this answere the speaker and the commons departed very sorowful and pensiue and some lyght persons sayd that Thomas Cromwel whiche was newly come to the fauor of the kynge, had disclosed the secretes of the commons, which thing caused the kynge to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good Prince considered how sorowful his cõmons wer of the answere that he made them, and thought that thei wer not quiet, wherfore of hys owne motion he caused a pardon of the Premunire to be drawen, and sygned it wyth his hand and sent it to the comõ house by Christopher Hales hys atturnay, whiche bill was sone assented to. Then the commons louingly thanked the king, and much praised his witte, that he had denied it to them when they vnworthely demaunded it and had bountyfully graunted it when he perceyued that they sorowed and lamented.

While the Parliament sat, on the.xxx. day of Marche at after none there came into the common house the lord Chauncellour and dyuers lordes of the spiritualtie and temporaltie to the nõber of.xij. and there the lorde Chauncelor sayde, you of this worshipful house I am sure be not so ignorant but you know well that the kyng our soueraygne lord hath maried his brothers wyfe, for she was both wedded and bedded wyth his brother prince Arthur, and therfore you may surely say ẏ he hathe maried his brothers wyfe, if thys mariage be good or no many clerkes do doubt. Wherfore the kinge lyke a vertuous prince willinge to be satisfied in his conscience, & also for the suretie of hys realme hath wt great deliberaciõ cõsulted with great clerkes, and hath sent my lord of London here present to the chiefe Uniuersities of all Christendome to know their opinion and iudgement in that behalfe. And although that the Uniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had bene sufficient to discusse ẏ cause, yet because they be in his realme and to auoyde all suspicion of parcialitie he sente into the realme of Fraunce, Italy hath the Popes dominions and Uenicians to knowe their iudgemente in that behalfe, which haue concluded, written and sealed their determinaciõs according as you shall heat read. Then sir Brian Tuke toke oute of a boxe.xij. writynges sealed, & read thẽ word by word, as after ensueth translated out of Latin into the Englysh tongue.

The determinacion of the uniuersitie of Orleaunce.

Orleaunce. Not lõg syns there were put forth to vs the College of doctors regentes of the Uniuersitie of Orliaunce, these two questiõs that folow. The fyrste, whether it be lawful by the lawe of God for the brother to take to wyfe that woman whom his brother hath left. The seconde, yf this be forbidden by the lawe of God, whether this prohibition of the

lawe

lawe of God may be remitted by the Pope his dispensacion: Wee the forsaid College of doctors regentes accordyng to our custome and vsage came many times together, and did sat diuers times vpon the discussynge of these forsayd doubtes and questions and did examine and way as much as we might diuers & many places both of the old testament and new, and also the interpreters and declarers both of the law of God and the Canon lawe. After we had wayed and considered all thinges exactely and wyth good leysure and deliberacio, we haue determined & cōcluded that these forsaid mariages cannot be attempted
I nor enterprised except a man do wrong and plaine contrary to the law of God: yea and that althoughe it be done by pardon and sufferaunce of the Pope. And in witnes of this conclusion and determynacion we haue caused this present publike writing to be signed by our Scribe of our sayd Uniuersitie, and to be strengthed and fortefyed with the seale of thesame: Enacted in the chapel of our lady Annunciacion, or ỹ good tydynges that she had of Christes commyng in Orleaunce, the yere of our Lorde. M.D.xxix. the.v. day of Apryl.

The determinacion of the facultie of Decrees of the uniuersitie of Paris.

II In the name of the Lorde so be it. There was put forth before vs the Deane and College of the right counsail ful facultie of Decrees of the Uniuersitie of Paris this question. Whither that the Pope myght dispence that the brother myght mary the wyfe that his brother hath left, yf the mariage betwene his brother now dead and hys wyfe were once consummate: we the Deane and College of thesayd facultie after many disputacions and reasons made of bothe sydes vpon this matter and after great and longe turnyng and serching of bokes, bothe of the lawe of God & the Popes law and of the law Ciuil, we coūsayl and say
III that the Pope hath no power to dispence in this forsayde case: In witnes wherof we haue caused this present writing to be strengthed with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our Scribe or chiefe Bedle. Geuen in the congregacion or assemble at saint Jhon Laterenense in Parys the second day of May. M.D.xxx. Lawers of Paris.

The determinacion of Ciuilians and Canonistes of the uniuersitie of Angew.

Not long tyme syns there were purposed vnto vs the Rector & doctors, Regentes in law canon & ciuile of the vniuersitie of Angew these
II ij questions here folowyng, that is to wete, whether it is vnlefull by the lawe of God and the lawe of nature for a man to mary the wyfe of hys brother that is departed wythout chyldren, so that the mariage was consummate: And agayne whether it is lawfull for the Pope to dispence wyth such mariage: We the aforsayd Rector and Doctors haue Angew.

accor-

accoꝛdyng to our custome and vsage many times communed together and syttен to dispute these questions, and to fynde out the certaintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined many and diuers places aswel of the law of God as of the law of man, whyche semed to pertayne to thesame purpose, and after that we had brought foꝛ bothe parties and examined them. All thinges faythfully and after good cõ=science considered and vpon sufficient deliberacion and auisement taken, we defyne and determyne that neyther by the lawe of God noꝛ of nature it is permitted foꝛ any chꝛisten man, no not euẽ with the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, oꝛ wyth anye dispensacion graunted by the Pope to mary the wyfe that his bꝛother had lefte, although hys bꝛother be departed wythout childꝛen, after that the mariage is ouce finished and consummate. And foꝛ wytnes of these afoꝛsayde thinges, we haue cõmaunded our Scribe of our sayd Uniuersitie to signe this pꝛesent publik instrument, & it to be foꝛtefyed wyth the great seale of oure Uniuersitie, Enacted in the chꝛurch of S. Peter in Angew, the yere of our Loꝛde. M. D. xxx. the. vij. day of May.

The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the uniuersitie of Paris.

Paris. The Deane and the facultie of the holye diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom this pꝛesent wꝛiting shall come wysheth safetie in our sauioꝛ Jesu Chꝛist which is the very true safetie: Where of late there is risen a great controuersie of greate difficultie vpon the mariage betwene the most noble Henry the. viij. kyng of England defendoꝛ of the fayth and loꝛde of Jreland. &c. and the noble lady Katherine quene of England, doughter to the Catholike kynge Ferdinand, which mariage was not onelye contracte betwene her and her foꝛmer husband, but also consummate and fynyshed by carnall intermedeling. Thys question also was purposed to vs to discusse and examine accoꝛdyng to iustice and trueth, that is to say, whether to mary her that our bꝛother dead without chyldꝛen had left being so pꝛohibited by the law of God and nature, that it cannot be made lefull by the Popes dispensacyon, that any Chꝛisten man shoulde mary the wyfe that hys bꝛother had left: We thefoꝛesayd Deane and facultie callynge to oure remembꝛaunce, how vertuous and how holy a thynge & how agreable to our pꝛofession, vnto our dutie of loue and charitie, it is foꝛ vs to shewe the waye of Justice and ryght, of vertue and honestie to them whyche desire to leade and passe ouer their life in the law of our Loꝛd wyth sure & quiet coulscience: could not but be ready to satisfie so honest and iust requestes: wheꝛvpon after our old wont, we came together vpõ our othe in the chꝛurch of S. Maturyne, & there foꝛ thesame cause had a solẽpne Masse wyth deuout pꝛayer to the holy Ghost. And also we toke an oth euery man to delyber and to study vpon the foꝛsayd questiõ, as shoulde

be

be to the pleasure of God, and accoꝛding to cõscieuce. And after diuers and many Sessions oꝛ sittinges, which were had and continued in the churche of saynt Maturyn, and also in the college called Sarbone frõ the.viij. day of June to the second day of July. When he had searched and examined through and through wyth as muche diligence as we coulde and with suche reuerence and religion oꝛ conscience as becomneth in suche a matter, bothe the bokes of holy scripture, and also the most appꝛoued interpꝛeters of thesame: Finally the general and synodall counsayles, decrees and constitucions of the sacre & holy churche, which by long custome hath bene receyued and appꝛobate, we the foꝛsayd Deane and facultie disputing vpon the foꝛsayd question and makyng answere to the same, and that after the iudgement and full consent of the most part of thesayd facultie haue concluded and determyned that the foꝛsaid mariage with the bꝛothers wyfe departyng without childꝛẽ be so foꝛbidden both by the lawe of God and of nature, that the Pope hath no power to dispence w̃ such mariages, whether they be cõtract oꝛ to be cõtract. And foꝛ credence, beleue, and witnes of thys our Assercion and determinacion, we haue caused the seale of oure facultie wyth our Notaries sygne to be put vnto this pꝛesent wꝛityng. Dated in our generall congregacion that we kepe by an othe at sainct Maturynes, the yere of our Loꝛd. M.D.xx. the second day of July.

The determinacion of the uniuersitie of Burges in Berry or Biturs.

We the Deane and facultie of diuinitie in the Uniuersitie of Burges, because we will accoꝛding to the example of S. Paule doctoꝛ of ỹ Gẽtiles which doeth likewyse, wyl begyn our wꝛiting with pꝛaier vnto al the beloued of God, among whom you moste deare readers vnto whom we wꝛyte be called, grace peace & quyetnes of conscience come to you from God the father and from our Loꝛd Jesu Chꝛist: while we were gathered together all into one place (in the octaues of Whytsontide) both in body and minde, and were sittyng in the house of the sayd Deane, there was a question put to vs agayne, whiche had bene purposed to vs often tymes befoꝛe, beyng no smal question which was this: Whither the bꝛother taking the wyfe of his bꝛother now dead, and the mariage once consummate and perfite doth a thyng vnlawfull oꝛ no? At the last whẽ we had sought foꝛ the trueth of the thyng and had perceiued and founde it out by much labour and studye of euery one of vs by him selfe, and by much and often turning of holy bokes, euerye one of vs not coꝛrupt, wherby we myght the lesse obey the trueth, begã as the holy gost did put in his mind to geue euery man one arbitrement & sentence which was this. I haue wel perceyued in very trueth wout regard oꝛ respect of any persõ ỹ those persõs which be rehersed in ỹ xviij cha. of ỹ Leuitical lawe, be foꝛbiddẽ by ỹ very law of nature to contract ma-

Burges.

matrimonye together, and that this lawe can in no wyse bee released by any authoritie of any manne, by the whiche there is made an abhominable dyscouerynge of hys brothers foulnes. And this is the signe of oure commen Bedyl or Notarie and the seale of our forsayd facultie put vnto thys present wrytyng the.x. day of June, in the yere of oure Lord. M. D.xxx. And because the fote of our writinge shalbe of one forme and fashyon wyth the head, as we began wyth prayer, so let vs ende after the example of S. Paule that we spake of before, and say, the grace and fauor of oure Lorde Jesu Christe, the charitie and loue of God and the cõmunicacion of the holy Ghost be wyth you all. Amen. f

The determinacion of the diuines in the popes vniuersitie of Bonony.

Bonony.

God best and mightiest taught first the olde lawe & testament wyth his owne mouthe, to forme and fashyon accordynge to loue and charitie, the maners and lyfe of men. And secondarely thesame God dyd take afterwardes manhod vpon hym for to be the redemer of man, and so made the newe lawe or newe Testament not onely to forme and fashyon accordinge to loue and charitie the lyfe and maners of men, but also to take away and to declare doubtes the which did aryse in manye cases whiche when they be once clerely determined shall helpe greately to perfite vertue and goodnes, that is to saye, to perfite loue and charitie. Wherefore we thought it euermore, that it shoulde be our part to folowe these most holy doctrynes and lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightned by the lyght of God aboue, and of the holye ghost, shoulde geue oure sentence and iudgement in hygh and doubtful matters after that we haue once leyserly and sufficientlye taken aduisement vpon the cause, & haue clerely serched out and opened the thing by many reasons & writinges of holy fathers aswel for the one part as for the other, doyng nothynge as nere as we can rashly or wythout deliberacyon. Therfore where certayne great and noble men did instantly desire vs, that we would wyth xxx all diligence possible loke for thys case that after ensueth, and afterwardes to geue our iudgement vpon thesame, accordynge to moste equitie, ryght and conscience, stickynge onely to the trueth: All the Doctors of Diuinitie of this Vniuersitie, when we had euery one by hym selfe examined the matter at home in our houses, came altogether into one place and there treated vpon it many dayes wyth asmuche conning and learnynge as we could, we anon loked on the case together, we examyned it together, we compared all thynge together, we handelyng euery thing by it selfe, dyd trye them euen as you woulde saye by lyne and rule, wee brought forth al maner of reasons, which we thought could be brought xl for the contrary part, and afterward solued them, yea euen the reasons of the moste reuerende father Cardinall Caietayne, yea, and moreouer the Deuteronomy dispensacion of stirrynge vp the brothers seede, and shortly after all maner of reasons & opiniõs of the contrary part, as manye

as semed to belong to thys purpose, and thys question that was asked of vs was this: Whether it was forbydden onely by the ordinaunce of the churche or els by the law of God, that a man myght not marye the wyfe left of his brother departed wythout children: and if it were commaunded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the Pope may dispence with any man to make such mariage: the whiche question nowe that we haue examined it both by your selfe secretely and also openly & diligently and exactely as we could possible, and discussed it after ỹ best maner that our wittes wold serue: we determine, geue iudgemēt and
x say, and as stifly as we can we witnes and without anye doubt do stedfastly hold that this mariage should be horrible, accursed & to bee cried out vpon and vtterly abhominable not onlye for a christen man, but for an infidele, vnfaythfull or heathen. And that it is prohibite vnder greuous paynes and punishementes by the lawe of God, of nature and of man, & that the Pope, though that he almoste may do all thinges, vnto whom Christ did geue the keyes of the kingedom of heauen, hathe no power to geue a dispensacion to any man for to contract suche a mariage for any maner of cause, consideracion or suggestion: And all we bee ready at al tymes and in all places to defende and maintayne the truth
xx of this our conclusion. In witnes wherof we haue made thys present writing, and haue fortefied the same both with the seale of our vniuersitie and also with the seale of oure College of Doctors of Diuinitie & haue subscribed and signed wyth our general & accustomed subscripcion in the Cathedral churche of Bonony the. x. day of June, the yere of our Lord. M. D. xxx.

The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the uniuersitie of Padua in Italy.

Thei that haue written for the maintenaunce of the catholick faith
xxx affirme that God best and mightiest did geue the preceptes & cōmaundementes of the olde law with hys owne mouthe, to be an example for vs, wherein we might se howe we should order oure lyfe and maners, and this God had done before he became manne: and after that he had put vpon hym our manhode and was become redemer or byer of mākynde. He made the newe lawe or Testament, and of his mere liberalitie dyd geue it vs, not onely for the cause aforsayde, but also to take away & declare all maner of doubtes and questyons that myght aryse, the which once opened & declared what their very true meaning is to thentēt that therby we myght be made perfitly good, which be greatly
xl fruytful to vs & holsome: and seyng that this was the mynd of God in makyng these lawes, it hath ben our entent & euermore shalbe, as it becōmeth christen men to folow these most solēpne ordinaūces of ỹ moste high workmayster God, & the help of hys light, ỹ is aboue the capacitie of nature, to vtter our iudgement in al maner of doubtes & harde questions

stions. After we had once considered the thing after the best maner, & had by sufficient leysure made it clere by many euident reasons of both parties, and by many aucthorities of the fathers of the Church, determinyng nothyng as nere as we can, rashely or wythout conueniēt deliberacio. Seyng therfore that certain great Orators or ambassadors did humbly require and pray vs, that we would voucheſafe and serche out with all the diligence that we could this case folowing & afterwardes to geue our sentence vpon thesame, plainly & symply loking onelye on the trueth. After the Doctors of diuinitie of this Uniuersitie came together, and that we had euery man examined the thinge particnlerly in our owne houses, and haue beaten it with all learnynge and connyng that we were able: Anon when we wer together, we considered examined and wayed all thinges by them selfes, and brought in al maner of reasons, which we thought might by any meanes be made to the cōtrary, and without al colour or cloke dyd wholy & clerely dissolue thē and take them away. And amongest al, the dispensacion by the lawe of Deuteronomy of styrryng vp the brothers sede, & al maner other reasons and determinacions to the contrarie, that semed to vs to pertain any thing to that purpose, we vtterly cōfuted & dispatched them. And the question that is put to vs, is this: Whether to mary the wife of our brother departed wythout chyldren is forbidden only by ỹ lawe of the church or by the law of God also: and yf it be forbidden by bothe these lawes, whether the Pope may dispence w̄ any mā for such matrimony or no: which question now that we haue discussed it, and as farre as we could, haue made it clere, both priuately euery man by hym selfe & after al togethers opēly, we say, iudge, decree, witnes & for a truth affirme ỹ such mariage is no mariage, yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euery christen man, and to be abhominate as a greuous sinne. And that it is as clearely as can be forbidden vnder moste cruel penalties by the lawes of nature, of God and of man: And that the Pope, vnto whom ỹ keyes of the kyngdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispēce by the right and law for any cause, suggestion or excuse, that anye suche matrimony shoulde be contracte. For those thinges which be forbidden by the law of God be not vnderneth hys power, but aboue it, nor he is not the Uicar of God as concernyng those thinges, but only in such thynges as God hath not determyned him selfe in his law, but hath lefte them to the determinacion and ordinaunce of man. And to maintayne the trueth of this our sentence and conciusion, and for moste certayne and vndoubted defence of thesame, we al of one minde and accorde shall at al tymes and in euery place bee redy. In witnes wherof we haue made this writing & haue authorised it with the accustomed seale of our Uniuersitie and also of our College of diuines, Dated at Padway in the Churche of the Hermites of saint Austen the first day of July, in the yere of our Lord M.D.xx.

The

¶ The Determinacion of the Vniuersitie of Tholose.

There was treated in our vniuersitie of Tholose a very harde que-
stion: Whether it be lefull for the brother to marye her whiche had ben
wyfe to his brother now departed, and that without chyldren. There
was beſyde this another thyng that troubled vs very ſore: Whether,
yf the pope which hath the cure of Chriſtes flocke would by his diſpen-
ſacion (as men call it) ſuffre this, that then at the leaſt wyſe it myght be
lawfull. The Rector of the Vniuerſitie called to counſell all the Doc-
tors regētes that were that tyme at Tholoſe for to ſhew their myndes
xx on this queſtion, & that not once, but twyſe: For he iudged that coun-
ſell geuyng ought not to be haſted nor doone vpon head, & that we had
neede of tyme and ſpace to doo anye thynge conueniently & as it ought
to bee. At the laſt there came togither into one place all the beſt learned
and connyngeſt doctors, both of holye diuinitie, and alſo doctors that
were beſt learned in bothe lawes, yea, and finally as many as had anye
experiēce in any matter & wer able to do any thing either by iudgemēt
& diſcreſion, or by eloquence or their excellent wyttes. And there dyd
ſwere that they woulde obey the ſacre & holy counſels, & would folowe
the Decrees of ỹ Fathers, which no man that hath any good cōſcience
xx wyll violate or breake. And ſo euery man ſayde hys minde, and the
matter was debated & reaſoned diffuſely & at large for bothe partes.
In concluſion, we fel ſo faſt to this poynte, that this was the ſentence &
determinacion that oure Vniuerſitie, with one boyce of all, dyd deter-
mine and conclude with moſte pure and cleare conſcience and defiled
with no maner of leuen or corrupcion: That it is lawfull for no man,
neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take her to wyfe
that his brother hath left: And ſeeynge that it may not be done by the
law of God nor of nature, we anſwered all: That the Pope can loſe no
man from that lawe nor diſpence with him. And as for that thinge can
xxx not be contrary to our ſentence & verdyct: that the brother in olde time
was compelled by ỹ lawe of Deuteronomy to mary the brothers wyfe
departed without iſſue: For this law was but a ſhadowe and a fygure
of thinges to come, which vanyſhed away aſſone as euer the lyght and
trueth of the Goſpell appeared: And becauſe theſe thynges be thus,
we haue geuen our ſentence after this forme aboue, and haue cōmaun-
ded the ſame to be ſygned by our Notary which is our ſecretory, and to
be fortified and auctholiſed by the puttyng to of our autenticall Seale
of our Vniuerſitie aforeſayde, at Tholoſe the Calendes or fyrſt daye of
Octobre, the yere of our Lorde a thouſand. v. C. xxx.

xl After theſe Determinacions were read, there wer ſhewed aboue an
hundreth bookes drawen by Doctors of ſtraunge Regions, whiche all
agreed the Kynges Mariage to be vnlefull, whiche were not read, for
the day was ſpent. Then the Chauncellor ſayd: Now you of this com-
men houſe may reporte in your coūtryes what you haue ſeene & heard
and then all men ſhall openly perceyue that the kyng hath not attemp-

ted this matter of wyll or pleasure, as some straūgers reporte, but only for the discharge of his cōscience & suretie of the successiō of his realme: This is the cause of our repaire hyther to you, & now we wyll departe.

When these Determinacions were publyshed, all wyse men in the Realme moche abhorred that mariage: but women, & such as wer more wylfull then wyse or learned, spake agaynst the Determinaciō, & sayed that the Uniuersities were corrupte & entysed so to do, which is not to be thought. The kyng him selfe sore lamented his chaunce & made no maner of myrth nor pastyme as he was wont to do, & dyned & resorted to the quene as he was accustomed, & minished nothynge of her estate, & and moch loued & cherysshed their doughter the Lady Mary: but in no wyse he woulde not come to her bed. When Ester began to draw nere, the Parliament for that tyme ended, and was prorroged till the last day of Marche, in the nexte yere.

The Acte of Poysonyng.

In the Parliament aforesayde was an Acte made, that whosoeuer dyd poyson any persone, shoulde be boyled in hote water to the death: which Acte was made bicause one Richard Roose, in the Parliament tyme had poysoned diuers persons at the Bisshop of Rochesters place, which Richard, according to the same Acte, was boyled in Smythfeld the Teneber wednisday followyng, to therrible example of all other. xx

An earthquake.

This winter season, on the. xxvj. day of Janyuer, in the citie of Luxborne in Portingale, was a wonderous Earthquake, which destroied many houses and towers, and slew many people by fallynge downe of the same, the kynges Palace shoke so, that he and the Quene, and the Ladyes fled out of their Palace, without any seruauntes, and sought succour where they myght get it, & sodeinly the quaking ceassed: Then the Rockes opened, and out synange the water, that the shippes in the hauen were lyke to haue perysshed: Thē the earth quaked agayne, and dyd more harme then before, and at nyght it ceassed: of whiche Earthquake, many men were murthered and destroyed. xxx

Message sēt to ỹ Quene.

When the vniuersitie aforesayd, & a great nombre of clerkes & well learned men had determined the kynges mariage to be vnlawfull, detestable, & agaynst Gods lawe, as you haue heard, the kynge willyng the quene to haue knowledge of the same, sent to her dyuers Lordes of the coūcel the last day of Maie beyng the wednisday in Whitson weke: the which Lordes, in her chaumbre at Grenewyche, declared to her all the Determinaciō as you haue hearde, & asked her whether she would for the quyetnesse of the kynges conscience, put the matter to. iiij. Prelates, & .iiij. temporall Lordes of this Realme, or abyde by her appele. The Quene answered: The kyng my father which concluded my mariage, I am sure, was not so ignorant but he asked councell of clerkes & well learned men before he maryed me the second tyme: for yf he had had eny doubte in my maryage, he woulde not haue disbursed so great a treasure as he dyd, & then all Doctors in maner agreed my maryage to be good, in so moche that the Pope hym selfe, which knew best what

was

was to be dooen, dyd both dispence and ratified my seconde mariage, agaynste whose doynge I meruayle that anye persone wyll speake ozwyte: And as to the Determinacion of the vniuersitie. I am a womā and lacke wytte and learnyng to aunswere to them, but to God I commit the iudgemēt of that, whether thei haue done iustly oz percially: foz this I am sure, that neither the Kynges father, noz my father woulde haue condiscended to our Mariage yf it had ben declared to be vnlawfull: and where you saye that I shoulde put the cause to.viij. persones of this Realme foz quyetnes of the Kynges conscience, I pzaye God
x sende his grace a quyet conscience, and this shalbe your answere: That I say I am his lawfull wyfe, and to hym lawfully maryed, and by the ozdze of the holye Churche I was to hym espowsed as his trew wyfe, although I was not so wozthy, and in that poynte I will abyde tyl the cowzte of Rome which was pzeuy to the begynnng haue made therof a determinacion and finall endyng. With this answer the Lozdes departed to the Kyng, whiche was sozye to heare of her wylfull opinion, and in especiall that she moze trusted in the Popes law, then in kepyng the Pzeceptes of God.

The Kynge lyke a politike Pzince, perceyued that the Merchaunt
xx straungers, and in especiall, Italians, Spanyardes, & Pozтyngales daily brought Dade, Dyle, Sylke, Clothes of Golde, Ueluet, & other Merchaūdyse into this Realme, and therfoze receyued ready money, which money they euer deliuered to other merchauntes by exchaunge & neuer employed the same money on the cōmodities of this Realme, so that therby the Kyng was hyndered in his Custome outwarde, and also the commodities of his Realme were not vttered, to the greate hynderaunce of his subiectes: wherefoze he caused a Pzoclamacion to bee made in Mydsomer Tearme, accozdynge to an olde Estatute A Pzoclamacion of Exchaunge.
xxx made in the tyme of Kynge Rycharde the second: That no persone should make any exchaunge contrary to the trew meanyng of the same Acte and Estatute, vpon payne to be taken the kynges moztall enemy, and to fozfayte all that he myght fozfayte. After this Pzoclamacion, many clothes and other commodities of this Realme were well solde, but shoztly after Merchauntes fell to exchaunge agayne, and the Pzoclamacion was shoztly fozgotten.

The Kyng after Whytsontyde and the Quene remoued to Wyndsoze, and there continued tyll the.xiiij. daye of Julye, on whiche daye the Kynge remoued to Woodstocke and lefte her at Wyndsoze, where she laye a whyle, and after remoued to the Mooze, and afterwarde to
xl Estamstede: and after this day, the Kyng and she neuer saw together. Wherfoze the Commen people dailye murmured and spake their folysh fantasies. But the affayzes of Pzinces be not ozdered by the commen people, noz it were not conuenient that all thynges were opened to theim.

After this, the kyng sent certayne Lozdes to the Queene to Estam-

stede to aduyse her to be conformable to the lawe of God, and to shewe vnto her, that all the Vniuersities had clearely determyned, that the Pope coulde in no wyse dispence with her Mariage, and therefore the Dispensacion to whiche she most trusted of all, was clearely voyde and of none effect. These, wyth manye mo causes and aduysementes were declared to her, whiche nothynge moued her at all, but styll she sayde: Truly I am the kynges trew wyfe, and to him maryed: and yf all Doctors were dead, or lawe, or learnyng so farre out of mannes mynde at that tyme of our maryage, yet I can not thinke that ỹ courte of Rome and the whole Churche of Englande would consent to a thing vnlaw- r
full and detestable (as you call it) but styll I say I am hys wyfe, and for him wyll I pray. With this answer the Lordes departed, and came to the kyng and made report as you haue hearde.

This mariage was not alonly talked of in England, but in Fraunce Spayne, Italye, yea, thorough all Christendome in maner, and especially in the Emperours Courte, in so muche as a great Marques of Spayne sayde to syr Nicholas Heruy knyght beyng the kynges Ambassader in themperours Cowrte at Gaunte: My Lorde Ambassador of Englande, I meruayle not a lytell why the kyng your Maister dalyeth so with themperours Aunte, she is dissended I assure you of a no- rr
ble bloode & hye Parentage, themperours Maiestie may not nor wyll not suffre soche iniurye to be doone to hys bloode and lynage, that she shoulde whole .xxij. yeres & more serue him as hys wyfe and bedfelow and now to reiecte her, what Princely maner is that, therein is neither loue nor loyaltie: For yf a poore verlet had so longe serued a Prince, what herte coulde haue then reiected hym or put him from hym: it can not be sayd that your kyng is well counselled: the matter is moch meruayled at amongest Christen Princes & thynke her not to be honestly handeled nor honorably: And if it be so that she be not his wyfe (bicause she was once his brothers wyfe) as your Doctors saye and affirme, rrr
then no man can excuse your kynge nor saye but that she hath ben euyll handeled, and kepte lyke a Concubine or Paramour for the bodely appetite, which is a great spotte, shame, & rebuke to her and to her whole lynage, which spot no wayes can be sponged out nor recompenced, for shame in a kynred can by no treasure be redemed: Yf the kynge youre Maister remembre well this matter, he shal fynde that it transcendeth farre aboue the losse of erthly possessyons, I woulde he woulde be better aduysed.

An Answer. The Englysh Ambassador answered: My Lorde, my cõmission extẽdeth not to answer this matter, but to enforme you of ỹ truth, I wyll rl
somewhat say besyde my commission: Fyrst I say to you that the kyng my maister neuer ment in this matter but honorably, truly, and vertuously bothe for the pleasure of God and the profyte and surety of hys Realme, nor neuer was nor shall be anye Prince that euer was better contented & pleased with a woman then he hath ben wyth her, nor neuer

uer Prince more loued, cherished, nor honoured a woman, thē the kyng my Maister hath dooen her, & woulde with herte, mynde, and wyll her styll keepe as his wyfe, yf Goddes lawe woulde suffre it: My Lord, yf you remembre well all thynge, you shall fynde that thys doubt was fyrst moued in the Councell of Spayne, when the Emperour and the kyng of Englande were agreed, that themperoure shoulde marye the Ladye Marye the kynges Doughter: Upon that communicaciō this doubte was put to the Emperours Councell, whether she were the kynges lawfull Doughter or not, because it was well knowen that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

This matter was not so secrete but it spred into the councell bothe of Fraunce and Flaunders, to the great defamacion of the kynge of Englande, & to the great vncertaintye of the succession of his Realme: whereof when he was aduertysed, I thynke neuer Prince tooke it more sorrowfully nor more dolently, and for satisfiynge of hys conscience, he called hys Cleargye and felte their opinions, and not trusting his owne subiectes onely (whych I ensure you be excellently lerned) sent to all the Uniuersities of Fraunce, Italye, and dyuers other Realmes to know their iudgementes in this case, and surely the kynge my master sore lamenteth his chaunce and bewaileth the time myspent yf it so succede, for then is hys Realme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his body, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a Prince: The Mariage was well ment bothe of the kynges father & the Quenes father, & they maried together by the aduyce & councel of their frendes, and so louyngly continued together as manne and wyfe without any scruple or doubte, till you of Spayne moued fyrst the question & put the maryage in ambiguitie, and therfore you can not wyth honour thynke but ỹ the kyng hath done lyke a wyse Prince to searche out the solucion of your doubte which so neare toucheth his soule & the suretye of his Realme: And all thynge that he hath done he hath done by great aduysement and wyth a great deliberacion, wherfore no reasonable man can saye, but he hath done lyke a wyse & vertuous Prince. The Marques hearynge this aunswere sayde, that the kynge dyd wysely to trye the truthe, and was somewhat ashamed of that that he had spoken, as I was informed by them that were present.

You haue heard before howe the Cleargye in their Conuocacion had graunted to ỹ kynge the somme of one hundreth thousand pounde to be pardoned of the Premunire, for leuiynge of the whyche summe, euery Bysshop in his Dioces called before him all the Priestes as well chauntrie and paryshe Priestes as Persones and Uycars, amongest whom, Doctor Jhon Stokesley Bysshop of London, a man of greate wytte and learnyng, but of lytle discresion and humanitie (whiche caused hym to be out of the fauoure of the commen people) called before hym all the Priestes within the Citye of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of Septembre beyng fridaye,

in the Chapiter house of Sayncte Paull, at whyche daye the Prieſtes appeared, and the Byſshoppes policye was to haue onely ſyxe or eight prieſtes together, and by perſuaſions to haue cauſed them to graunte ſome porcion towarde the payment of the forſayd One Hundreth. M pounde, but the nombre of the Prieſtes was ſo greate, for they were ſyxe hundreth at the leaſt, & with them came many Temporall men to heare of the matter, that the Byſshoppe was diſapoynted of hys purpoſe: for when the Byſshoppes Officers called in certayne Prieſtes by name into the Chapiter house: wyth that, a great nombre entered, for they putte the Byſshoppes Officers that kepte the dore a ſyde. x
After this the officers got the dore ſhut againe: then the prieſtes without ſayde: We wyll not be kepte without, & our fellowes be within: we knowe not what the Byſshoppe wyll doo with them. The Temporall men beyng preſent ſtomaked and conforted the prieſtes to enter, ſo that by force they opened the dore, and one ſtrake the Byſshoppes Officer ouer the face and entered the Chapiter house and many temporall men with them, and long it was or any ſylence coulde be made: and at laſte when they were appeaſed, the Byſshop ſtoode vp and ſayde: Brethern, I meruayle not a lytell why you be ſo heddy and knowe not what ſhall be ſayde to you, therfore I praye you to keepe ſylence and to heare me
The biſhopes ſaiyng. xx
pacyently: My frendes all, you knowe well that wee bee men fraile of condicion and no Angels, and by frayltie and lacke of wyſedome wee haue miſdemeaned our ſelfe toward the kyng our Soueraygne Lord and his lawes, ſo that all wee of the Cleargy were in the Premunire, by reaſon wherof, all our Promocions, Landes, Goodes and Catelles were to hym forfayte and our bodyes readye to be enpriſoned, yet his grace moued with pittie and compaſſyon, demaunded of vs what wee coulde ſay why he ſhoulde not extende his lawes vpon vs, then the fathers of the Cleargye humbly beſought his grace of mercye, to whom he anſwered that he was euer enclyned to mercy: then for all our great xxx
offences we had lytel penaunce, for where he might by the rygor of his law haue taken all our lyuelod, goodes & catels, he was cõtented with one hundreth thouſand pounds to be payde in fyue yeres: & although that this ſõme be more then we maye eaſelye beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we ſhoulde haue borne the whole burdeyne: Wherefore my brethren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liuelod and ſalary towarde the paymẽt of this ſomme graunted. Then it was ſhortely ſayde to the Byſshoppe: My Lorde, twentye nobles a yere is but a bare lyuynge for a prieſt, for nowe victayle and euery thynge in maner is ſo deare, that pouertie in maner enforceth vs to saye naye: xl
beſyde that, my Lord we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medeled neuer with the Cardinals faculties, let the Byſhoppes and Abbottes whych haue offended paye. Then the Byſshoppes officers gaue to the prieſtes hyghe woordes, whyche cauſed them to be the more obſtinate. Alſo dyuers temporall men whych were preſent conforted the

Prieſtes and bade theim agree to no payment. In this rumor, dyuers of the Byſhoppes ſeruauntes were buffeted and ſtryken ſo that the Byſhop begannie to be afrayde, and with fayre woordes appeaſed the noyſe, and for all thynges which were done or ſayde there he pardoned them and gaue to them his bleſſyng and prayed them to departe in charitie. And then they departed thynkyng to heare no more of ỹ matter, but they were diſceyued, for the Byſhop went to ſyr Thomas Moore then beyng Lorde Chauncellor (whych greatly fauoured the Byſhop and the Cleargye) and to hym made a greuouſe complaynte and declared the facte very greuouſly, where vpon commaundemēt was ſent to ſyr Thomas Pargitor Mayer of the Citie, to attache certaine prieſtes and temporall men, and ſo. xv. prieſtes and. v. temporall men were arreſted, of the whych, ſome were ſent to the Tower, ſome to the Fleete, and other Priſons, where they remayned long after.

In this ſeaſon were dyuers Preachynges in the Realme, one contrarye to another concernyng the Kynges Maryage, and in eſpeciall one Thomas Abell clerke, bothe preached and wrote a Booke, that the Mariage was lawfull, whiche cauſed many ſymple men to beleue hys opinion: This Abell was the Queenes Chaplayne, and wrote thys
xx Booke to pleaſe her withall: wherfore the Kyng cauſed a Determinacio of the Vniuerſities, & all the iudgementz of grēt Clerkes to be compyled into a Booke and to be Printed, whiche Booke dyd ſatisfye the myndes of al indifferent & diſcrete perſons: but ſome men were percial that neither learnyng nor reaſon coulde ſatiſfy their wyllfull myndes.

This yere the Kynge kepte his Chriſtemas at Grenewyche wyth great ſolempnitie, but all men ſayde that there was no myrthe in that Chriſtemas becauſe the Queene and the Ladies were abſent.

After Chriſtemas the. xv. daye of January the Parliament began to ſytte & amongeſt dyuers grieſes which the Commons were greued
xxx with, they ſore cōplayned of the crueltie of the Ordinaries, for callynge men before them *Ex officio*: that is, by reaſon of ther office: For the Ordinaries woulde ſende for men and ley Accuſacioas to them of Hereſye, and ſay they were accuſed, and ley Articles to them, but no Accuſer ſhould be brought furth, whiche to the Commons was very dredefull and greuous: for the partie ſo Aſſited muſt either Abiure or be burned, for Purgacion he myght make none.

When this matter and other Exactions done by the Clergy in their Courtes were long debated in the Common Houſe, at the laſte it was concluded & agreed, that all the grieſes which the temporall men were
xl greued with, ſhoulde be putte in writyng and delyuered to the Kyng, whiche by great aduyce was done: wherfore, the. xviij. day of Marche the Common ſpeaker accompanyed with dyuers Knyghtes and Burgeſſes of the Common Houſe came to the Kynges preſence, and there declared to hym how the temporal men of his Realme were ſore agreued wyth the cruell demeanoure of the Prelates and Ordinaryes,

which touched bothe their bodyes and goodes, all whyche griefes, the Speaker delyuered to the kyng in wrytynge, most humbly besechyng his grace to take soche an order & direction in that case, as to his hygh wysedome myght seme most conuenient. Further he beseched the king to consider what payne, charge and coste, his humble subiectes of the nether house had susteyned syth the begynnynge of thys Parliament, and that it woulde please his grace of his Princelye benignitie to dissolue his courte of Parliament, that his subiectes myght repayre into their countreys.

When the kynge had receyued the Supplicacion of the Commons, he paused a whyle and then sayde: It is not the office of a kyng which is a Judge to be to lyghte of credence, nor I haue not, nor wyll not vse the same: for I wyll heare the partie that is accused speake or I geue any sentence: your booke conteyneth diuers Articles of greate & weyghtye matters, and as I perceyue, it is agaynste the Spirituall persones and Prelates of oure Realme, of whiche thynge you desyre a redresse and a reformacion, whyche desyre and request is mere contraryant to your last Peticion: For you requyre to haue the Parlyament dissolued and to departe into your countreys, and yet you would haue a reformacion of your griefes wyth all diligence: Although that youre payne haue ben great in tarynge, I assure you myne hath ben no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes is to me a pleasure: therefore yf you wyll haue profyte of your complaynte, you must tary the tyme, or els to be without remedy: I moche cõmend you that you wyll not contende nor stand in stryfe with the Spirituall men, whiche be youre Christen brethren, but moche more me thynketh that you shoulde not contende with me that am youre Soouereygne Lorde and kyng, consideryng that I seke peace and quyetnesse of you: For I haue sent to you a byll concernynge wardes and primer season, in the which thynges I am greatly wronged: wherfore I haue offered you reason as I thynke, yea, and so thynketh all the Lordes, for they haue set their handes to the booke: Therfore I assure you, yf you wyll not take some reasonable ende now when it is offered, I wyll serch out the extremitie of the lawe, and then wyll I not offre you so moche agayne: with this answere, the Speaker and his company departed.

The kynges saiynge.

The cause why the kyng spake these wordes was thys: Dayly men made Feoffementes of their landes to their vses, and declared their wylles of their landes with soch remaynders, that not alonly the kyng but all other Lordes lost their Wardes, Mariages and relieffes, and the kyng also lost his primer season, & the profyte of the lyuerey, which was to hym very preiudiciall and a greate losse: wherefore he, lyke an indifferent Prince, not willyng to take all, nor to lose all, caused a byll to be drawen by his learned councell, in the whyche was deuysed, that euery manne myght make his wyll of the halfe of hys lande, so that he lefte the other halfe to the heyre by discent. When thys Byll

came

came fyrst amonges the Commons, lorde how the ignorannt persones were greued, & howe shamefully they spake of the byll and of the Kynges learned Councell: but the wyse men which vnderstoode & sawe the myschiefe to come, woulde gladly haue had the byll to be assented to, or at the least to haue put the kynge in a suretye of the thyrde or fourthe parte, which offer I was credebly informed the kyng woulde haue taken: but many frowarde and wylfull persones, not regardynge what myght ensue (as it dyd in deede) woulde neither consent to the byll as the Lordes had agreed & set to their handes, nor yet agree to no reasonable qualificacion of the same, whiche they sore repented: For after this, the kyng called the Judges and best learned men of his Realme, and thei disputed this matter in the Chauncery, and agreed that lande coulde not be wylled by the ordre of the common law, wherupon an act was made, that no man myght declare his wyll of no parte of his land: which Acte sore greued the Lordes and Gentlemen that had manye chyldren to setfurth. Therfore you may iudge what myschiefe cōmeth of wylfull blyndnesse and lacke of forsyght in so great causes.

This Parliament was prorroged tyll the tenth day of Apryll, in the whiche Parliament was an Acte made, that Byshops shoulde paye no more Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope: for it was opēly proued that there was payed for ỹ Bulles of Byshopes, in the fourthe yere of Kyng Henry the seuenth, the kynges father, tyll this yere, one hundreth thre score thousand pounde sterlyng, besyde al other Dispensacions and Pardones, wherof the summe was incredible.

When the Parliament was begonne agayne after Ester, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chauncellour, the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Oxforde, Northumbrelande, Rutlande, Wylshyre and Susser, and after they were set, the Lorde Chauncellor declared, howe the kynge was aduertised by hys Councell, and in especiall by the Duke of Norffolke, howe on the Marches betwene Englande and Scotlande was very lytell habitacion on the Englysh syde, but on the Scottyshe syde was great habitacion, and the Scottes dwelled euen iuste on the border, by the reason wherof they inuaded England dyuers tymes, and dyd to the kynges subiectes great hurte and displeasure: wherefore the kynge entended to make dwellyng houses there, and also to make new diuers Pyles and stoppes to let the Scottysh men from their inuasions, to the great commoditie of all his people there dwellyng. whych thynges coulde not be doone without great coste: Wherefore conslideryng the kynges good entente, he sayde, that the Lordes thoughte it conueniente to graunte to the kynge some reasonable ayde towarde hys charges, and prayed the Commons to consulte on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the cōmons cōsidering ỹ kynges good entent, louingly graūted to him a.xb. toward his charges, but this graūt was not

not enacted at this Sessyon, bicause that sodeinly began a Pestilence in Westmynster, wherfore the Parlyament was proroged tyll the next yere.

In this yere was an olde Tolle demaunded in Flaunders of Englyshmen, called the Tolle of the Hounde, whiche is a Ryuer and a passage: The Tolle is. xij. pence of a Fardell. This Tolle had ben often tymes demaunded, but neuer payed: in so muche that Kyng Henry the seuenth, for the demaunde of that Tolle, prohibited all hys subiectes to kepe any Marte at Antwerpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be kepte at Calyes: at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Tolle shoulde neuer be demaunded, so that the Englyshmen woulde resorte agayne into the Dukes countrey, and after that, it was not demaũded tyll now: Wherefore the Kyng sent Doctor Knyght and other to Calyes, and thyther came themperours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspence for a tyme.

We haue heard before how the kyng had purchased the Bysshope of Yorkes place, whiche was a fayre Bysshops house, but not meete for a kyng: wherefore the kyng purchased all the medowes about sayncte James, and all the whole house of S. James, and ther made a fayre mansion and a parke, & buylded many costlye and commodious houses for great pleasure.

Now muste I declare to you a noble enterprise, although it wer not doone in England, yet bicause diuers Englyshmen were at that auenture, I wyll declare it as the Lorde Master of the Religion of Saynt Jhons wrote to the Lorde of sayncte Jhons in Englande: The Lorde Master of ỹ Religion, lamentynge sore the losse of the Rodes, whych he thought not sone to be recouered, consydered that the Turke helde the towne of Modon whiche standeth on the See syde, and is a fayre Porte, and woulde haue gladlye had that towne oute of the Turkes possession, called to him a trusty seruaunt of hys, called Caloram, which was well langaged, and to hym declared, that he woulde haue hym to sayle to Modon, and to dwell there as a Turke vnknowen, and yf he might by any meanes to come into seruice with Mallie de Huga, which was Capitayne there. Caloram answered, that to go thyther for the accomplyshyng of the Lord masters desyre, he was very well content, but to come in seruyce and fauoure wyth the Capitayne, muste come in processe of tyme and by continuaunce, and that not wythout great expence: The Lorde Maister promysed hym sufficient treasure and a great rewarde: When Caloram was perfectly enstructed in all thyng he toke his leaue & came priuely to Modon, & there dwelled, & within shorte space he was the Capitayns seruaunt, & for his great diligence was with his maister in great fauoure. Then he wrote to the Lorde Mayster all thynge, and assertayned hym that hys entent coulde not take effecte hastely, but bade hym euer be readye. Thys matter thus contynued twoo yeare, in whyche tyme Caloram well perceyued how

howe the towne myght be taken, and therefore wrote to the lord Master, whiche shortly came to a place called Mucollutea. The Turkes haue a condicion in August & September, to resorte into the countrey to see the fruytes, and to solace theim selfe, wherfore the Lord Master appoynted the Prior of Rome and the Turcuplyar of England to bee Capitaynes of this enterprise, and with them were. lx. knightes of the Religion, and. vij. C. & fyftye souldiers in. vj. Galyes and Brigantes, and passed in the Cape Blanke in the lande of Calaber, the. xviij. day of August, and there they ankered: and from that place they myght sayle
x lx. myle to Modon, vnder the hylles of Stroffadees. And in the waye they stopped all theshippes that passed toward Modon: & from thence they sent woorde to Caloram, which sent them woorde, not to be to hastye: for the Uenicians had reported in Modon, that ỹ Galeyes of the Religion were on the see: and also a Capitayne of the Turkes, called Frombylam was come to Modon with. ij. C. horsmẽ to bew the towne so that Caloram was in great feare of his enterprice. But the same nyght there came to Modon a Gripe or small vessell, in the which were thre knyghtes of the Religion all in marynors arrey, and there sought for fresh water and other victails necessary, which knightes spake with
xx Caloram, and the same day the Capitayne Frombylam departed from Modon. Then Caloram sent worde to the Capitaynes, that he trusted that their iourney shoulde be well sped: which knightes departed and came to the Capitaynes, whiche wysely assembled all their people at a Roade called Stroffades, and there declared their commission of their Lord Master, and also shewed Caloroms letters, whereof euery man was greatly cõforted to know what enterprise they went about. Then it was appoynted that the Prior of Rome shoulde fyrst entre and take the gate of the principall tower, and the Turkeiplier with. vj. Englishe knyghtes were appoynted to defende the Nolle or Pere at the hauen
xxx mouthe: and to euery gate was a Capitayn appoynted with a nombre for the gates of the towne and the Fortresses were well knowen to the Religion of S. Jhon Baptist. When all this ordre was appoynted, the Galies disancored & came to the Ile of Sapience. iij. myle from Modon. All this whyle Caloram was in great feare, tyll ỹ two Capiteins sent a vessell called a Gripe, & in her. iij. C. men: Thei wer no soner entered the peere, but the Turkes came a borde & asked for ỹ merchaunts (for all the men wer apparelled lyke Mariners) they answered that ỹ Merchauntes which had the charge wer gone a land into the towne, & sayde thei would bring them to the Merchauntes, & that al their mer-
xl chaũdise was good wodde, which thyng the Turkes moch desyre: So the christẽ knyghtes lyke mariners went with the Turkes, which wer to the nombre of. xiij. entending to begyn their enterprise, & some went toward the tower, and some went toward the gate followyng the. xiij. Turkes, & after them issued all the souldiers out of the Gripe, & so with force thei got ỹ gate, & after ỹ the nolle or pyre, & on that set a banner Modõ take.

of the

of the Religion to the which Caloram helped moch: with that came all the Galyes and landed. Then began a terrible slaughter of all partes, the Turkes fled, and the Chriſten men followed, and the Capitaynes tooke the walles, and from thence Caloram lead them to the house of Melyze Huga, in whiche house was a greate strength: For his house was lyke a Fortresse or tower, whych ioyned to the walle of the towne, out of which was a Posterne, wherof issued out certayn Turkes which askryed the Chriſtē men abrode in the countrey. But in the meane season the Chriſten men assauted the sayde Fortresse, whiche was sore defended: and there the Prior of Rome was by a hackbush slayn, whyche chaunce made the Cristen men more furious, & slew in the towne. iij. C. Turkes and aboue. Then they blew to retreite & councelled together & well perceyued that they coulde not kepe the towne excepte thei had the fortresse or tower, which they could not obtayne without a Siege, and then they had no ordinaunce nor people ynough, therfore they determined to take their most aduauntage by pyllage, and so spoyled the towne & toke. viij. C. prisoners & sent them to the Galyes. And when the Turkes saw the Chriſten men styl pylfer (as the vsage of souldiers is) they issued out of their holde & fortresse & fought with the Chriſten men boldely in the stretes, so that the stretes ranne bloode in ỹ canels, for the fyghte was sore: and euer the Turkes came in at the posterne by askry, and assauted the Chriſten men, which valiauntly defended them and for all the Turkes power came to their Galies with their pray & prisoners, and came to the Ile of Malto wyth all their bootye, not leesyng. xl. persones in all their iourney, whereof the Lorde Master was moche reioyced & well rewarded Caloram, which also came with them to Malto. This enterprise was dooen on a sonday, beynge the. xviij. day of August, the yere of our Lord a thousand, fyue hundreth, thyrtie and one, and this. xxiij. yere of his Reigne.

After this enterprise, the. xxij. daye of September, dyed lady Loyse Dutchesse of Angulesme and mother to the Frenche kyng, a wyse and a sad Lady: whereof the kynge beynge aduertised, caused a solempne Obsequye to be made and kepte for her in the Abbey of Waltham in Essex, at the whiche solempnytie, the Kynge and a great nombre of the Nobles & Prelates of the Realme wer present in mournyng apparell at the kynges coste and charge.

The.xxiiij.yere.

IN the begynnynge of this. xxiiij. yere the Ladye Anne Bulleyne was so moche in the kynges fauoure, that the commen people whiche knewe not the kynges trew entent, sayd and thought that the absence of the Quene was onely for her sake, which was not trew: for the kyng was openly rebuked of Preachers for kepyng company with hys brothers wyfe, which was thoccasyon that he eschued her cōpanye, tyll the truth wer tryed.

The

The last date of Aprill the parliamẽt sittyng, the kyng sent for Thomas Awdeley, Spekar of the common house, and certaine other, and declared to thẽ, how they had exhibited a boke of their greues the last yere against the Spiritualtie, whiche at their requestes, he had deliuered to his spirituall subiectes, to make aunswere there to, but he could haue no aunswere, till withm thre daies last past: which aunswer he deliuered to the Spekar, saiyng, we thynke their aunswere will smally please you, for it semeth to vs very slender, you bee a greate sorte of wysemen, I doubt not but you wyll loke circumspectly on the matter, and we wyll be indif-
x ferent betwene you And for a truth their aunswere was very Sophisticall, and nothyng auoydyng the greues of the laye people: And farther the kyng saied, that he maruciled not a litle, why one of the Parliament house spake openly, of the absence of the Quene frõ hym, whiche matter was not to be determined there, for he saied it touched his soule, and wisshed the matrimony to be good, for then had he neuer bene vexed in consience, but the docters of the vniuersities saied he, haue determined the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, whiche grudge of consience, caused me to abstein from her compaignie, and no toliche or wanton appetite: for I am saied he. xli. yere old, at whiche age the lust of man
xx is not so quicke, as in lustie youth: and sauyng in Spayne or Portyngall it hath not bene sene, that one man hath maried twoo sisters, the one beyng carnally knowẽ before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife was so abhorred amongest all nacions, that I neuer hearde it, that any Christen man did it, but my selfe: wherfore you se my consience troubled and so I praye you reporte: so the Spekar departed, and declared to the commons the kynges saiyng, bothe of the Spirituall mennes aunswere, and also concernyng the kynges mariage, which slight aunswere displesed the commons.

The occasion why the kyng spake of his mariage, was because one
xxx Temse in the common house, moued the commons to sue to the kyng, to take the Quene again into his compaignie, and declared certain greate mischiefes, as in bastardyng the Lady Marie, the kynges onely chylde, and diuerse other inconuenences, whiche woordes were reported to the kyng, whiche was the cause that he declared his consience.

The. xi. daie of Maie, the kyng sent for the Spekar again, and. xii. of the common house, hauyng with hym eight Lordes, and saied to theim, welbeloued subiectes, we thought that ỹ clergie of our realme, had bene our subiectes wholy, but now wee haue well perceiued, that they bee but halfe our subiectes, yea, and scace our subiectes: for all the Prelates at
xl their consecracion, make an othe to the Pope, clene contrary to the othe that they make to vs, so that they seme to be his subiectes, and not ours, the copie of bothe the othes, I delyuer here to you, requiryng you to inuent some order, that we bee not thus deluded, of our Spirituall subiectes. The Spekar departed, and caused the othes to be redde in the common house, the very tenor wherof ensueth.

Othe to the Pope.

I Jhon Bishop or Abbot of A. frō this houre forward, shalbe faithefull and obedient to samct Peter, and to the holy Churche of Rome, and
" to my lorde the Pope, and his successors Canonically entrying, I shall
" not be of counsaill nor consent, that they shall lese either life or member,
" or shall bee taken, or suffre any violence, or any wrong by any meanes,
" their Counsaill to me credited, by theim their messyngers or letters, I
" shall not willyngly discouer to any person: the Papacie of Rome, the ru-
" les of the holy fathers, and the Regalie of sainct Peter, I shall help and
" retain, and defende against all men: the Legate of the Sea Apostolicke,
" goyng and commyng I shall honourably entreate, the tightes, honors, x
" priuileges, authorities of the Churche of Rome, and of the Pope and
" his successors. I shall cause to bee conserued, defended, augmented, and
" promoted, I shall not bee in counsail, treatie, or any acte, in the whiche
" any thyng shalbe imagened against hym, or the Churche of Rome, there
" tightes, states, honors, or powers. And if I knowe any suche to bee mo-
" ued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as sone as I can, I
" shall aduertyse hym, or suche as maie geue hym knowlege. The rules of
" the holy fathers, the Decrees, Ordinaunces, Sentences, Dispolicions,
" Reseruacions, Prouisions, and Commaundementes Apostolicke, to my
" power I shall kepe and cause to be kept of other: Heretickes, Sismati xx
" kes, and rebelles to out holy father and his successors, I shall resist and
" persecute to my power, I shall come to the Sinode, when I am called,
" except I bee letted by a Canonicall impediment, the lightes of the Apo-
" stles I shall visite yerely personally, or by my deputie, I shall not alien
" nor sell my possessions, without the Popes Counsaill: so God me helpe
" and the holy Euangelistes.

Othe to the Kyng.

I Jhon Bysshop. A. vtterly renounce and clerely forsake, all suche clauses, woordes, sentences, and grauntes, whiche I haue or shall haue
" here after, of the Popes holines, ot and for the Bysshopricke of. A. that in
" any wise hath bene, is or hereafter maie bee hurtefull, or preiudiciall too xxx
" your highnes, your heires, successors, dignitie, priuilege, or estate royall:
" and also I dooe swere, that I shalbe faithfull and true, and faithe and
" truth I shall beare to you my souereigne lorde, and to your heires kyn-
" ges of thesame, of lyfe and lymme, & yearthly worshipe aboue all creatu-
" res, for to liue and die with you and yours, against all people, and dili-
" gently I shalbe attendant, to all your nedes and busynes, after my wytt
" and power, and your counsaill I shall kepe and holde, knowlegyng my
" selfe to hold my bysshoprycke of you onely, besechyng you of restitucion of
" the temporalties of thesame, prompsyng as before, that I shalbe faithe-
" full, true, and obedient subiect to your saied highnes heires, and succes- xl
" sors during my lyfe, and the seruices and other thynges dewe to youre
" highnes, for the restitucion of the Temporalties, of thesame Bisshoprike
" I shall truely dooe and obediently perfourme, so God me helpe and all
" sainctes.

The openyng of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within

within two yere folowyng, lost all his iurisdiccion in Englande, as you shall here afterward. The xiiij. daie ỹ parliament was proroged, till the iij. daie of February next ensuyng. After whiche prorogacion, syr Thomas More Chaunceller of England, after long sutes made to the kyng to be discharged of that office, the. xvi. daie of Maie, he delyuered to the kyng at Westminster, the greate Seale of Englande, and was with the kynges fauour discharged, whiche Seale the kyng kept till Whitsontide folowyng, and on the Mondaie in Whitson weke, he dubbed Thomas Awdeley, Spekar of the parliament knight, and made hym lorde keper of the great Seale, and so was he called.

Thomas Awdeley keper of the great seale

The kyng beyng in progresse this Sommer, was aduertised that the Pope and the Frenche kyng, had appoynted to mete at Marcelles in Prouince, in the begynnyng of the nexte Sprynge, wherefore the kyng like a wise and pollitike prince thought it conuenient to speake with the Frenche kyng in his awne persone, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to hym bothe the determinacion, of the Vniuersities and Doctors, concernyng his Matrimonie, and also the generall cõsailes, whiche ordeined suche causes, to be tried in the prouinces and countreis, where the doubt should rise; trustyng that the Frenche kyng should cause the Pope to encline to Goddes lawe, and to leaue his awne tradicions, and voyde dispensacions, whereupon bothe the princes concluded, to mete in October folowyng, betwene Calice & Bulleyn: wherefore the kyng of Englande sent out his letters, to his nobilitie, prelates, and seruauntes, commaundyng them to bee ready at Cantorbury, the xxvi daie of September, to passe the Seas wyth hym, for the accomplishyng of the enteruew, betwene hym and his brother the Frenche kyng. Many men were sory to here, that the kyng should passe the sea in Winter, and specially in October, when the seas be rough, but their sayynges letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Ampthill to Wynsore where on Sundaie beyng the furste daie of September, he created the lady Anne Bulleyn, Marchiones of Penbroke, and gaue to her one thousand pound lande by the yere, and that solempnitie finished, he rode to the College to Masse, and when the Masse was ended, a newe league was concluded & sworne, betwene the kyng and the Frenche kyng, Mesire Pomeray the Frenche Ambassador then beyng present. After whiche othe taken, Doctor Fox the kynges almer, made an eloquent oracion in Latin, in praise of peace, loue, and amitie: whiche dooen the trumpettes blewe, and the kyng returned to the Castell, where was kepte a solempne feast. From thence the kyng remoued to Grenewyche, and so forward to Cantorbury, where at the daie appoynted, he found ready furnyshed, all suche as were commaunded to passe the Sea with hym, well and tychely adorned, bothe they and their seruauntes.

A new league

The. x. daie of October, the kyng came to Douer, and on the. xi. daie in the mornyng beyng Fryday, at three of the clocke, he tooke shippyng in Douer rode, and before. x. of the clocke the same daie, he with the lady

Marchiones of Pembroke, landed at Caleis, where he was honorably receiued with procession, and brought to sainct Nicholas churche, where he hard Masse, and so to his place called Therchequer, where he lodged And on the Sondaie after came to Caleis, the lorde Roche Baron, and Monsire de Mountpesat, messengers frō the French kyng, aduertisyng the kyng of England, that the French kyng would repaire to Abuile the same night marchyng towarde Bulleyne, of whiche tidynges the kyng was very glad: but sodaynly came a messenger, & reported that the great Master of Fraunce, and the Archebyshoppe of Roan, with diuerse noble men of Fraunce, were come to Sandifeld, entendyng to come to Caleis, x to salute the kyng, from the kyng their Master. He beyng thereof aduertised, sent in greate hast the.xv. daie of October, the Duke of Norffolke the Marques of Excester, the Earles of Oxford, Darby, and Rutlande, the lorde Sandes, and the lorde Fitzwater, with.iii. C. gentelmen, which honorably receiued the French lordes, at the Englishe pale, and so brought them to the kynges presence in Caleis, which stode vnder a riche clothe of estate of suche value that they muche mused of the ryches. The kyng (as he that knewe all honor and nurture) receiued the Frenche lordes, very louyngly and amiably, and with thē toke a daie & place of metyng: these lordes were highly feasted, & after diner departed to Bullein. xx

While the kyng lay thus in Caleis, he vewed the walles, towers, and Bulwerkes, and deuised certain newe fortificaciōs, for the maintenance and defence of the toune. The toune of Caleis had at this season.xxiiii. C. beddes, and stablyng for.ii.M. horses, beside the villages adiacent.

The.xx. daie of this moneth, the kyng beyng aduertysed, that the Frēche kyng was come to a village called Marguilō, nigh to the Englyshe pale, marched out of Caleis the next daie after, accompaigned with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and with the Marquesses of Dorcet and Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Derby Rutlande, Huntyngdon, and Sussex, and diuerse Viscountes, Barons, xxx Knightes of the Garter, and Gentelmen, freshely appareled, and richely trymmed, and so passed toward the place, appoynted for the enteruewe, leuyng behynd thē the greatest part of the yomen in Caleis, because that Bulleyne was to litle for bothe the traynes. For the Frenchemen saied their train was.xx.M. horse, whiche caused the Englishemen to cast many perelles, and especially because it was bruted abrode, that the Frenche kyng should saye, the kyng of Englande was once his enemie, and maintened the Emperor and the duke of Burbō against hym, and nowe he was become his moost frende. The rehersyng of these olde grudges, many Englishmen suspected, and very lothe that the kyng should go to xl Bulleyne, but the kyng continued still in his iorney, and came to Sandyngfelde, and a lytle from that place in a baley, was the Frenche kyng nobely accompaigned, with three hundred horse, and not muche more. The kynges train waued on the lefte hande, to geue the Frenche kynge and his train the right hande: lykewyse did the Frenche part, to geue the

English

Englishemen the right hande:so the two kynges with all louely honour
met with bare heddes,and embraced other in luche fashion, that all that
beheldе them retoyled. The kyng of Englande was appareled,in a cote The kynges apparell.
of greate riches, in braides of golde laied lose on Russet Veluet, and set
with Traifoyles,full of pearle and stone. The Frenche kyng was in a
coate of crimosin veluet,all to cut,lined with Tender clothe of gold pluc-
ked out through the cuttes. The noblemen on both parties,were richely
appareled, and as was reported, the Frenche kyng saied openly to the
kyng of Englande:syr you be thesame persone, that I am moste bounde
x to in the worlde,and sithe it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I The saiyng of the French kyng.
am bound in persone to seke you,and for the very frendship,that I haue
found in you, I am yours and will bee,and so I require you to take me,
and with that put of his bonet:the kyng of England soberly answered.
If euer I did thyng to your likyng I am glad, & as touchyng the payn
to come hether to se you, I assure you it is my greate comforte, yea, and
I had come farther to haue visited you. Then the kynges embraced the
lordes and estates,as the French kyng the lordes of Englande, and the
kyng of England,the lordes of Fraunce,and that done,they set forward
toward Bulleyne,and in ridyng they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to
xx the Kytes,whiche made to theim greate sporte. And in a baley beyonde
Sandyngfeld,the kyng of Nauer met the kynges,and there they a ligh-
ted and dranke,and after that they mounted on horsebacke, & with hau-
kyng and other princely pastyme,they came nere to Bulleyn,where on a
hill stode ranged in a faire bande, the nomber of fiue hundred menne on
horsebacke,of whom the chief were,the Frenche kynges three sonnes,the
Dolphyn,the Duke of Orleaunce,and the Duke of Angulesme,and on
them gaue attendaunce,the Admirall of Fraunce,and thre Cardinalles
with diuerse other nobles of Fraunce: these three Princes matched for-
warde,and welcomed the kyng of Englande, whiche theim well beheldе
xxx and louyngly them receiued,as he that could as muche nurture, as any
Prince that euer was. Then the Frenche kyng saied to his children opē-
ly: My children, I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as
muche bound,as to me your naturall father,for he redemed me and you
from captiuitie:wherfore on my blessyng I charge you, to be to hym lo-
uyng alwaies. The kyng of Englande ceased the Frenche kynges tale,
and embraced the young Princes,eche after other: all their three appa-
relles were blacke Veluet,,embraudered with siluer of Damaske. Then
all these noble compaignie came to Bulleyne, where was a greate shot The kynges commyng to Bulleyn.
of Artillery, for on the one syde they shot great pellettes, whiche made a
xl greate noyse:then these twoo Princes offered at our Lady of Bulleyne,
and the Frenche kyng brought the kyng of Englande to his lodgyng,
in the Abbay directly against his awne lodgyng, where the kyng of En-
glande had diuerse chambers, the vtter chamber was hanged with faire
Arras, and another chambet was hanged with grene Veluet, embrau-
dered with Vinettes of gold,and fret with flowers of Siluer, and small

twigges of wzethen wozke, & the myddle of euery pane, oz pece, was a fable of Ouid in Hatamozphoseos embzaudered, and a clothe of estate of thesame wozke, balanced with frettes, knotted and langettes tasseled w Uenice gold and syluer: and in this chamber was hanged a great bzaūche of siluer percell gilte, to beare lyghtes. Then was there an inner chāber, hanged with ryche clothe of gold of tissue, and the rofe siled with the same: the. iiii. chamber was with veluet, and hachementes of armes, and diuises of nedle wozke, very connyngly wzought. Euery man was appoynted to his lodgyng (whiche there was very straight) accozdyng too his degree, and great chere was made to al the Englishemen: the pouls- x ters, Larders, Spicereis, and Sellars of Wine were all open, and lykewyse Hay and Litter, and al other thinges, aske and haue and no man durst take any money, foz the Frenche kyng paied foz all.

The Frenche kyng caused twoo gounes to be made of white Uelues, pzicked with gold of damaske, and the capes and bentes, were of frettes of whipped golde of damaske very ryche, whiche twoo gounes he sent to the kyng of Englande, pzaynge hym to chose the one, and to weare it foz his sake, whiche gladly toke it, and so that Tewesdaie, the twoo kynges were bothe in one suite: thesame night the French kyng made to the king of Englande a supper in his chamber, whiche was hanged with Arras, xx and siled ouer with riche silke, and two clothes of estates were set vp, one at the one ende, & the other at the other ende, the one clothe was embzaudered with the image of an old man, and a woman with a naked child in her arme, and the woman gaue the old man sucke of her bzest, and about was wzittē in French: *Better it is children wantonly to wepe, then old men for nede to perishe* On the other clothe of estate, was embzaudered the sunne goyng doune of fine gold, and a beast theron, the hed couered with a helme, and a cozonall of a dukes estate, the beastes body was al perle, & the cloth was crimosyn satten. A riche cupbozd was set vp of plate, with a great nōber of peces of the newe fashion. iiii. great bzaunches hong in the chāber, all of xxx siluer & gilt, which bare tozches of white waxe, al the gētlemen of Fraūce made thenglishemen great chere, and serued them of delicate viandes.

In the Churche of Bulleyne was a Trauerse set vp foz the Frenche kyng, open on euery side, sauyng it was siled with blewe veluet, embzaudered with flower Delices golde. the pillers were hanged with thesame wozke: On the Frenche kynges right hand, was another trauerse syled, and coztened all of white Satten, embzaudered with Cables cast, of cut clothe of gold, embzaudered and gilted after the fashion that Mariners cast their topes: this trauerse was valensed of like woozke, and fringed with fine gold. Daily the kynges heard their Masses in these trauerses xl and commonly they went together to Masse. Diuerse tymes the kynges communed together in counsaill, and some tyme in the mozning, oz the pzinces were stirring, their coūsailes met, and sat together a great whyle.

While the kyng of Englande, lay thus at Bulleyn, the Frenche kyng to shewe hymselfe louyng to the noble men of Englande, the. xxv. daie of

October

October, called a Chapiter of the compaignions of his Ordre, called Sainct Michell, of whom the kyng of Englande was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and Charles Duke of Suffolke, to bee compaignions of thesaied Ordre, whiche were brought into the Chapiter, and had there Collers deliuered to theim, and were swoine to the Statutes of the Ordre, their obeysaunce to their souereigne Lorde, alwayes reserued: whiche Dukes thanked the Frenche kyng, and gaue to the Officers of Armes twoo hundred Crounes a pece. All this season the Frenche kyng and his court were freshe, and his garde were appare-
x led in frockes of blewe Crimosyn, and yelowe veluet. With the Frenche kyng was the kyng of Nauer, the Dolphyn of Vien, the Dukes of Orliaunce, Angulesme, Vandosme, Guise, Longuile, the Erles of Sainct Paule, Neuers, Estampes, Lauall, and many other Erles and Barons and the prince of Melffe, foure Cardinalles, and eleuen bishoppes with their traines and resort, whiche surely was a greate compaignie: so continued these twoo kynges at Bulleyn, Mondaie, Tewesdaie, Wednesdaie, and Thursdaie, and on Fridaie the.xxv. daie of October, they departed out of Bulleyn to Calice: the Frenche kynges train was twelue hundred persones, and so many horse or more, and without Calice twoo
x mile, met with them the Duke of Richemond, the kynges bastard sonne of England, a goodly young Prynce, and full of fauoure and beautie, with a greate compaignie of noblemen, whiche were not at Bulleyne, so the Duke with his compaignie, enbraced the Frenche kyng, and so dyd other noble men, then the lordes of England set forward, as the Dukes of Rychemond, Norfolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Exeester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester, Rutland, Sus-
sex, and Huntyngdon, the Viscountes of Lisle, and Rochford, the Byshoppes of London, Wynchester, Lyncolne, and Bathe, the lorde Wyl-
liam Haward, the lorde Matrauerse, the lorde Mountacute, the lord Cob-
xx ham, the lord Sandes, the lorde Bray, the lorde Mordãt, the lorde Leonard Grey, the lorde Clynton, & sir William Fitzwillyam knight, treso-
rer of the kynges house, and sir William Paulet, Cõptroller of thesame with a greate nomber of knyghtes, besyde the lustie Esquires and yong gentlemen. These noble personages and gentlemen of England, accompaignied the Frenche Lordes to Newnam Bridge, where as Thomas Palmer, capitain of the fortresse, with a faire compaignie of souldiours saluted the kynges, and so they passed towarde Calice: Where at their commyng, that what out of the Toune and the Castle, and what out of Ricebanke, and the Shyppes in the Hauen, the Frenche men saied they
xl neuer heard suche a shotte: And when they were entered the Wille gate, all the Souldiours of the Toune, stoode on the one syde, apparelled in Redde and Blewe, and on the other side of the stretes, stoode all the ser-
uyng menne of Englande, in coates of Frenche Tawney, with their lor-
des and Masters diuises embraudered, and euery manne a Scarlette cap and a white fether, whiche made a goodly shewe: there were lodged

in Caleis that night, beside the toune dwellers, eight thousand persones at the least. The kyng of England brought the French kyng to his lodging, to the Staple in, where his chamber was hanged with so rich bedoze, as hath not bene sene, the ground of it was gold and damaske, and all ouer the tuffes and flowers, were of Satten Sylke and Syluer, so curiously wrought that they semed to growe, euery chamber was rycher and other: the second chamber all of Tissue, with a clothe of estate of nedle worke, set with great Roses of large pearle. The third was hanged with Ueluet, vpon veluet pirled grene and Crimosyn, and embraudered ouer with braūches, of flowers of gold Bullion, and garnyshed with armes and beastes of thesame gold, set with pearle and stone. Jf the Frenche kyng made good chere to the kyng of Englande, and his trayne at Bulleyne, J assure you he and his traine, were requited at Caleis, for the plentie of wylde foule, Uenison, Fishe, and all other thinges whiche were there, it was marueil to see, for the kynges Officers of England, had made preparacion in euery place, so that the Frenchemen were serued, with suche multitude of diuerse fishes, this Fridaie and Saterdaie, that the masters of the Frenche kynges houshold, muche wondered at the prouison. Jn likewise on the Sondaie, they had al maner of flesshe, foule, spice, Uenison, bothe of falowe Dere and redde Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was thenglishe man that might well entertain the Frenche man: the lordes of Fraunce neuer fetched their viandes, but they were sent to them, and often tyme their proporcion of victaill was so abundaunt, that they refused a greate parte thereof.

The first Chamber.

The seconde Chamber.

The thirde Chamber.

the trauerses. While the kynges were thus in Caleis, they roade euery daie to saint Marie Churche, where were set twoo trauerses, the one for the Frenche kyng, whiche was Crimosyn Uelvet, replenished with greate Roses of massy Bullion of fyne golde, and the seede of thesaied Roses were great orient pearle, and about euery Rose, was a wrethe all of pearle and stone whiche trauerse was muche wondered at by the Frenchemen: the other trauerse of blewe Uelvet and clothe of Tissue, raised with flowers of siluer paned, al the blewe Uelvet was embroudered with knottes, and subtle draughtes, of leaues and braunches, that fewe men could iudge the cunnyng of the worke manship. The sundaie at night, the Frenche kyng supped with the kyng of Englande, in a chamber hanged with tissue, reised with siluer, paned with cloth of siluer, reised with gold, and the semes of thesame were couered with brode wrethes, of goldsmithes worke, full of stone and perle. Jn this chamber was a coberd of. vii. stages hygh, all of plate of gold, & no gilt plate, beside that there hong in thesaid chamber x. braunches of siluer & gilt, & x. braunches al white siluer, euery braūche xl hangyng by a long chain of thesame sute, beryng. v. lightes of waxe. To tell the ryches of the clothes of estates, the basens & other vessels whiche was there occupied. J assure you my wit is insufficiēt, for there was nothyng occupied that night, but al of gold. The French kyng was serued iii. courses, & his meat dressed after the Frēch fashion, & the kyng of Englande

The Supper made to the French kyng.

gland had like courses after thenglishe fashion, the first coutle of euery kyng was. xl. dishes, the second. lx. ỹ third. lxx. which wer costly & pleasant.

After supper came in the Marchiones of Penbroke, with. vii. ladies, in Maskyng apparel, of straunge fashion, made of clothe of golde, compassed with Crimosyn Tinsell Satyn, owned with clothe of Syluer, lying lose and knit with laces of gold: these ladies were brought into the Chamber, with foure damoselles apparcled in Crimosyn sattyn, with tabardes of fine Cipres: The lady Marques tooke the Frenche kyng, and the Countes of Darby, toke the kyng of Nauer, and euery lady toke a lorde, and in daunsyng the kyng of Englande, toke awaie the ladies visers, so that there the ladies beauties were shewed, and after they had daunsed a while they ceased, and the French kyng talked with the Marchiones of Penbroke a space, & then he toke his leaue of the Ladies, and the kyng conueighed hym to his lodgyng: Thesame night the Duke of Norfolke feasted all the nobles of Fraunce, beyng there in the castle of Caleis, with many goodly sporles and pastymes.

xl On the Wondaie beyng Symon and Judes daie, there dyned with the kyng of England, the kyng of Nauer, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, and the greate Master, & Admirall of Fraunce, on whiche daie the kyng of Englande, called a Chapiter of the knightes of the Gartier, at whiche Chapiter the Frenche kyng ware the blewe Mantel of the ordre, because he was of thesame ordre, and there were elected, Annas Memorancie erle of Beaumont, greate Master of the Frenche kynges house, and Phylip de Chabbot erle of Newblanke, greate Admirall of Fraunce, whiche had to them their Collers and Garters deliuered, for the which they rendered to the kyng greate thankes.

xxx The morowe after beyng the thirtie daie of October, the two kynges departed out of Caleis, and came nere to Sādyngfeld, and there alyghted in a faire grene place, where was a table set, and there the Englishemen serued the Frenchemen of wyne, Ypocras, fruite, & spice abondantly. When the two kynges had cōmuned a litle, they mounted on their horses, and at the very enteryng of the Frenche grounde, they toke handes, and with Princely countenaunce, louyng behauor, and hartie wordes, eche embraced other and so there departed. The kynges departure.

While the kyng of Englande was in the Frenche kynges dominion, he had the vpper hand, and likewise had the Frenche kyng, in his dominion, and as the Frenche kyng paied, all the Englishemens charges at Bulleyn, so did the kyng of England at Caleis, so that euery thyng was recōpensed: sauyng that the kyng of England, gaue to the French kyng, xl diuerse precious Iuelles & great horses, and to his nobles great plentie of plate, for the which I could neuer heare, that he gaue the kyng of Englande any other thyng, but the white goune, as you haue hard, but to the lordes of the kynges counsaill, he gaue certain plate and chaines.

When the kyng was returned to Calice, many gentlemen tooke shyp to saile into Englande, but the wynd was so contrariant, that diuerse of them

them were dziuen backe again into Calice, and diuerse into Flaunders, and in Nouember rose suche a Wynde, of the Nozth and Nozth Weste, that all the shippes in Caleis hauen, were in great ieoperdy, and in especial the Hoyes, at whiche season was such a spzyng tide, that it bzake the walles of Holland and Zelande, and dzouned diuerse tounes in Flaunders in so muche that the water rose thzee foote aboue the wharfe, where the Key stode in Andwerpe: this stozme continued till the fourth daie of Nouember, but for all that the wynd chaunged not. The eight daie rose suche a Wynde tempest and Thonder, that no man could conueniently sitte in the streates of Caleis: muche lamentacion was made for theim that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knewe what was become of theim. On Sondaie the wether was faire, the kyng caused his bedde and other thynges to be shypped, and entended to departe, but sodainly rose suche a mist, that no Master could guide a ship, and so he taried that daie. On Tewesdaie at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Douer the morowe after, beyng the.xiiii. daie of Nouember, at. v. of the clocke in the mozning, wherefoze the Saterdaie after, was song *Te deum* in the Cathedzall Churche of sainct Paule in London: the Lozde kepet of the great Seale, the Maioz of London, and diuerse other noble and sad persones (whiche made their abode in London, for the gouernaunce of the realme in the kynges absence) beyng pzesent. The kyng after his returne, maried pziuily the lady Anne Bulleyn, on sainct Erkenwaldes daie, whithe mariage was kept so secrete, that very fewe knewe it, til she was greate with childe, at Easter after.

The kyng maried to Lady Anne bulleine

When the kyng should passe ouer the sea, he cõsidered that the Scottes had robbed his subiectes, bothe by sea and land, and that no redzesse was made for thesame, imagined that in his absence, they would attempt some outragious enterpzise against his people, wherfoze like a pzudent pzince to be in a suretie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with thze hundzed tall menne to Barwicke, to defende the inuasions of the Scottes. The Scottes hearyng of his commyng, came into Nozthumberlande, by the middle marches, and came to a place called Fowbery, and in their iozney fired certain villages and returned. Sir Arthur Darcy hearyng of this aucnture was nothyng contente. Nowe at this season there laie at Berwicke, Archibald Doglas Erle of Angus, whiche had maried the Quene of Scottes, the kynges syster, and was banished Scotlande and she was from hym diuozsed, and maried to another. The Scottes bragged of their enterpzise, and saied that sir Arthur had bzought them good lucke, and said, that he and the Erle of Angus, slepte well in Batwicke: they hearyng of this bzagge, made a roade with.iiii. C. men into Scotland, & set a village on fire: then shozтly assembled together.viii.C. Scottes. When thenglishmen perceiued the Scottes, they caused their trompet to blowe a retreate, and the Erle and xx with hym, shewed hym self on a hill, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpette blewe at their backes, so that the Scottes thought that there had bene.ii. compaignies

gnies, whiche caused the Scottes to flie, and the Englishemen folowed, and slewe a greate nomber, and toke many prisoners, and brought them to Berwicke, the twentie date of October.

The kyng this yere kepte his Christemas at Grenewyche, and after Christmas sir Thomas Awdeley, Lorde keper of the great Seale, was made Chauncellor of Englande, and when the Parliament beganne, because the office of the Spekar was voyde, Hufrey Wyngfeld of Grais Inne, was elected Spekar of the parliament, whiche was presented according as you haue heard, of the other Spekar before. In the whiche Parliament was made an acte, that no persone should appeale for any cause out of this realme, to the Courte of Rome, but from Commissarie to the Byshoppe, and from Byshop to the Archebishop, and from Archebyshop to the kyng and all causes of the kyng, to bee tried in the vpper house of the Conuocation. And in thesame parliament was enacted that Quene Katheryn should from thence furth, be no more called quene, but princes Dowager, of prince Arthur.

Sir Thomas Awdeley made Chauncellor.

In this Sommer season last past, died Willyam Watham Archebyshoppe of Cantorbury, and to that Byshoprick was named, Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kynges chappelain, a man of good learnyng, and of a verteous lyfe, whiche also not long before, was the kynges Ambassadour to the byshop of Rome, whiche was consecrate in Lent.

xl

xxx

After the kyng perceiuing his newe wife Quene Anne, to bee greate with childe, caused all officers necessary, to bee appoynted to her, and so on Easter euen, she went to her Closet openly as Quene, with all solempnitie, and then the kyng appoynted the daie of her Coronacion, to bee kept on Whitsondaie next folowyng, and writynges were sent to all Shriues, to certifie the names of menne of fourtie pounde, to receiue the Order of knighthod, or els to make a fyne: the assessement of whiche fines, were appoynted to Thomas Cromwell, Maister of the kynges Iuell house, and counsailer to the kyng, and newly in his hygh fauour, whiche so pollityquely handeled the matter, that he raised of that sessyng of fines, a great somme of money to the kynges vse: Also the kyng wrote letters to the citie of London, to prepare pagiauntes, against thesame coronacion.

¶ The.xxv.yere.

xl

THe kyng in the beginnyng of this.xxv.yere, kepte the daie of sainct George, at his Manor of Grenewiche, with great solempnitie, and the Courte was greatly replenished, with lordes, knightes, and with Ladies and Gentelwomen, to a great nomber, with all solace and pleasure. You haue hard the last yere, how the parliament had enacted, that no person should after a date, appele to Rome for any cause, whatsoeuer it were, and that the Quene now, called the Princes Dowager, had appeled to the Court of Rome, before the Acte made, so that it was doubted, whether that appeale

pele were good or not. This question was well handeled in the Parliament house, but muche better in the Cõuocacion house, but in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by bookes shewed, that in the Counsailes of Calcedone, Affricke, Toletane, and diuerse other famous Counsayles in the primitiue Churche, yea, in the tyme of sainct Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, & determined, that a cause risyng in one Province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarke of Constantinople, should medle in causes moued in the iurisdiccion of the patriarke of Antioche, nor no bishop should entermit, within anothers prouince or countrey: which thinges were so clerkely opened, so connyngly set furth, to all intentes, that euery man that had witte, and was determined too folowe the truth, and not affeccionate nor wylfully wedded to his awn mind, might plainly se that al appeles made to Rome, were clerely voide and of none effect: whiche doctrines and counsailes, were shewed to the lady Katherine prynces Dowager, but she (as women loue to lose no dignitie) euer continued in her old song, trustyng more to the Popes partialitie, then to the determinacion of Christes veritie. Wherupon the Archebyshop of Cantorbury, accompanied with the bishoppes of London, Winchester, Bathe, Lyncolne, and diuerse other great clerkes, in a great nomber roade to Dunstable, which is syx myle from Ampthil, where the xx
Prince Dowager laye, and there by a doctor called doctor Lee, she was
sited to appere before thesaied Archebyshoppe, in cause of Matrimonie, in thesaied toune of Dunstable, and at the daie of apparaunce she would not appere, but made defaute, and so she was called peremptorie,
The kyng & quene Katherine, diuorsed. euery daie .xv. daies to gether, and at the laste for lacke of apparaunce, and for contumacie, by thassent of all the learned men there beyng present, she was diuorsed from the kyng, and their Mariage declared to bee voyde and of none effecte, whiche sentence geuen, the Archebyshop and all the other, returned whether it pleased them.

After whiche diuorse sued, many wise menne saied, that the kyng was xxx
not well counsailed, to mary the lady Anne Bulleyne, before the diuorse were adiudged, for by maryng before the firste mariage was dissolued, they said, that the second mariage might be brought in question, and verely they saied true, for so it was in the monethe of Maie, three yere folowyng, as you shall here after, when I come to the tyme. Of this diuorse euery man spake, as his discrecion and witsedom was, for wise men said that it was Godly and honorably done, for the discharge of the kynges conscience, and profitable for the suretie of the realme, and that God loued this mariage, considerynge that the newe Quene, was so sone with chylde. Other saied that the byshop of Rome would curse all Englishe- xl
men, and that themperor and he, would inuade the realme, and destroye the people, and specially the Spanyardes bosted muche, but thankes be to God, their doinges were muche lesse then their wordes: but after euery man had talked inough, there was no more communyng of the matter, but all was in peace.

A

A litle before this tyme was there a worshipfull esquier in Glocester shyre called Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton whiche made in his wyll that he would no funerall pompe at his buriyng, neither passed he vpon Masse, and farther sayd that he trusted in God onely & hopyng by hym to be saued and not by no saint. This gentleman dyed, and his sonne as executor brought the wil to the bishop of Cauntorbury to proue, which he shewed to the cõuocacion and there vnaduisedly they adiudged hym to be taken out of the ground and to be brent as an heritike, and sent a commission to doctor Parker chauncelor of the dyoces of Worcester to execute their sentence, whiche accomplished the same. The kyng hearyng his subiect to be exhumate & brent without his knowlege or order of his lawe sent for the Chauncelor and layde the high offence to hym, whiche excused him by the archebishop of Caũtorbury whiche was late dead: but in conclusion it cost hym.CCC.pound to haue his pardon. But yet for a farther trueth to be knowē of this gentelmans death, and the cruell ignorauncye of the bishoppes, I haue here expressed his wylle worde by worde as foloweth.

Wyllyam Tracy.

In the name of God Amen, I Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton in the countie of Gloucester esquier make my Testament & last wille as hereafter foloweth. Fyrst and before all other thinges I commit me vnto God and to his mercy, beleuyng without any doubt or mistrust that by his grace and the merites of Jesus Christ, & by the vertue of his passion and of his resurrecton I haue and shal haue remission of my sinnes and resurrection of body and soule according as it is written, I beleue that my redemer lyueth, and that in the last day I shall ryse out of the yearth and in my flesche shall see my sauior, this my hope is layde vp in my bosome. Iob.xix.

And touchyng the wealth of my soule, the fayth that I haue taken & rehersed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other mannes worke or workes. My ground and belefe is, that there is but one God and one mediator betwene God and man, whiche is Jesus Christ, so that I accept none in heauen nor in yerth to be mediator betwene me and God: but onely Jesus Christ, all other be but peticioners in receiuyng of grace, but none hable to geue influence of grace. And therefore will I bestowe no part of my goodes for that entent that any man should say, or do, to helpe my soule, for therin I trust onely to the promises of God: he that beleueth and is baptized shal be saued, and he that beleueth not shalbe damned. Marke.xvi.

As touchyng the buriyng of my body, it auaileth me not whatsoeuer be done therto, for saint Augustine sayeth de cura agenda pro mortuis that the funerall pompes are rather the solace of them that liue, then for the welth and comforte of them that are ded, and therefore I remitte it onely to the discrecion of myne executors.

And touching the distribucion of my temporall goodes, my purpose is by the grace of God to bestowe them, to be accepted as the fruites of

fayth,so that I do not suppose that my merite is by good bestowyng of them but my merite is the fayth of Jesus Chryst onely, by whom suche
Mayth.xxv. wozkes are good accozdyng to the wozdes of our lozde: I was hungry and thou gauest me to eat.&c.and it foloweth,that ye haue done to the least of my bzethzen ye haue done it to me.&c. And euer we should consider the true sentence, that a good wozke maketh not a good man, but
Roma.xiiii. a good man maketh a good wozke:foz fayth maketh the mã both good and righteous, foz a righteous man liueth by fayth: and whatsoeuer spzyngeth not of fayth is synne.

And all my temporall goodes that I haue not geuen oz deliuered oz not geuen by wzityng of myne own hand bearyng the date of this pzesent wzityng, I do leaue and geue to Margaret my wyfe & to Richard my sonne whom I make myne Executozs. Wytnes this myne owne hand,the.x.day of October in the.xxii.yere of the reigne of kyng Henry the.viii.

This is the true copy of his wille, foz the which e as you haue heard befoze after he was almoste thze yeres dead,they toke him vp and burned hym.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Clement sent an Ozatoz to the kyng at Grenewyche certifyng hym that he had appoynted a generall counsail to be kept at Mantua the yere folowing,and therof had aduertised all pzinces Chzisten, requiryng the kyng likewyse as he did all other pzinces Chzistẽ foz the vniuersal welth of all Chzistendome and foz the quietyng of opinions newly growen,to appeare there personally: to the whiche it was answered that it was both ieopardeous foz the king & foz his whole realme to haue their pzince absent foz feare of inuasions by vtward enemies, but he sayed he would sende thither a sufficient pzocuracie and conuenient pzoctozs,& desired to see the Ozatozs commission.

When he with an euyll will had shewed his commission, there appered neither place noz tyme of the counsaill. Foz the kyng knew well befoze his commyng that the Marques of Mantua had made a full denial to the pope that he would haue no suche assemble to be kept in his citie noz dominions foz diuers great and vrgent causes, & so the popes Ozatoz departed with an vncertain answere to an vncertain demaund but not vnrewarded.

The kyng beyng aduertised by the Frẽche kyng how that he and the Pope should mete at Nice in June folowyng, thought it conuenient to sende a solempne Ambassade to the Frẽche kyng both to accompany hym to Nice and also to comon with the bishop of Rome concernyng his vnlawfull stay in the kynges deuozce: wherupon he appointed the duke of Nozffolke, the lozde Rochefozde bzother to the newe quene, sir Wyllyam Pawlet comptroller of the kynges houshold,sir Anthonye Bzowne & sir Fraunces Bzyan knightes to be his ambassadozs which made great pzouision foz that purpose and so with the nomber of.Clx. hozses came to Douer and so to Caleys on Whitson eue,on whiche day

the quene made her entry through the citie of London towarde her coro-
nacion)where thei made their abode a certain space and passed through
all Fraunce till they came to Lyons; where they remayned a space as
you shall here after.

This very season was daily skirmishyng betwene the borderers of
the marches of Englande and Scotland, and yet no warre proclaimed
and many robberies,murders and mãslaughters done on both partes,
and although the cõmissioners of the realmes of Englande & of Scot-
lay at Newcastle vpõ Tyne entreatyng a truce and amitie, yet duryng
x the communicacion,the Scottes ceased not to robbe both by sea & land,
and toke dyuers litle botes laden with corne and fishe, wherof hearyng
the kyng of Englande,he decked and vitailed dyuers shippes of warre
and sent them to the North seas to defende his subiectes.The Scottes
hearyng that the Englishe naupe was come on their cost,in al hast fled
home to their harbor,but yet the Englishemen folowed them & fetched
many of their praies out of their hauens maugre of their heades.

In the beginnyng of May the kyng caused open Proclamacions to
be made that all men that claimed to do any seruice or execute any office
at the solempne feast of the coronacion, by the way of Tenor,graunt or
xx prescripcion should put their graunt.iii. wekes after Ester in the starre
chamber before Charles duke of Suffolke for that tyme high steward
of England and the lorde Chauncelor and other commissioners.

The duke of Norffolke claymed to be erle Marshall and to exercise
hys office at that feast. The erle of Arrondell claymed to be high butler
and to exercise thesame :the erle of Oxford claymed to be chamberlain:
the vicount Lysle claymed to be panter:the lorde Burgainy to be chiefe
larderer,and the lord Bray claimed to be almoner, and sir Henry Wiat
knight claymed to be ewrer : All these noble parsonages desired theyr
offices with their fees. Beside these the Maior of London claymed to
xxx serue the quene with a cuppe of golde and a cuppe of assay of the same,
and that.xii.citizens should attende on the cupborde and the Maior to
haue the cuppe and cuppe of assay for his labor.which petition was al-
lowed.The.v.Portes claimed to beare a Canapie ouer the quenes hed
the daye of the Coronacion with.iiii. gilte Belles and to haue the same
for a rewarde whiche also to them was allowed. Dyuers other put in
petie claimes which wer not allowed because they semed only to be done
at the kynges coronacion. Al this season great puruetaunce was made
of all maner of vitailes,and lordes, knightes and squiers were sent for
out of all countreys whyche came to London at their day with a great
xl nomber of people.

The receiuyng,conueiyng and coronacion of quene Anne
vvyfe to the high and mightie prince
kyng Henry the eight

After that the kynges highnes had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and cominaltie of the citie, signifiyng to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronacion of his moste deare and welbeloued wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the Whitsonday nexte ensuyng, willyng theim to make preparacion aswell to fetche her grace from Grenewyche to the Tower by water as to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageaũtes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conueyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsaill called, and cõmaundement was geuen to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior sir Stephen Pe- r
cocke then was) that they should prepare a barge for the Batchellers with a wafter and a foyst garnished with banners and streamers likewyse as they vse to dooe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Jude. Also all other craftes were commaunded to prepare barges and to garnishe them not alonely with their banners accustomed, but also to decke theim with Targettes by the sides of the barges, and so set vp all suche semely banners and bannorettes as they had in their halles or could gette mete to furnishe their sayd barges, and euery barge to haue mynstrelsie, accordyng to whiche commaundementes great preparacion was made for all thynges ne- xx
cessary for suche a noble triumph.

The commyng by vvater from Grenevvyche the thursday.

The.xix.daye of Maye the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and suche as wer knightes had collers of Esses & the remnant hauyng good chaynes, and the counsail of the citie with them assembled at saint Mary Hyl, and at one of the clocke discended to the Newstayre to their barge, whiche was garnished with many goodly bãners and streiners, and richely couered, In whiche barge were Shalmes, Shagbushes & diuers other instrumentes, whiche continually made a goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren wer in their barge seyng that all xxx
the companyes to the nomber of fiftie barges were ready to wayte vpõ theim: They gaue commaundement to the companyes that no barge should rowe nerer to another then twyse the length of the barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were thre light whereys prepared, and in euery one of them two officers to call on theim to kepe their order, after whiche commaundement geuen they set forth in order as hereafter is discribed.

Fyrst before the Maiors barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordinaunce, in whiche Foyst was a great Dragon continually mouing, and castyng wyldfyer, and round about the sayd Foyst stode terrible mon- xl
sters and wylde men castyng fyer, and makyng hidious noyses: Next after the Foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors barge, on whose right hand was the Batchellers barge, in the whiche were trumpettes and dyuers other melodious instrumentes. The deckes of the sayd

barge

barge and the sailyardes and the toppe castles were hanged with riche cloth of golde and silke. At the forepship and the Sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the kyng and the quene, and on the toppe castle also was a long streamer newly beaten with thesayd armes. The sides of the barge was sette full of Flagges and banners of the deuises of the company of Haberdashers and marchauntes aduenturers, and the cordes were hāged with innumerable pensselles hauyng litle belles at the endes whiche made a goodly noyse and a goodly sight wauerynge in the wynde. On the outsyde of barge were thre dosen
x Scochyons in metall of armes of the kyng and the quene whiche were beaten vpon square boccame deuided so that the right side had the kynges colors, and the left syde the quenes, whiche Scochyons were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer hangyng on the deckes on the left hand. On the left hand of the Maior was another Foyst, in the whiche was a mount & on thesame stode a white Fawcon crouned vpon a tote of golde enuironed with white roses and red, whiche was the Quenes deuise: about whiche mount satte virgyns singyng & plaiyng swetely. Next after the Maior folowed his felowship the Haberdashers, Next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so euery company in his
xx order, and last of all the Maiors and shiriffes officers euery company hauyng melodye in his barge by hymselfe, and goodly garnished with banners and some garnished with silke and some with Arras and riche carpettes whiche was a goodly sight to beholde, and in this order they rowed to Grenewyche to the poynt next beyond Grenewyche, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wete, the Maior and Shiriffes officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascendyng to the vttermost craftes in order and the Maior last as thei go to Poules at Christmas, and in that order they rowed douneward to Grenewiche toune and there cast anker makyng great melody. At thre of the clocke
xxx the quene appeared in riche cloth of gold & entered into her barge accōpanied with diuers ladies and gentlewomen, and in continent the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their minstrels continually plaiyng, and the Batchelers barge goyng on the quenes right hand whiche she tooke great pleasure to beholde. Aboute the quenes barge were many noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wylshyre her father, the Erles of Arrondel, Darby, Rutland, Worcester, Huntyngton, Sussex, Oxford, and many bishoppes and noblemen euery one in his barge, which was a goodly sight to behold. She thus beyng accompanied rowed towarde the Tower, and in the meane way
xl the shippes whiche were commaunded to lye on the shore for lettyng of the barges, shotte diuers peales of gunnes, and or she landed there was a meruailous shotte out of the Tower as euer was harde there. And at her landyng there met with her the lord Chamberlain with the officers of armes and brought her to the kyng, which receiued her with louyng countenaunce at the Posterne by the water syde and kyssed her, & then

the turned backe againe and thanked the Maioz and the citezens with many goodly wozdes, and so entered into the Tower. After which entry the citezens all this while houed befoze the Tower makyng great melody and went not alande, foz none wer assigned to land but the Maioz, the Recozder and two Aldermen. But foz to speake of the people that stode on euery shoze to beholde the sight, he that sawe it not would not beleue it.

On Fryday at diner serued the kyng all suche as were appointed by his highnes to be knightes of the bath, which after dyner were brought to their chambers, and that night were bathed and shryuen accozdyng to the old vsage of England, and the next day in the mozning the kyng dubbed theim accozdyng to the ceremonies thereto belongyng whose names ensueth.

The Marques Dozset
The Erle of Darby.
The lozde Clyffozde.
The lozde Fitzwater.
The lozde Hastynges.
The lozde Mountaigle.
Sir Jhon Mozdant.
The lozde Vaux.
Sir Henry Parker.
Sir Wyllyam Wynsoze.
Sir Fraunces Weston.
Sir Thomas Arrondell.
Sir John Hulstone.
Sir Thomas Pownynges.
Sir Henry Sauell.
Sir Geozge Fitzwillyam
Sir Jhon Tyndall.
Sir Thomas Jermey.

Saterday the.xxxi.day.

The receiuyng and conueiyng of the quene through London.

To the entent that the hozses should not slide on the Pauement, noz that the people shoûld not be hurted by hozses, the high stretes wher the quene should passe were all graueled from the Tower to Temple barre and tailed on the one side, within whiche rayles stode the crattes a long in their ozder from Grace churche where the marchauntes of the Stylyard stode till the litle conduite in Chepe where the Aldermen stode, & on the other syde of the strete stode the Constables of the citie apparelled in veluet & silke with great staues in their handes to cause the people to kepe rome and good ozder. And when the stretes were somewhat ozdered, the Maioz clothed in a goune of crimosyn Veluet and a riche collоz of Esses with two footemen clad in white and red damaske roade to the Tower to geue his attendance on the Quene, on whom the Shriffes with their officers did wayte till they came to Tower hill, where they takyng their leaue roade doune the high streates commaundyng the Constables to see rome and good ozder kept, and so went and stode by the Aldermen in Chepe. And befoze the quene and her traine should come, Cozne hill and Gracious streate were hanged with fyne Scarlet, Crimosyn and other grayned clothes, and in some place with riche Aras, Tapestry and Carpettes, and the moste part of the Chepe was hãged with clothe of Tyssue, Golde, Veluet and many riche hangynges whiche made a goodly shewe, and all the wyndowes were replenished

with

with ladyes and gentlewomen to beholde the q̄ene and her trayne as
they shuld passe by. The fyrst of the quenes company that set forward
were.xii. Frenchmen whiche were belongyng to the Frenche Ambassa-
dor clothed in coates of blewe veluet with sleues of yelowe and blewe
veluet and their horses trapped with close trappers of blewe Sarcenet
poudered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, squiers
knightes.ii.and.ii. After them the Judges, and after them the knightes
of the bath in Violet gounes with hoddes purfeled with Miniuer lyke
doctors, after them abbottes, then Barons, after them bishoppes, then
x Erles and Marquesses, then the lorde Chauncelor of England, after
him the archebishop of Yorke and the ambassador of Venice, after him
the archebishop of Cauntorbury and the ambassador of Fraunce, after
roade.ii.squiers of honor with robes of estate rolled & worne baudrike
wise about their neckes with cappes of estate representing the dukes of
Normandy and Acquitaine: after them roade the Maior of Londō with
his Mace, and Garter in his coate of armes, whithe Maior bare his
Mase to Westminster halle, after them rode the lorde Wylliam Ha-
ward with ỹ Marshals rod deputie to his brother ỹ duke of Norffolke
Marshall of England whiche was ambassador then in Fraunce: and
xx on his right hand roade Charles Duke of Suffolke for that day high
Constable of England bearyng the verder of siluer appertainyng to ỹ
office of Constableship, and all the lordes for the moste parte were clo-
thed in Crimosyn veluet, and all the Quenes seruauntes or officers of
armes in Scarlet. Next before the quene road her chaūcelor bareheded,
the sergeaūtes & officers of armes roade on both the sides of the lordes.
Then came the quene in a litter of white cloth of golde not couered nor
bayled whiche was led by.ii.palferies clad in white damaske doune to
the ground head & all, led by her foetemen. She had on a circot of white
clothe of Tyssue & a mantle of thesame furred with Ermyne, her heere
xxx hāged doune, but on her head she had a coyffe with a circlet about it ful
of riche stones. Ouer her was borne a Canapie of clothe of golde with
iiii.gilte staues and.iiii.siluer belles. For bearyng of whiche Canappe
were appointed.xvi.knightes, iiii.to beare it one space on.foote & other
iiii.another space accordyng to their owne appointment. Next after the
quene roade the lorde Borough her chāberlain, next after hym Wyllia
Coffyn Master of the Horses leadyng a spare horse with a syde saddle
trapped doune w̄ clothe of tyssue: after him roade.vii.ladyes in crimo-
syn veluet turned vp w̄ cloth of gold & of tyssue & their horses trapped
with cloth of gold, after them.ii.chariotes couered w̄ red cloth of gold.
xl In the fyrst Chariot was.ii.ladyes which were the olde duches of Nor-
folke & the old marchiones of Dorset. In the second chariot wer.iiii.la-
dies all in Crimosyn veluet. After them roade.vii.ladyes in thesame
suite their horses trappers and all, after them came the thitd Chariot
all white with.vi. Ladyes in Crimosyn veluet, next after them came
the fowerth Chariot all redde, with.viii.ladies also in crimosyn Veluet,

after whō folowed.xxx.gētlewomen all in veluet and silke in the liuery of their ladies on whom they gaue their attendaunce. After them folowed the Garde in coates of Goldsmythes worke, in whiche order they roade forth till they came to Fanchurche, where was made a pageaunt all with children apparelled like marchauntes whiche welcommed her to the Citie with two proper proposicions both in Frenche & Englishe, and frō thence she roade to Gracious church corner, where was a costly and a maruailous connyng pageaunt made by the marchauntes of the Stylyarde, for there was the mount Pernasus with the fountayne of Helycon, which was of white Marble .iiii. streames without pype did rise an ell hye & mette together in a litle cuppe aboue the foūtain, which fountain ranne aboundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountaine satte Appollo and at his fete satte Calliope, and on euery syde of the mountain satte .iiii. Muses playyng on seuerall swete instrumentes, and at their feete Epigrammes & Poyses were written in golden letters in the whiche euery Muse accordyng to her propertie prayed the Quene: so from thence she passed to Leaden Hall where was a goodly pageaunt with a type and a heauenly roffe, and vnder the type was a rote of golde set on a litle mountaine enuironed with red roses & white, out of the type came doune a Fawcon all white and sate vpon the rote, and incontinent came doune an Angell with greate melody and set a close croune of golde on the Fawcons head, and in thesame pageaūt satte saint Anne with all her issue beneth her, and vnder Mari Cleophe satte her .iiii. children, of the whiche children one made a goodly Oracion to the quene of the fruitefulnes of saint Anne and of her generacion, trustyng that like fruite should come of her. Then she passed to the conduicte in Cornehill where wer thre graces set in a throne, afore whō was the spryng of grace continually ronnyng wyne. Afore the foūtain satte a Poete declaring the properties of euery grace, & that done euery lady by her selfe accordyng to her propertie gaue to the quene a seuerall gift of grace. That done she passed by the great cōduite in Chepe which was newly painted with armes of deuises: out of the whiche conduit by a goodly fountain set at the one end ranne continually wyne both white and claret all that after noone, and so she rode to the Standard whiche was richely painted with ymages of kynges and quenes and hanged with bāners of armes, and in the toppe was meruaylous swete armony both of song & instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse whiche was newly gilt, till she came where the Aldermen stode, & then Master Baker the Recorder came to her with lowe reuerence makyng a proper and briefe proposicion and gaue to her in the name of the Citie a thousand markes in golde in a Purse of golde, whiche she thankefully accepted with many goodly wordes, and so roade to the lytle conduite where was a ryche pageaunt full of melodye and song, in whiche pageaunt was Pallas, Juno and Uenus, and before them stode Mercury whiche in the name of the .iii. goddesses gaue to her a balle of gold

deuided

deuided in thre,signifiyng thre giftes the which thre Goddesses gaue to her, that is to saye, wysdome, ryches and felicitie. As she entred into Paules gate there was a pretie pageaunt in whiche satte thre ladyes rychely clothed, and in a circle on their head was written Regina Anna prospere procede et regna. The Lady in the myddes had a Tablet in the whiche was written Veni amica coronaberis, and vnder the tablet satte an angell with a close croune, and the ladye sittyng on the right hande had a Tablet of syluer in whiche was written Domine directe gressus meos, and the thyrd ladye had a Tablet of golde with letters
x Assure written, confido in domine, and vnder their feete was written; Anna Regina nominum,Regis de sanguine natum, cum paries populis aurea secla tuis. And these ladyes cast doune Wafers, on the whiche the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the East ende of Paules Churcheyarde agaynst the schole, where stode on a Scaffolde two hundreth chyldren well apparelled, whiche sayd to her diuers goodly verses of Poetes translated into Englishe, to the honor of the kyng and her, whiche she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate,the gate was newly garnished with golde and byse. And on the ledes of saunct Martyns Churche stode a goodly quere of
xx singyng men and children whiche sang newe balades made in praise of her. After that she was passed Ludgate she proceded towarde Flete-strete where the Conduict was newely painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed,and the chyme melodiously sownyng. Upon the Conduite was made a toune with.iiii.Turettes, and in euery Turret stode one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, whiche had seueral speches,promisyng the Quene neuer to leaue her, but to be aydyng and comfortyng her, And in the myddes of the tower closely was suche seueral solempne instrumẽtes,that it semed to be an heauenly noyse,and was muche regarded and praysed:and besyde this the said
xxx Conduyte ranne wyne Claret and Red all the afternoone. So she with all her companye and the Maior roade forth to Temple barre, whiche was newly painted and repayred,where stode also diuers singyngmen and children,til she came to Westminster halle,whiche was richely hanged with clothe of Arras and newe glased. And in the myddes of the halle she was taken out of her littre, and so led vp to the high dece vnder the clothe of estate,on whose lefte hand was a cupborde of.x.stages meruelous riche and beutifull to behold,and within a litle season was brought to the quene with a solempne seruice in great standyng spyce plates, a voyde of Spice and subtilties ,with Ipocras and other
xl wynes, whiche she sent doune to her ladyes, and when the ladyes had dronke she gaue hartie thãkes to the lordes & ladyes,and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendance on her, and so withdrew her selfe with a fewe ladyes to the White halle and so to her chamber, and there shifted her,and after went into her barge secretely to the kyng to

his

hys Maioz of Westminster wher she rested that night.

Sonday beyng vvhitsonday the first day of Iune
and the day of her coronacion.

On sonday the Maioz cladde in crimosyn veluet and wyth his collor and all the Aldermen and shiriffes in Scarlet and the counsaill of the citie tooke theyr barge at the Crane by seuen of the clocke and came to Westminster where thei wer welcomed & brought into the halle by Maister Treasorer and other of the kynges house, and so gaue theyr attendaunce till the quene should come forth. Betwene.viii.and.ix.she came into the halle and stoode vnder the clothe of estate, and then came in the kynges chapel & the monkes of Westminster all in riche copes & many bishoppes and Abbottes in copes and miters whych went into the middes of the halle, and there stoode a season. Then was there a raye clothe spred from the quenes standyng in the halle throughe the palace & sanctuary, which was railed on bothe sydes to the high Aulter of Westminster. After that the raye clothe was cast, the officers of armes appointed the order accustomed. First went gentlemen, thē esquiers, then knightes then the aldermen of the citie in their clokes of Scarlet, after them the Iudges in theyr mantels of Scarlet and coyffes. Then folowed the knightes of the bathe beyng no lordes, euery man hauyng a white lace on his left sleue, Then folowed Barons and vicountes in theyr parliament robes of Scarlet. After them came Erles, Marquesses and Dukes in their robes of estate crimosyn veluet furred wyth Ermyne poudered accordyng to theyr degrees. After them came the lorde Chauncelor in a robe of Scarlet open before bordered wyth Lettice: after hym came the kynges chapel and the Monkes solempnely singyng wyth procession, then came abbottes and bishoppes mitered, then sergeauntes & officers of armes, then after them went the Maior of London wyth hys mace, and garter in his cote of armes, Then went the Marques Dorcet in a robe of estate whiche bare the scepter of gold, and the erle of Arrondel whiche bare the rod of Yuery with the Doue both together: Then went alone the erle of Oxforde high Chamberlain of England which bare ỹ croune, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that day beyng high steward of England, hauyng a long white rod in his hande, and the lorde Wyllyam Hawarde with the rodde of the Marshalship & euery knight of the Garter had on his collor of the order. Then proceded forth the quene in a circot and robe of purple Veluet furred with Ermyne in her here, coyffe, and circlet, as she had the saterday, and ouer her was borne the Canapye by.iiii.of the.v.Portes al crimosyn with pointes of blewe & red hangyng on their sleues, & the bishoppes of Londō & Wynchester bare vp the lappes of ỹ quenes robe. The quenes traine whiche was very long was borne by ỹ old dutches of Norffolke: after her folowed ladies beyng lordes wyues whiche had circottes of scarlet with narow sleues, ỹ brest all Lettice with barres of

borders

accordyng to their degrees. And ouer that they had mantels of Scarlet furred, & euery mantle had lettice about the necke like a neckercher likewise poudered, so that by the pouderynges there degre was knowē. Then folowed ladies beyng knightes wyues in gounes of Scarlet w narow sleues without traines only edged with lettice, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middes of the churche betwene the quere and the high alter she was set in a riche chayre. And after that she had rested a while she discended doune to the high Alter and there prostrate her self while
x the archebishop of Cauntorbury sayd certaine collettes: then she rose & the bishop anoynted her on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe, wher after diuers Oraisons sayd, the archebishop set the croune of saint Edward on her head, and then deliuered her the scepter of gold in her right hand, and the rod of Iuery with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quere sang Tedeum. &c. Which done the bishop toke of the croune of saint Edward beyng heuy and sette on the Croune made for her, and so went to Masse. And when the offertory was begon she discended doune and offred beyng crouned, and so ascēded vp again and sate in her chayre till Agnus, And then she went doune and kneled
xx before the alter where she receiued of the archbishop the holy sacrament and then went vp to her place againe. After that Masse was done she went to saint Edwardes shryne and there offered, after whiche offeryng done she withdrewe her into a litle place made for the nones on the one side of the quere. Now in the meane seasō euery duches had put on their bonettes a coronall of gold wrought with flowers, & euery Marquesses put on a demy Coronal of golde, euery counties a plaine circlet of gold without flowers, & euery king of armes put on a croune of Copet & gilte all whiche were worne till nyght. When the quene had a litle reposed her, the company returned in the same order that they set forth, and the
xxi Quene went crouned and so did the Ladies aforesayd. Her right hand was sustayned by the erle of Wylshire her father, and her left hand by the lorde Talbot deputie for the erle of Shrewsbury & lorde Forynfall his father. And when she was out of the sanctuary and appered within the palace, the trumpettes played meruaylous freshely, and so she was brought to Westminster halle, and so to her withdrawyng chamber, duryng whiche tyme the lordes, Iudges, Maior and Aldermē put of their robes, Mantels and Clokes, and toke their hoddes from their neckes and cast them about their shoulders, and the lordes satte onely in their circottes, and the Iudges and Aldermen in their gounes. And all the
xxii lordes that serued that day serued in their circotes and their hoddes aboute their shoulders. Also diuers officers of the kynges house beyng no lordes had circottes and hoddes of Scarlet edged with Mynuer, as the Treasorer, Controller and Master of the Iuell house, but their circottes were not gilte.

The order and sittyng at dīner,

Whyle

Whyle the quene was in her chamber, euery lord & other that ought to do seruice at coronacions did prepare them accoyding to their duetie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England whiche was richely apparelled, his doblet and Jaket set with oryent perle, his goune of crimosin veluet enbroodered, his courser trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of Crimosyn Veluet set full of letters of golde of goldsmithes worke hauyng a long white rodde in his hand, on his left hand roade the lord Wyllyam, deputie for his brother as erle Marshal with the Marshals rod, whose goune was Crimosyn veluet, and his horse trapper purple veluet cut on white satten enbroodered whith white Lyons. The erle of Oxforde was high Chamberlaine, the erle of Essex caruer, the erle of Sussex sewer, the erle of Arrondel chief butler on whō xii. citizens of London did geue their attendaunce at the cupboord. The erle of Darby Cupberer, the Vicount Lysle Panter, the lorde of Burgayny chiefe larder, the lorde Bray almoner for hym & his coperteners, and the Maior of Oxford kept the buttry barre, and Thomas Wiat was chiefe ewrer for sir Henry Wiat his father. When all thyng was ready, the Quene vnder her canapy came to the halle and washed and satte doune in the middes of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chaire stode the countesse of Oxforde wydowe, and on the left side stode the countesse of Worcester all the dyner season, which diuers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the quenes face when she list to spet or do otherwyse at her pleasure. At the tables ende satte the archebishoppe of Cauntorbury on the right hande of the quene, and in the myddest betwene the archebishoppe and the countesse of Oxforde stode the erle of Oxforde with a white staffe all diner tyme, and at the quenes feete vnder the table satte. ii. gentlewomen all dyner tyme. When all these thynges were thus ordered came in the Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Wyllyam Haward on horsebacke and the sergeauntes of armes before them, and after them the Sewer, and then the knightes of the bath bringyng in the first course whiche was. xxviii. dishes beside subtilties and shippes made of waxe meruailous gorgious to beholde, al whych tyme of seruice the trumpettes standing in the wyndow at the netherende of the halle played melodiously. When her grace was serued of two dishes, then the archebishoppes seruice was set doune, whose Sewer came equal with the thirde dishe of the quenes seruice on his left hand. After that the quene and the archebishop was serued, the Barons of the portes began the table on the right hand next the wall, next theim at the table sat the masters and clerkes of the chaūcery, and beneth them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The .xl table next the walle on the left hande by the cupboorde was begon by the Maior and Aldermen the chamberlain and the counsayll of the citie of Lōdon, and beneth them satte substancial marchaūtes, & so douneward other worshipfull persones. At the table on the right hād in the middes of the halle sat the lorde Chauncelor and other temporall lordes on the right

the right side of the table, in their circottes: And on the lefte side of the=
same table, sat Bishoppes and Abbottes in their Parliament robes, be=
neth them sat the Judges, Seriantes, and the kynges counsaull, beneth
thē the knightes of the Bathe. At the table on the left hande, in the mid=
dle part, sat Ducheses, Marqueses, Countesses, Baronesses, in their ro=
bes, and other ladies in circottes, and gentle women in gounes. Al whi=
che ladies and gentle women, sat on the left side of the table a long, and
none on the rightside: and when all were thus set, they were incontinent
serued and so quickely, that it was meruaill, for the seruitors gaue such
x good attendance, that meate or drynke ne any thyng els, neded not to be
called for, whiche in so greate a multitude was maruaill. As touchyng
the fare ther could be deuised, no more costlier dishes nor subtilties. The
Maior of London was serued with. xxxiii. dishes at twoo courses, and
so wer all his brethren, and suche as sat at his table. The Quene had at
her seconde course. xxiiii. dishes, and thirtie at the thirde course: and be=
twene the twoo last courses, the kynges of Armes cried Larges, in three
partes of the hal: and after stode in their place, whych was in the bekins
at the kynges Benche. And on the right hande, out of the Cloyster of. S.
Stephēs, was made a litle Closet, in whiche the kyng with diuerse Am=
xx bassadors, stoode to behold the seruice. The Duke of Suffolke and the
lorde Willyam, rode often tymes aboute the hall, chering the lordes, la=
dies, and the Maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had
Wafers and Ypocras, and then thei washed, and were commaunded to
rise, and to stande stil in their places, before the table or on the fourmes
till the Quene had washed: when she had taken Wafers and Ypocrase,
the table was taken vp, and the Erle of Rutlande brought vp the sur=
nap, and laied it at the bordes ende, which immediatly was drawen, and
cast by Master Rode, Marshal of the hall: And the Quene washed, and
after the Archebishop, and after the Surnap was drawen of, she arose
xxx and stode in the middes of the Hall place: to whom the Erle of Sussex
in a goodly spice plate, brought a boyde of spice and comfettes. After
hym the Maior of London brought a standyng cuppe of golde, set in a
cup of assaie of gold, and after that she had dronke, she gaue the Maior
the Cuppe with the Cuppe of assaie, because there was no leyar, accor=
dyng to the clayme of the citee, thankyng hym & all his brethren, of their
pain. Then she vnder her Canapie, departed to her Chamber, and at the
entry of her Chamber, she gaue the Canapy with Belles and all, to the
Barons of the Portes, accordyng to their clayme, with greate thankes.
Then the Maior of London bearyng his Cuppe in his hande, with his
xl brethren, went through the hal to their barge, and so did all other noble
men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke.

On Mondaye were the Justes at the Tilte, before the Kynges gate,
where the Maior and his brethren had a goodly stādyng: but there wer
very fewe speres broken, by reason the horses would not cope.

On Wednesdaye, the Kyng sent for the Maior and his brethren to

Westminster, and there he hymself gaue to theim hartie thankes, with many goodly wordes.

On Midsomer daie after, the lady Mary the Frenche Quene died in Suffolke, at the lordship of . who was the late wyfe to Lewes the xii. and after maried to Charles duke of Suffolk, and was buried at

This season the kyng kepte his progresse aboute London, because of the Quene.

The. vii. day of September beyng Sondaie, betwene thre and foure of the Clocke at after noone, the Quene was deliuered of a faire Lady, whiche daie the Duke of Suffolke came home to the christenyng, & for the Quenes good deliuerance, Te *deum* was song in continently, & great preparacion was made for the christenyng: and the Maior and his bre- thren, and .xl. of the chief of the citezens, were commaunded to bee at the Christenyng, the Wednesdaie folowyng, vpon whiche daie the Maior, sir Stephen Pecocke, in a goune of Crimosin Veluet, with his coller of s. s. and all the Aldermen in Scarlet, with collers and cheines, and all the counsaill of the citee with theim, tooke their barge after diner, at one of the clocke, and the citezēs had another barge, and so rowed to Grene- wiche, where were many lordes, knightes and gentlemen assembled. All the walles betwene the kynges place and the Friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the waye strawed with grene Rushes: the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The Fount was of siluer, & stoode in the middes of the Churche, three steppes high, whiche was couered with a fine clothe, and diuerse gentlemen with aperns, and towelles about their neckes, gaue attendaunce aboute it, that no filth should come in the Fount, ouer it hong a square Canape of crimosin Satten, fringed with golde, aboute it was a rayle couered with redde saye: betwene the quier and the body of the Churche, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the child redy in: when al these thynges wer ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then euery man set forward: Firste the citezens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquiers and chapeleins, next after theim the Aldermen, and the Maior alone: nexte the Maior, the kynges coun- saill, the kynges Chapel in copes: then Barons, Bishoppes, Erles, then came the Erle of Essex, bearyng the couered basins gilte, after hym the Marques of Excester with ỹ taper of virgin waxe, next hym the Mar- ques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behynd hym the lady Mary of Norffolk, bearyng the cresom whiche was very riche of perle & stone, the old Du- ches of Norffolke bare the childe, in a Mantell of purple veluet, with a long train furred with Ermine. The duke of Norffolke, with his Mar- shall rod went on the right hand of thesaied duches, & the duke of Suf- folke on the left hande, and before theim went the officers of armes: the countes of Kent bare the long train of the childes mantell, and betwene the Countes of Kent and the child, went therle of Wilshire on the right hand, and therle of Darby on the left hand, supportyng thesaid train: in the middes ouer thesaid child was borne a Canapy, by the lorde Roche-

The Christe- tyng of ỹ la- dy Elizabeth.

for

lord,the lorde Husey,the lorde Willyã Hawarde, and by the lorde Thomas Hawarde the elder,after the child folowed many ladies,and gentlewomen.when the child was come to the churche doore,the bishop of London met it with diuerse bishoppes and Abbottes mitred, and began the obseruaunces of the Sacrament.The Godfather was the lorde Archebishop of Cantorbury:the Godmothers were the old Duches of Norfolke,and the olde Marchiones of Dorset widowes,and the childe was named Elizabeth:and after that al thyng was done,at the churche doore the child was brought to the Fount,and christened,and this doen,Garter chief kyng of armes cried a loude, God of his infinite goodnes,sende prosperous lyfe and long,to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth:and then the trumpettes blewe, then the childe was brought vp to the aultar,and the Gospell saied ouer it:and after that immediatly the Archebishop of Cantorbury confirmed it,the Marchiones of Excester beyng Godmother,then the Archebishop of Cantorbury, gaue to the Princes a standyng cup of gold:the Duches of Norffolke, gaue to her a standyng cuppe of golde, fretted with pearle: the Marchiones of Dorset gaue thre gilt boulles,pounced with a couer:and the Marchiones of Excester,gaue thre standing bolles grauen,all gilt with a couer.
xx Then was brought in Wafers,Comfettes,& Ypocras in suche plentie, that euery man had asmuche,as he would desire.Then they set forwardes,the trumpettes goyng before in thesame ordre,towarde the kynges place,as they did when they came thether warde,sauyng that the giftes that the Godfather,& the Godmothers gaue, wer borne before the child by foure persones,that is to saye:First sir Jhon Dudley,bare the gift of the Lady of Excester:the lorde Thomas Hawarde the younger,bare the gift of the lady of Dorset:the lorde Fitzwater,bare the gift of the Lady of Norffolk,and the Erle of Worcester,bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cantorbury,and all the one side as thei went,was full of staffe Torxx ches,to the nomber of fiue hundred,borne by the garde and other of the kynges seruauntes,and about the child were borne,many other proper torches borne by gentlemen:and in this ordre thei brought the princes, to the Quenes chãber,& the Maior & the Aldermen taried there a while. and at the last the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, came out from the kyng,thankyng them hartely,& said the kyng cõmaunded them, to geue them thankes in his name:and from thẽce thei wer had to the seller to drynke,and so went to their Barges.

This yere also one Pauier toune clerke of the citee of London, han- Pauyer.
xxi ged himself,which surely was a man,that in no wise could abide to here that the Gospell should bee in Englishe,and I my selfe heard hym once saie to me & other that wer by, swearyng a great othe,that if he thought the kynges highnes,would set furth the scripture in Englishe,and let it be red of the people by his authoritie,rather then he would so long liue he would cut his awn throte,but he brake promes,for as you haue hard he hanged hymself:but of what mynde and intent he so did,God iudge.

About this season was espied a newe founde Saincte, & holy Hypocrite called the maide of Kent, whiche by the greate labor, diligence, and paintakyng of tharchebishop of Cantorbury, and the lorde Cromewell, and one called Hugh Latimer a prieste (whiche shortly after was made Bishop of Worcester) the iugglyng and craftie deceipt of this maide, was manifested and brought to light: wherupon after diuerse examinaciõs, she with al her adherentes, wer in Nouember brought to the starre chãber: the names of them all shall folowe, firste Elizabeth Barton, whiche was she that called her self ỹ holy maide of Kẽt, Richard Master priest person of Aldyngton in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyng doctor in Diuinitie, Monke of Canturbury, Richarde Deryng Monke also of Cantorbury, Edward Twhaytes gentlemã, Thomas Laurẽce register to tharchedeacon of Cantorbury, Henry Gold person of Aldermary bachiler of Diuinitie, Hugh Riche Frier Obseruaunt, and Richard Risby, Thomas Gold gentleman. These all beyng in the starre chãber before diuerse of the kynges counsaill, confessed their feined hipocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, and treiterous purposes and intentes, and then was thereby the kynges counsaill adiudged, to stand at Paules crosse, wher thei with their awne handes, should seuerally deliuer eche of them to the preacher that should bee appoynted, a bill declaryng their subtile, craftie and superstitious doynges. Whiche thyng the nexte Sondaie after, they al aboue rehersed, standyng on a stage at Paules Crosse, made for that purpose did accomplishe: but for their treasons committed, the matter therof was respited to the Parliament nexte folowyng, where al thei abouesaid, with other as after ye shall here, wer attainted by act of parliamẽt, and suffered death as traitors, by hanging, drawyng, and quarteryng at Tyborne.

The holy Mayde of Kent.

In September the kyng of Stottes, sent his Commissioners to the toune of Newe Castle, where wer for the kyng of Englande commissioners, sir Thomas Clifford, and doctor Magnus, and sir Raufe Elderkare. And first the Scottes without any long communicaciõ, demaunded greate amendes, saiyng, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled theim to their losse, and that greatly, and saied that the kyng of England of his honor, must nedes make satisfaccion, yf he would be called honorable. Then it was answered, that notwithstandyng the leagues, writtен, sealed and sworne, the Scottishe naciõ would neuer kepe peace in somuch, while we be here in treatyng, your people are robbyng: wherfore the kyng demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherof we here deliuer you a writing, which the Scottes receiued, and at their next metyng thei saied, that the shippes to theim wer lawfull prises, by reason that therle of Anguishe, was maintened in Englande, whiche is rebel to our kyng, and therle and you haue doen to vs muche skathe, & we haue taken a few shippes, in recompence of some part of our greate losses, which we mate not deliuer, & therfore we praie you demaunde theim not: but here wee deliuer you our boke, whiche amounteth

mounteth to a greater somme by tenne thousande marke. The Englishe
commissioners receiued the boke, and in thesame the Scottes demaun-
ded recompence for burning their tounes, and destroyng many of their
strong Piles, aboue.xxiiii. whiche were destroyed from the.xxiiii. date of
Apryll, in the laste.xxiiii. yere of the kyng, to the.xxx. date of Apryll. The
Englishe cõmissioners answered, that if the Scottes would send to the
kyng of Englãde, thei doubted not, but thei shoulo haue a good answer
for the kyng of Englande bad hym chose peace or warre: so they agreed
to sende to bothe their kynges letters of their doynges, whiche in haste
x was dooen. And after muche suite of the Scottes parte, when they had
muche demaunded, and litle or nothyng was graunted, thei then beyng
wery of warre desired peace, whiche was concluded, duryng bothe the
kynges liues, and the twentie daie of Maie, in the next yere of the kyng
folowyng, it was openly Proclaimed, to the greate comforte and reioy-
syng of all louers of peace.

The.xviii. daie of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the
kyng and his counsaill, to Bugden beside Huntyngdon, where the lady
Katheryne Princes Dowager laye. For the kyng was aduertised, and
had good proues of thesame, that she of froward mynde would consent,
xx neither to the determinacion of the Vniuersities, nor yet to the sentence
of the whole conuocacion of the realme, but beyng counsailed by a fewe
Spaniardes, whiche had litle lernyng, did all that she could to infringe
the determinacion of thesaid Vniuersities and clergie. In somuche that
she wrote to the Pope, and to other potentates, to greue the Kyng and
his realme, because he would not folowe her mynd, and breake the com-
maundement of God. Wherefore the kynges counsayll motioned the
kyng, that suche as wer about her, and moued her thereto, should be put
from her, for thei thought it no reason, that she should haue suche liber-
tie to woorke that thyng, by the whiche the kyng and his realme, might
xxx haue detriment or damage. Wherefore thesaied Duke was sent to her,
whiche shewed to her openly, Articles of her suites to the Pope, and
howe she soughte meanes to greue the Kyng and his Realme, whiche
hereafter she should not bee suffered to dooe. For thesame tyme was a
Curse sent from the Pope, whiche accursed bothe the Kyng, and the
whole Realme, whiche Curse the bearer thereof, beeyng not by like the
hardiest manne that euer shewed hymself in front of battaill, thought it
a greate deale more better for hym to bestowe it without the kynges
reche, then to aduenture to come within his Dominions, and therefore
set it vp in the Toune of Dunkercke in Flaunders where it was taken
xl doune by Wyllyam Locke, Mercer of London. The Quene answe-
red the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high woordes,
and sodainly in a fury she departed from hym, into her priuie Chamber
and shutte the dooze. Ye seeyng that, brake all the ordre of the Quenes
Courte, and discharged a greate sorte of her housholde seruauntes, and
yet lefte there a conuenient nomber, to serue her like a Princes. There

The Pope accursed the Kyng and Realme.

Wyllyã Locke Mercer.

was greate lamentacion emong theim that departed, but there was no remedy. Then thei that remaigned to serue her, were swoꝛne to serue her as a Pꝛinces Dowager, and not as Quene, some said thei were swoꝛne to her as Quene, and otherwise thei would not serue, and so they departed. Other that wer swoꝛne to serue her as Pꝛinces, and remained there, she them vtterly refused foꝛ her seruauntes, wherfoꝛe she remained with the lesse nomber of seruauntes.

The kyng kept his Chꝛistmas at Grenewiche, with greate solempnitee, and after Chꝛistmas beganne the Parliament. In whiche Parliament Elizabeth Barton, the holy Maide of Kent, with all her adherentes of whom ye haue heard befoꝛe, was attaynted. And because her offences, wer bothe against God and the kyng, so greate and wicked, that the like was neuer heard noꝛ knowen befoꝛe, I wyll declare vnto you the pꝛocesse of her matter, in suche maner as the truthe thereof, is declared in her attainder, by Acte of Parliament. Firste thesayed Elizabeth Barton (beeyng a Nonne pꝛofessed in the house and Pꝛiozy of Sainct Sepulcres of Cauntoꝛbury) whiche long befoꝛe she was pꝛofessed Nonne, dwelled with one Thomas Cobbe, in the Parishe of Aldyngton, in the Countie of Kent, and happened to bee visited with sickenes, and by occasion thereof, bꝛought in suche debilitie and weakenes of her bꝛayne, because she could not eate ne dꝛynke, by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmitie, she semed to bee in Traunses, and spake and vttered many foolishe and Idle wooꝛdes. And one Richarde Master, Clerke, beeyng Persone of thesated Parishe of Aldyngton, in thesayed Countie of Kent, after that he had made to the late Archebishoppe of Cauntoꝛbury, a farre and a larger repoꝛte, concernyng the Hypocrisy, traunses and speaches of thesayed Elizabeth, then he could iustifie and abide by, and after that he was commaunded by thesaied Archebishop, to geue good attendaunce vpō her, if she should foꝛtune to haue any mo suche traunses and speaches, and to sende hym knowlege thereof, to the intent to mainteigne, vphold and verely, suche repoꝛte as he had made. aswell to the Archebishoppe afoꝛesaied, as to other, of the wounderfull traunses and speaches of thesaied Nonne, he falsely and craftely infoꝛmed thesaid Elizabeth, that the meruelous wooꝛdes whiche she spake in her traunses, afoꝛe his tidyng to the Archebishop afoꝛsaied, pꝛoceded of the inspiracion of the holy ghost, and that she was greatly to be blamed if she would hide oꝛ dissemble the wonderful wooꝛkes of God shewed to her: foꝛ a foꝛe this his saied infoꝛmacion and instruccion, she saied constantly, that she could not remember, that she spake any suche notable wooꝛdes in her traunses, as were repoꝛted vnto her, by thesaied Richard Master. Whiche Elizabeth beeyng in this maner of wise, often tymes perswaded, pꝛocured and infoꝛmed, by thesaied Persone of Aldyngton, tooke boldenes and courage to foꝛge, feigne, and counterfeat suche maner of Traunses, and craftie speaches, as thesaied Persone of Aldyngton told her, that she vsed in her sickenes, afoꝛe he went to thesaid Archbishoppe.

bishoppe. And when thesaied Elizabeth had vsed, this false, feigned cõ-
terfeating for a season, and was perfecte therein (so that the fame there-
of, was greatly spred abroade, in those parties) then thesaied Person, to
the intent aforsaid, and to the intent the people, should geue more faithe
and credite vnto her, and because he would haue increased the deuocion
of the people, in commyng on pilgrimage to a Chapell, set in Courte at
Strete, within thesaied Parishe, dedicate in the honour of our Lady, for
his awne lucre and auauntage, imagined, deuised, compassed, and de-
clared, with the aide, helpe, and counsayll of one Edwarde Bockyng
x Monke, professed in the Monastery in Christes Churche in Cauntor-
bury, and Doctor in Diuinitiee, that thesaied Elizabeth, being in the ex-
tasy and extremitie of her sickenes, in a maner distract in traũles, should
saie emongest other wounderfull woordes, that she should neuer take
healthe of her body, till suche tyme as she had visited the Image of our
Lady, beeyng in thesaied Chapell at Courte at Strete afore saied: and
that our Lady had appered vnto her, and shewed her, that yt she came to
thesaied Chapell, at the daie appoynted, she should bee restored to her
health by Miracle, where in very deede, she was restored to her perfecte
health, by diet and Phisike, and by the course of nature, whiche expelled
xx the matter, beyng cause of her sickenes, in the meane tyme while thesaid
person of Aldyngton, was with the Archebishoppe, as is afore reherfed.
And albeit thesaied Elizabeth, was restored to her healthe, yet she bee-
yng accustomed and acquainted, with the maner and fashion, of her di-
stracte Traunses, by the counsayell, conspiracie, and confederacie of
thesayed Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, dyd falsely pra-
ctise, vse and shewe vnto the people, diuerse and meruellous sondery
alteracions, of her sensible partes of her body, craftely vttering in her
saied feigned and false Traunses, diuerse and many verteous and ho-
ly woordes, tendyng to the rebuke of synne, and in reprouyng of suche
xxx newe opinions, as then beganne to spryng in this Realme, whiche she
called Heresyes, as she was induced and taught, by thesaied Edwarde
Bockyng and Richarde Master, vsyng all the waies of false Hypocri-
sy, to the intent the people should geue belefe and credence vnto her,
whereby they might bee the soner brought, into the detestable crymes of
blasphemie and Idolatrie, agaynste almightie GOD. And thesaied
Edwarde Bockyng, beeyng maliciously fixed in his opinion, agaynste
the kynges highnes, in his detested Matrimonie with Quene Kathe-
ryne, and intendyng in his mynde, afterwardes for his parte, falsely
and Trayterously to vse thesayed Elizabeth, as a Diabolicke instru-
xl ment, to stirre, moue, and prouoke the people of this Realme, aswell no-
bles as other, to murmoure and grudge, agaynste the Maiestie of
oure Souereigne Lorde, and all his iuste and Lawfull procedynges,
in thesaied Deuorse and seperacion, as after he did in very deede: for
the accomplishyng of his saied false, malicious and Trayterous inten-

tes, falsely deuised and conspired, with thesaied Richarde, that thesaied Elizabeth should shewe and manifest her selt, to the people, to bee an excellent verteous and an holy woman, and that all her woozdes and deedes, should appere to the wozlde, to pzocede of a marueilous holines, rebukyng the common synnes and vices of the wozlde, as though she were taught and inspired, of the holy spirite of God. And not onely moued and counsailed thesaied Elizabeth, thus to vse her self, surmittyng to her that she spake suche thynges, in the extasy of her sickenes, that came by the inspiracion of God, but also counsayled and pzocured thesaied Elizabeth, to bee bzought and conueighed, to thesaied Chapell of
oure Lady, and therein openly in the pzesence of the people, (that there should be assembled by their pzocurementes) should vse and experimēt suche like Traunses, and alteracions of her face, and other the outward sensible partes of her body, as she vsed in the extremitie and extasy of her sickenes. To whose counsailes and aduertisementes, thesaied Elizabeth agreed. Whereupon at a daie by them appoynted and agreed, thesaied Edward and Richard, laboured, solicited, and pzocured, aboue the nomber of twoo thousande persones, to repaire to thesaied Chapel, surmittyng that thesaied Elizabeth, whiche as they saied, had marueilous
and many Uisions and Reuelacions of God should bee bzoughte thether, and there receiue her healthe, by Miracle of oure Lady, whose Image was in thesaied Chapell. By reason of whiche false, feigned and detestable conspiracy and Hypocrisy, at the daie by theim appoynted, there assembled to thesaied Chapell, aboue the nomber of twoo thousande people. At whiche daie also, thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master pzocured, and caused thesaied Elizabeth, to repaire to thesaied Chapell, where thesaied Elizabeth, albeit she at that tyme, and long afoze was restozed to healthe of her bodie, and discharged of her tozmentes and afflictions, whiche she had in the extasy of her sickenes: Yet neuertheles by the pzocurement and craftie counsaill of thesaied
Edwarde Bockyng, and Richard Master, did falsely feigne and shewe vnto the people in thesame Chapell, many alteracions of her face, and other outward sensible partes of her body, and falsely feigned and shewed her self in Traunces, vttezyng wondezous woozdes, as she was befoze subtelly and craftely induced and taught, by thesayed Richarde and Edwarde to dooe. And emongest other thynges she vttered, that it was the pleasure of God, that thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, should bee her ghostly father, and that she should bee a religious woman, as she was taught by thesaied Edward Bockyng, and Richard Master. And within a while after demonstracion, of suche false feigned and dissimu-
led traunces, she appered to the people, to bee sodainly releued from her sickenes and afflictions, by the intercession and meanes of the Image of oure Lady, beyng in thesame Chapell. By meanes of whiche false feigned Hypocrysy, dissimuled and cloked Sanctitee, so conspired and craftely imagined by thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master,

ster, thesaied Elizabeth was brought into a meruellous fame, credite and good opinion, of a greate multitude of the people of this Realme, And to increase the fame of thesaid falle feigned Hypocrisy, thesaid Elizabeth after wardes, by the counsaill and procurement of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng entered into Religion, and became a Nonne, professed in thesaied Priory of Sainct Sepulchers, to whom thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, had commonly his resorte, not without probable, behement, and violent suspicion of incontinencye, pretendyng to bee her Ghostly father, by Goddes appoyntement. And by conspiracy betwene
x her and him, caused her still to persist and abide, in the practisyng of her said falle hipocrisy, and dissimulyng traunces and raptes. And that she should surmit to the people, that when she was in suche simuled alteracio, of her sensible partes of her body, that she was then rapt by almightie God, from thaffectios of this worlde, and tolde by the holy spirite of God, many thynges that should folowe to the worlde, for punishement of the synnes of the princes and the people. And that she should also say that she was muche prouoked & tempted, aswel to the synne of the flesshe as otherwise, by her ghostly enempe the deuill, at diuerse and sondry tymes, and in diuerse and sondery waies and fashions. And yet neuer the-
xx les that she by the grace of almightie God was preserued, and stedfastly resisted suche temptacion. By occasion of which counsaill and procurement, of thesaid Edward Bockyng, thesaid Elizabeth by continuaunce of tyme, toke suche a courage vpon her, that she falsely feined and saied, that she had many reuelactons, of almightie God and his holy sainctes, with heuenly sightes, heuenly voyces, heuenly melodies and ioyes, and specially in a chapell of. S. Giles, in thesaid Nonnery to the whiche chapell, she often tymes resorted, to receiue visions and reuelacions, as comaunded by God, as she falsely reported, and specially by night, saiyng, that the Dorture dooze was made open to her by Goddes power, vtte-
xxx ryng thesame, aswell to thesaied Edward Bockyng, as to diuerse other persones. By the whiche her falle feined reuelacions, & cloked hipocrisy, she was reputed emogest many people of this realme, to be a very holy woman, inspired with God, where in very deede, she neuer had vision or reuelacion from God, as she hath plainly and openly, confessed her self. And therefore her stealyng furthe of the Dorture in the nighte, whiche was not once or twise wekely was not for spirituall busines, nor to receiue reuelacios of God, but rather for bodely comunicacion & pleasure with her frendes, which could not haue so good leasure & opportunite with her by day. And for ratificacio of her falle feined reuelacios, thesaid Ed-
xl ward by cospiracy, betwene him & thesaid Elizabeth, reueled thesame to the most reuered father, Willya late Archebishop of Catorbury, who by falle & vntrue surmises, tales and lies of thesaid Edward & Elizabeth, was allured, brought and induced to credite theim, and made no deligent serches, for the triall of their saied falsehodes, and confederacions, but suffered and admitted thesame, to the blasphemie of almightie

God,

god,and to the great deceit of the ꝑince,and people of this realme. And
for a perpetuall memory of the ſaid feined and diſſimuled hipocriſy,and
falſe reuelacions of the ſaied Elizabeth,the ſaied Edward Bockyng, Ri-
chard Maſter,and one Jhon Deryng,a Monke in the ſaid Monaſtery
of Chriſtes churche a forſayed,made,writ and cauſed to be writen, ſon-
dery bokes bothe greate & ſmall,bothe ꝑinted and written,concernyng
the perticularities of the ſaied falſe and feined hipocriſy, and reuelacions
of the ſaid Elizabeth,or the defence or great praiſe of the ſame:ſurmittyng
and puttyng furth the ſame falſe and feined practiſes,and reuelacions of
the ſaid Elizabeth, to be iuſt & true miracles, ſhewed by almightie God, x
in the fauor of the ſanctitee of the ſaid Elizabeth,where in dede thei been
and wer falſely deuiſed,compaſſed, conſpired,writen and maintained by
the ſaid Elizabeth Barton,Edward Bockyng, Richard Maſter, & Jhō
Deryng,to thonly intēt to bring the ſaid Elizabeth, in the fame and cre-
dite of the people of this realme, wherby the people ſhould the more bee
apt and diſpoſed,by her falſe cloked hipocriſy and ſanctitee, to commit
the crimes of blaſphemy,and ydolatrie agaynſt God,and alſo the ſoner
induced, by the falſe reuelacions of the ſaied Elizabeth to murmor, and
grudge,and be of euill opinion, agaynſt the Maieſtie of our ſouereigne
lorde to the great peril and daunger of his moſte royal perſon. And one xx
Edward Thwaites gētleman,tranſlated and wrote diuerſe quaiers,and
ſhetes of paper,concernyng the ſayd falſe feined reuelacions, of the ſaied
Elizabeth. Alſo one Thomas Laurence of Cantorbury,beyng regeſter
to the archebiſhop of Cantorbury,at thinſtance and deſire of the ſaid Ed-
ward Bockyng, wrote a greate boke of the ſaied falſe & feined miracles,
and reuelacions of the ſaid Elizabeth in a faire hand,redy to bee a copie
to the printer, when the ſaied boke ſhould be put to ſtampe.

Emonges whiche falſe and feined reuelacions, ſurmiſed by the ſayed
Elizabeth,and put in writynges in diuerſe bokes,by the falſe cōſpiracie
meanes and procurement of the ſaied Edward Bockyng,Richard Ma- xxx
ſter, Jhon Deryng,and other their complices, there is expreſſed that the
deuill ſhould appere,to the ſaied Elizabeth in diuerſe faſhions, ſomety-
mes like a man wantonly appareiled, ſometyme like a birde deformed,
and ſometyme otherwiſe. And that Mary Magdalene, ſhould often a-
pere to the ſaied Elizabeth, and reuele to her many reuelacions. And at
one tyme ſhould deliuer vnto her,a letter written in heuen, part wherof
was limned with golden letters, where in deede the ſame letters were
written with the hande of a Monke of ſainct Auguſtines in Cantorbu-
ry named Hawkhurſt.

There was alſo written and cōteined, emongeſt the ſaid falſe and fei- xl
ned miracles & reuelaciōs,that when the kinges highnes was at Calice
in the enteruewe,betwene his maieſtie and the Frenche kyng,and heryng
Maſſe in the Churche of our Lady at Calice, ꝑ God was ſo diſpleaſed
with the kynges highnes,that his grace ſawe not at the Maſſe the bleſ-
ſed Sacrament in fourme of bread:for it was take awaie frō the prieſt

(beyng

(beyng at Masse) by an Angell, and ministered vnto thesaid Elizabeth, then beyng there present and inuisible, and sodainly conueighed & rapt thence again, by the power of God into thesaied Nonnery, where she is professed, with many other false feined fables and tales deuised, conspired and defended by thesaid Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng & Jhon Deryng, wrytte as miracles in thesaid bokes for a memorial, to set furth the false and feined hypocrisy, and cloked sanctitee of thesaid Elizabeth, to
x the people of this realme, as by thesayed sondery bokes and wrytinges therof made, seen and examined by the kynges moste honorable coũsaill more plainly apereth: in which bokes be written such termes & sentences of reproch and slaunder, agaynst the kynges highnes & the quene, which wer to shameful to be writte against the most vile & vngracious persõs liuyng, whiche to here, would abhorre euery true subiect of this realme.

And after thesaid Elizabeth by suche her false & feined hipocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, was brought in a great brute and fame of the people, in sondry parties of this realme, then thesaid Edward Bockyng by procurement & secret conspiracy, of diuerse persones vnknowen, whiche maligned agaynst the kynges procedynges, for the seperacion & deuorse in thesaied detested & vnlawfull mariage, traiterously intendyng to put
xx the kynges highnes in a murmor, and euil opinion of his people, for the same, coũsailed and stirred thesaid Elizabeth, that she should aske a peticiõ of almightie God, to knowe whether God was displeased with the kynges highnes for procedyng in thesaid deuorce and seperacion of the mariage betwene his highnes, and thesaid lady Katherin, declaryng to her many tymes, that he & diuerse other learned men of this realme, and many of the common people of thesame, were in firme opinions that the kynges procedyng in thesaied deuorce, was agaynst the lawes of God. Wherupon thesaid Elizabeth subtelly and craftely, cõcerning the opinion and mynd of thesaied Edward, willyng to please hym, reueled and
xxx shewed vnto thesaied Edward, that she had knowlege by reuelation frõ God, that God was highly displeased with our souereigne lorde, for the same matter. And in case he desisted not from his procedinges, in thesaid deuorse and seperacion, but pursued thesame & maried agayn, that then within one moneth after suche mariage, he should no lenger be kyng of this realme: & in the reputacion of almightie God, should not be a kyng one daie, nor one houre: and that he should dye a villeines death: saiyng farther, that there was a roote with.iii. braũches, & til they wer plucked vp, it should neuer be mery in England: interpreting the roote to be the late lord Cardinal, and the first braunche to be the kyng our souereigne
xl lorde, the secõd the duke of Norffolke, and the.iii. the duke of Suffolk. Whiche false feined reuelacios, by the mischeuous & malicious coũsaill and cõspiracie of thesaid Edward Bocking, with thesaid Elizabeth, wer writen and expressed, in thesaied bokes and volumes, conteignyng the false and feined reuelacions and Miracles, of thesayed Elizabeth, for a perpetuall memory thereof, to the vtter reproche and perell of destruc-

cion

tion of the kynges persone, his honor, fame and name: and priuely and secretly, set furthe by thesaied Elizabeth Edward Bockyng, Jhon Deryng, and Richarde Master generally to diuerse and many of the kynges subiectes, and specially as to electe persones, to Jhon Bishoppe of Rochester, and Jhon Adeson clerke, chapelain to thesated bishop, and to one Henry Gold priest, bacheler of Diuinitee, to Hugh Riche Frier Obseruaunt, and late Wardein of the Friers Obseruauntes of Cantorbury, whiche beare malice and malignitie, to all the kynges procedynges, in thesaied deuorse and seperacion, because it was contrary to their peruerse and froward opinions, entendyng by colour of thesayed false and feined hypocrisy, and reuelacions of thesaied Elizabeth, not onely to let thesaied deuorse and seperacion, but also to bring and set furth secretly, in the heddes of the people in this realme, aswel nobles as other, that al the kynges actes and procedyngs in thesame, were agaynst holy scriptures, and the pleasure of almightie God: whereby the kynges highnes should be brought in a grudge, and euill opinion of his people. And the saied Jhon Bishoppe of Rochester, Henry Gold, Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, Richard Master, Jhon Deryng, at sondery and seuerall tymes and places, spake with thesaid Elizabeth, and toke relacion of her, of the saied false and feined reuelacions, whiche she feined that she had of al- xx
mightie God, aswell concernyng the kynges highnes as other, after the fourme and termes aboue specified. And hauyng knowledge therof, the saied Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, and Henry Golde clercke, gaue suche firme and constant credite thereunto, that thei Trayterously conceled it from the kynges highnes, and trayterously beleued in their hartes, that the kyng our souereigne Lorde, after the late martage solempnized, betwene his highnes, and his moste dere and entierly beloued wife Quene Anne, was no lenger rightfull kyng of this realme, in the reputacion of almightie God, whereby in their hartes & willes, thei trayterously withdrewe from his highnes, their naturall dueties of obedience: and secret- xxx
ly taught and moued other persones (to whom thei reueled the said false and feined reuelacions) that thei ought and might lawfully doo in the same wise: and practised thesaied matters, against the kynges Maiestie, falsely, maliciously, and traiterously, at sondery places and tymes, with the fathers, and Nonnes of Syon, and diuerse Monkes of the Charter house of London and Shene, and with diuerse Freers Obseruauntes, the places of Richemont, Grenewiche, and Cauntorbury, and to diuerse other, bothe spirituall and temporall persones in greate nomber, to the intent to sowe a secret murmor and grudge, in the hartes of the kynges subiectes, against the Maiestie of our souereigne lorde, and all his pro- xl
cedynges, in thesaied diuorse and seperacion, intendyng therby to make suche a diuision and rebelling in this realme, emongest the kynges subiectes, whereby the kynges highnes, should not onely haue been put to peril of his life, but also in ieoperdy to be deprined from his croune and dignitie royall,

And

And for a more playne and particuler declaracion of the malicious & trayterous intentes of thesayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Jhon Deryng, Hugh Ryche, Rychard Rysby, & Henry Golde, their cõcluden by a confederacy among them selfes eche with other, to set forth in sermons & prechinges thesayd reuelacions to the people of thys realme against the kinges Maiestie, whensoeuer it should please ỹ said Elizabeth to appoint them the tyme when they should so do, and agreed ech with other secretely, and set forth thesayde false and fayned reuelaciõs
x to their acquaintaunce and frendes in this realme, intendinge to make a great multitude of people of this realme, by their secret conspiracies in an aptnes to receyue and take such their sermons and preachinges which they entended to make, as is aforsayd, cõcerninge the premisses, trayterously intẽding therby to put our sayd soueraigne lord, not only in peril of hys life, but also in ieopardye of losse and depriuacion of hys croune and dignitie royal of this realme, frõ him & his lawfull succession for euer. And in accomplishyng their false, trayterous & malicious intentes against our sayd soueraygne lorde, they caused thesaid Elizabeth, at. ij. tymes, secretly to declare thesaid false & fayned reuelacions to. ij. of the Popes Orators and ambassadors at the cities of Caũtor-
xx bury and London. At which tyme thesayde Henry Golde toke vpon hym to be interpretor therof, betwene thesaid Elyzabeth, & thesaid Orators named Anthony Pulleon: & the interpretor to the other Orator named Syluester, was the forsayd Lawrence of Cauntorbury, to thentent the kynges highnes, and al his procedinges in ỹ said deuorce and separacion should be brought into an euill opinion wyth the Pope and other princes and Potentates. And thesayd Hugh Rych actually trauayled to sondry places of this realme, and made secrete relacion of the premisses concernynge the kinges hyghnes to diuers lordes bothe spiritual and temporal, and diuers other persones lay and learned, se-
xxx culer and relygyous. And thesaid Henry Gold ouer this, actually trauayled and made relacion therof to thesayd lady Katherin princes dowager, to animate her to make commocion in this realme againste our sayd soueraygne lorde, surmitting that the sayd Elizabeth shuld haue by reuelacion of God, that thesayd lady Katherin should prospere and do wel, and that her issue the lady Mary the kynges doughter should prosper and reygne in this realme & haue many frẽdes to sustaine and maintayne her. And thesayd Elizabeth and Edward Bockynge, Jhon Deryng & Richard Maister likewise actually trauailed to diuers pla-
xl ces in this realme and made secrete relacion of the sayd false fayned hipocrisie and reuelacions of thesayd Elizabeth & gaue knowlege hereof to dyuers other sondry persones of this realme.

The kynge first named supreme hed.

All whiche conspiracies and confederacies of thesayde Elizabeth, & other her complices aboue mencioned, was traiterously & maliciously deuysed and practised by thesayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Jhon Deryng, Richard Maister, Henry Golde, Hugh Rych, and Rychard Rysby

Rysby to the entent trayterously to destroy our sayd soueraigne lord, and to depryue him and his lawfull succession frō the croune and dignitie royall of this realme, which matter had bene practysed & imagined amongest them for the space of many yeres: wherof the whole circumstaunce were very long to be wrytten in this acte. And the sayde Jhon Fysher bishop of Rochester and one Thomas Gold gentleman, and the sayd Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaytes, and Jhon Adson chapelein to the sayd Jhon bishop of Rochester, hauyng knowledge of the false fayned and dissimuled reuelacions, traiterously conspired against our sayd soueraygne lorde (as is aforsayd) did neuertheless make con- p
celement therof, and vttered not the same to our sayd souereygne lord nor any his honorable counsayl, agaynste their duties and allegeaunce in that behalfe.

And furthermore, the sayd Thomas Gold, for the accomplishement of hys most trayterous intēt, hath of late bene a messenger frō the saide Elizabeth, sithen she was inwarde the Tower of London for the sayde most false and trayterous offences by her and her said complyces committed and done, he then beyng at libertie, by hys message hathe comforted diuerse others to stande stysly by her reuelacyons, that thei wer of God: notwithstanding that she had confessed al her said falshed before xx
diuers of the kynges counsaylors, and that they were manifestly proued, found, and tryed moste false and vntrue: which thing he dyd onlye to raise and put sedicion and murmur in the people agayust the kinges highnes, his croune and dignitie royal. And one Thomas Abel clerke beyng of the confederacy aforesayd, and taking such firme and constant credite to the sayd false and fained reuelacions and miracles of the sayd Nonne, not onely caused to be Printed and set forth in this realme diuers bookes agaynst the sayd deuorce and separacyon to ỹ dissaunder of our sayd soueraygne lord, but also animated the sayd lady Katherine obstinately to persist in her wilful opinion against the same deuorce and xxi
separacion: and after the sayd deuorce lawfully had, to vsurpe and take vpon her styll to be Quene, and procured diuerse wrytinges to be made by her, by the name of Quene: and also procured and abetted the seruauntes of the sayd Lady Katheryne against the kynges expresse commaundement and proclamacion, to name, call, accept and repute the said lady Katherine for quene of this realme to the entent to make a cōmon diuision and rebellion in this realme to the great peryl and daunger of our sayd souereigne lorde.

Thus much haue I recited vnto you out of the acte as it is there expressed worde for worde: now after foloweth the maner of her attain- xl
der & of the other as in the acte more at large doth appere. But to conclude the. xxj. day of Apryll next folowyng she wyth other wer drawen to Tiborne and there executed as most iustly they had deserued as you may perceyue by the premisses.

And at the place of execucion, and the present tyme that she suffered

she

The wordes of Elizabeth Barto other wise called ye holye maide of Kente at her death.

the sayd these wordes, hether am I come to dye, & I haue not been the onely cause of myne owne death whiche moste iustly I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persones whiche at this time here suffre: & yet to say the trueth, I am not somuche to be blamed cõsideryng it was well knowen vnto these lerned men ye I was a poore wenche without learnyng and therefore thei might haue easely perceiued that the thinges that were done by me could not procede in no such sorte, but their capacities and learnynge coulde right well iudge from whence they proceded, & that they wer altogether fayned: but because the thynges which I fayned was profitable vnto them, therfore they muche praised me and bare me in hande that it was the holy ghost and not I that dyd theim, and then I beyng puft vp with their praises fell into a certain pryde and foliche phantasie with my selfe and thought I might fayne what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I cry God & the kynges highnes most heartely mercy, and desire all you good people to pray to God to haue mercy on me and on all them that here suffre with me.

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suertie of the croune, to the whiche euery persone beyng of lawfull age should be sworne vpon the payne expressed in that acte, as in the same ye may moste euidently see.

Monday the.xxiij.day of Marche in the Parliament time, were solempnely receiued into London as ambassadors from James the.v. king of Scottes, the bishop of Aberdyne, the Abbot of kynlos & Adam Otterborne the kynges Atturney, with diuers gentlemen on them attendant whiche were brought to the Taylers hal & there lodged. And on the day of the Annunciacion of our Lady they were brought to the kynges place at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the kyng appointed them dayes to cõsaill. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall heare.

During the Parliamẽt tyme, euery sonday preached at Paules crosse a bishop, whiche declared the Pope not to be the head of the Churche.

The.xxx.day of Marche the Parliament was prorogued, and there euery lorde and burges & all other, were sworne to the acte of successiõ, and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to the same othe. This Parliament was prorogued till the third day of Nouember next. After this, commissions were sent ouer all England to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at whiche fewe reppyned, except doctor Jhon Fysher, sir Thomas Moore knight late lorde Chaũcelor, and doctor Nicholas Wylson parson of saint Thomas Apostles in London: wherfore these thre persones, after long exhortaciõ to thẽ made by the bishop of Caumtorbury at Lambeth, and expresse denyall of thẽ to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where thei remayned and were ostentymes mocioned to be sworne: but the Bishoppe and sir

Thomas Moze sayd that thei had in their writynges written the pryn-
ces dowager Quene, and therfoze they might not go against that, and
the doctoz sayd that he in preachyng called her quene, which he would
not withsay, howbeit at length he was very wel contented, and dissem-
bled the matter and so escaped: But the other twayne stode against all
the realme in their opinion.

Wolfes wife.

In this yere it chaunced that two marchaunt straungers fell in loue
with a harlot whiche was called Wolfes wyfe, & this harlot had often
haunted the straungers chambers. And so one tyme thesame harlot
appoynted these straungers to come to Westminster, and she had pre- &
pared foz them a bote, in the whiche bote was but one manne to rowe
whyche was a strong thefe, and in the ende of the boate laye Wolfe her
husband couered with a lether that botemē vse to couer their Cusshyns
with, and so these straungers satte them doune mistrustyng nothyng,
and when this boteman had brought theim as farre as a place that is
called ỹ Turnyng tree, sodainly stepped vp the sayd Wolfe & wyth his
dagger thrust the one of theim thorow, the other cryed out to saue hys
lyfe and offred a great somme of money to the boteman and him to saue
his lyfe, but no proferres woulde be heard, noz mercy woulde they ex-
tende, but as cruell murderers without pitie slewe the other also and &
bound theim face to face and so threw thē into the Thames in the foze-
sayed place, where they were longe after befoze ther were found. But
immediatly the harlot Wolfes wyfe went to the straungers cham-
bers and toke from thence so muche as she coulde come by. And
at the laste she and her husbande as they deserued, were ap-
prehended, arraigned and hanged at the fozesayed tur-
nynge tree, where she hanged still and was not cut
doune, vntyll suche tyme as it was knowen
that beastly and filthy wrethces had
moste shamefully abused her
beynge dead.

The

¶ The.xxvi.yere.



The nynth day of July was the lord Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of high treason, wher the duke of Norffolke sat as iudge and high Steward of Englād. The sayd lorde Dacres beyng brought to the barre with the axe of the Tower before him: after his inditemēt red, not only improued the sayd inditement as false and mali-
x ciously deuised against hym & answered euery part and matter therin contained, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusors whiche there were ready to auouche their accusacions, that to their great shames, & to his great honor, he was found that day by his peres not gūtie, which vndoubtedly the commons excedyngly ioyed & reioy-sed of, in so muche as there was in the hall at those woordes, not gūtie, the greatest shoute and crye of ioy that the like no man liuyng may re-membre that euer he heard.

The lorde Dacres of the North.

The.xiiij. day of July one Jhon Frith beyng very well learned and had an excellent goodly witte, was brought out of the Tower wher he had been long, & was there imprisoned for makynge of a booke agaynst
xx Purgatory: but in ỹ meane whyle that he was there, he was required by one who heartely loued him and had a very good opinion in him, to declare to him his faith and opinion in the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, & that he would put thesame in writyng, whiche thyng he dyd. But after it chaūced that thesame persone which had this writ-tynge of Jhon Frith was acquainted with a Taylor in London called Wyllyam Holt, whiche outwardely professed muche honestye, but in-wardly was a verye spye and a very betrayer of as many menne as he might bryng in daungier. This Holt required after he had seen it, to haue this writing, & he had it, and forth with he presented it to sir Tho-
xxx mas More then lorde Chaūcelor, and he immediatly made answere to the same in writyng, which also by the meanes of the sayd Holt, came to the handes of Jhon Frith. Jhon Frith then perceiuyng that the thing that he was so loth to write or meddle in (for it was a matter that none could get him to talke of, sauyng suche that he as much trusted as hym selfe) was nowe so farre spred abroade that it was answered vnto, after he had not a litle rebuked the negligence and folye of his frende whom he trusted, stoode to the defence of his first treatise, and made a farther declaracion of his mynde vpon thesame matter as appereth in a booke whiche beareth his name. For the which opinion & other he was after
xl diuers and sondry examinacious (aswell at Lambeth with the Bishop of Canterbury as also at Croydon, and likewyse with the bishoppe of Wynchester) brought vnto the Consistory in Paules Churche in Lon-don before diuers bishoppes, where after muche disputyng, for that he would not yelde nor submit him selfe to theim, they condempned him &

Jhon Frith.

deliuered hym to the seculer power to be brent as an heretike.

At the same time was one Andrew Hewet a very simple and vtterly vnlerned yong man a Taylor, which was also betrayed by the forsayd Holt: This yonge man beyng in lyke maner accused in the Consistory before the sayd bishoppes for holding opinion agaynst the Sacrament. One of the bishoppes asked him how he beleued in the Sacrament: he answered, he beleued therin as Master Frith did: why sayd they, doest thou not beleue that it is the very body of Christ really flesshe and bloud euen as he was borne of the virgyn Mary: No sayed he, why so sayed the Byshop: because sayd he, that Christe byd me that I should not beleue them that say here is Christ and there is Christe, for false Christes & false prophetes shall arise to deceiue you sayth Christ. Then certayn of the byshoppes smyled, and Doctor Stokesley then Byshop of London sayd: Frith is an heretike and is condempned and deliuered to the temporal power to be brent, yf thou wilt not submit thy selfe & acknowlege thyne errour, thou shalt likewyse be condempned and deliuered. I am content sayd he. Wilt thou not abiure thyne heresie q̄ the bishop: No sayd he, for I wyll do as Mayster Frith doth. Then we will condempne thee sayd the Byshop: do so sayd he. And so they pronounced sentence on him, and deliuered hym to the Shiriffes: and from thence they were sent to Newgate where they remayned tyll the.xxij.day of July, & that daye were both brent at one stake in Smythfelde. Where at the same tyme one doctor Cooke which was person of Hony Lane, and one that was the Master of the Temple, willed the people to pray no more for them then they would pray for dogges, at whiche vncharitable wordes Frith smyled and prayed God to forgeue them, and the people sore grudged at them for so saiynge.

The.xiiij.day of August was a great fyer at Temple barre & diuers houses brent. And the.xvj.daye of the same moneth was burned the kynges stable at Charyng crosse otherwyse called the Mowse, wherin was brent many great Horses and great store of haye.

In this yere the third day of Nouēber the kinges highnes helde his high court of Parliament, in the whiche was cōcluded and made many and sondry good, wholsome, and godly statutes: but among al one, special estatute, which aucthorised the kynges highnes to be supreme head of the Churche of England, by the which the Pope with all his College of Cardinalles with all their Pardons and Indulgences was vtterly abholished out of this realme, God be euerlastyngly praysed therefore.

The Pope abholished.

In this Parliament also was geuen to the kynges highnes the fyrste frutes and tenthes of all dignities & spirituall promocions. And in the ende of the same Parliament the kynges Maiestie moste graciously graunted (and wylled it by the same Parliament to be established) hys moste gracious and generall free pardon.

Thys yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce: whiche Admyrall

myrall was honorably receiued, and at hys departyng was lyberally rewarded.

In this tyme dyed the Erle of Kyldare prisoner in the Tower. And euen at thesame tyme Thomas Fitzgarard his sonne began to rebell against the kynge and tooke all the kynges Ordinaunce, and sent Ambassadors to the Emperor to haue intreated him to take part with him. Also he slewe the bysshop of Deuelyn and brent and robbed all suche as would not obeye hym: But at the last he was apprehended and had as he deserued as after shall appeare.

The.xxvij.yere.



A the beginnynge of this yere the Duke of Norffolke & the Bysshop of Ely went to Caleys, and thether came the Admyral of Fraunce. And the.xix.day of June was thre Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, & quartred at Tyborne & their quarters set vp about London for denyng the kyng to be supreme head of the Churche. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemore, & Rudigate. These men when they were arreigned at Westminster, behaued them selfes very stifly & stubbornly, for hearyng their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken against the kynges Maiestie his croune and dignitye, they neyther blusshed nor bashed at it, but very folishly & hipocritically knowlegd their treason whiche maliciously they auouched, haunge no lernyng for their defence, but rather beyng asked dyuers questions, they vsed a malicious silence, thinkyng as by their examinacions after warde in the Tower of London it dyd appeare, for so they sayed, that they thought those men whiche was the Lorde Crumwell and other that there satte vpon them in iudgement to be heretiques and not of the Churche of God, and therfore not worthy to be either aunswered or spoken vnto. And therfore as they deserued, they receiued as you haue heard before.

Also the.xxij.day of thesame moneth Jhon Fysher bishop of Rochester was beheaded, and his head set vpon London bridge. This bishop was of very many menne lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learnyng, and a man of very good life, but therin wonderfully deceiued, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of ỹ Church, and very maliciously refused the kynges title of supreme head. It was sayd that the Pope, for that he helde so manfully with him and stoode so stifly in his cause, did elect him a Cardinal, and sent the Cardinalles hat as farre as Caleys, but the head it should haue stande on, was as high as London bridge or euer the hat could come to Bishop Fysher, & then it was to late, & therfore he neither ware it nor enioyed his office.

Jhō Fisher bishop of Rochester.

This

This man as I sayd was accoumpted learned, yea, and that very notably learned, and yet haue you heard howe he was deceiued with Elizabeth Barton that called herselfe the holy mayd of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the defence of that vsurped authoritie, ỹ more pitie: wonderful it is that a man beyng lerned should be so blind in the scriptures of God that proueth the supreme aucthoritie of princes so manyfestly. Also the.vj. day of Julye was sir Thomas Moze beheaded foz the like treason befoze rehersed, which as you haue heard was foz the deniyng of the kynges Maiesties supremitie. This manne was also coumpted learned, & as you haue heard befoze he was lozde Chauncelor of England, and in that tyme a great persecutor of suche as detested the supremacy of the byshop of Rome, whiche he himselfe so highly fauored that he stoode to it till he was brought to the Skaffolde on the Tower hyll where on a blocke his head was striken from his shoulders and had no more harme. I cannot tell whether I shoulde call him a foolishe wyseman, or a wise foolishman, for vndoubtedly he beside his learnyng, had a great witte, but it was so myngled with tauntyng and mockyng, that it semed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministred some mocke in the communicacion, insomuche as at his commyng to the Tower, one of the officers demaũded his vpper garment foz his fee, meanyng his goune, & he answered, he should haue it, and tooke him his cappe, saiyng it was the vppermoste garmẽt that he had. Lykewise, euen goyng to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him and besought him to declare that he had certaine euidences of hers in the tyme that he was in office (which after he was apprehẽded she could not come by) & that he would intreate she might haue them agayn, or els she was vndone. He answered, good woman haue pacience a litle while, for the kyng is good vnto me that euen within thys halfe houre he wyll discharge me of all busynesses, and helpe thee hymselfe. Also when he went vp the stayer on the Skaffold, he desired one of the Shiriffes officers to geue him his hand to helpe him vp, & sayed, when I come doune againe, let me shift for my selfe aswell as I can. Also the hangman kneled doune to him askynge him forgeuenes of his death (as the maner is) to whom he sayed I forgeue thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt neuer haue honestie of the strykyng of my head, my necke is so short. Also euen when he should lay doune his head on the block, he hauyng a great gray beard, striked out his beard & sayd to the hangman, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer the block least ye should cut it, thus wyth a mocke he ended hys lyfe.

sir Thomas Moore, beheded.

This yere in the tyme that the kyng went his progresse, which was to Gloucester and so Westward, the kyng of Scottes was installed at Wynsore by the lorde Erskyn his Procurator. And in October folowyng Stephyn Gardiner bishop of Winchester was sent Ambassador into Fraunce where he remained thre yeres after.

In

In Nouember was a solempne procession throngh the citie of London of all the prieftes and religious in and about the citie for the recouering of the French kyng to his health. And the.viij.day of January folowyng dyed the princes dowager at Kymbalton and was buried at Peterborough. Quene Anne ware yelowe for the mournyng.

Quene Anne brought a bed before her tyme.

And in February folowyng was quene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her tyme, which was borne dead.

This yere in the moneth of September Wyllyam Tyndale otherwyse called Hichyns was by the crueltie of the clergie of Louayn con-
x demned and burned in a toune beside Bruxelles in Brabande called Vylford. This man translated the New testament into Englishe and fyrst put it in Print, and likewise he translated the.v.bookes of Moyses, Josua, Judicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges and the bookes of Paralipomenon, Nehemias or the fyrst of Esdras, the Prophet Jonas, & nomore of ỹ holy scripture. He made also diuers treatises, which of many were wellyked and highly praysed, and of many vtterly dispised and abhorred, and especially of the moste parte of the bishoppes of this realme, who often by their great labours caused Proclamacions to be made against his bookes, and gatte them condempned and brent,
xx aswell the Newe testament as other woorkes of his doynges. Suche as best knewe him reported him to be a very lobre man, borne vpon the borders of Wales, and brought vp in the Uniuersitie of Oxforde, and in lyfe and conuersacion vnreprouable: and at the laste beynge in Oxford Luther then settyng fooryth certaine woorkes against the Bysshop of Rome, Tyndale occasioned by theim to searche the scriptures whether Luther sayd the truth or no, did therby not onely himselfe attaine the knowledge of the vsurped authoritie of the bishop of Rome & hys superstitious and dampnable doctrynes that he had taught and published through all Christendome, but also lamentynge the ignoraunt
xxx state that his natiue countrey of England was in, who altogether wer wrapped in errours thought it hys dutie, for that God hadde reueled the light of his Gospell to him, to bestowe hys talent to the honour of God and profite of hys countrey, and thought no waye so good to reduce the people from their errour as fyrste to make theim acquaynted with Goddes woorde, that they myght knowe what Goddes will was that we should do, and what the bishoppe of Rome sayed that we muste do: and therefore fyrste as is afore sayed: he translated into Englishe the Newe Testament, a woorke no doubt very notable and to hym verye paynefull, for that he was forced to flye his owne natyue
xl countrey, and to lyue in a straunge lande amonge people that as well varyed from his maners, as the persones to hym were vnknowen. Amongest whom after greate paynes by hym taken, and manye and dyuers treatises by hym published, he was at Antwarpe this yere

by

by one Philippes an Englisheman and then a scholar at Louayn, betrayed and taken, and as many sayed, not without the helpe and procurement of some byshoppes of this realme: but true it is, that after he had been in prison moze then a yere & almost forgotten, he was labozed foz by letters writtẽ by the lozde Cromwell, & then in all hast because he would recãt no part of his doynges, was burned as you haue heard befoze. But yet this repozt dyd the Procuratoz generall there (which we call here the Liuetenaunt) make of hym, that he was, *Homo doctus, pius & bonus*, that is to say, learned, godly, and good.

The fowerth day of Febzuary the kyng held his high court of Parliament at Westminster, in the whiche was many good and wholsome statutes and lawes made and concluded. And in this tyme was geuen vnto the kyng by the consent of the great and fatte abbottes, all religious houses that were of the value of. CCC. marke & vnder, in hope that their great Monasteries should haue continued still: But euen at that tyme one sayd in the Parliamẽt house that these were as thoznes, but the great abbottes were putrified olde Okes and they must nedes folowe, & so will other do in Chzistendome ye doctoz Stokesley bishop of London oz many yeres be passed.

The.xxviij.yere.



N Maye daye were a solempne Justes kept at Grenewyche, and sodaynlye from the Justes the kyng departed hauyng not aboue. vj. persons with him, and came in the euenyng from Grenewyche to his place at Westminster. Of this sodayn departynge many men mused, but moste chiefely the quene, who the next day was apzehended & bzought from Grenewyche to the Tower of London, where after she was arreigned of high treason, and condempned. Also at thesame tyme was likewyse apzehended, the lozde Rochesozde bzother to thesayd Quene, and Henry Nozrys, Marke Smeton, Myllyam a Bzuton and sir Fraunces Weston, all of the kynges pziuy chamber. All these were lykewise commytted to the Tower and after arreigned & condempned of high treason. And al the gentlemen were beheaded on the Skaffolde at the Tower hyll: But the Quene was with a swozde beheaded within the Tower. And these folowyng were the woozdes that she spake the day of her death wiyche was the. xix. day of May. 1536.

Quene Anne sent to ye tower.

God

The wordes of quene Anne Bolleyn at her death.

Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for according to the lawe, and by the lawe I am iudged to dye, and therefore I wyll speake nothynge agaynst it. I am come hether to accuse no man, nor to speake auy thyng of that, whereof I am accused and condempned to dye, but I pray God saue the king and send him long to reygne ouer you, for a gētler nor a more mercifull prince was there neuer: and to me he was euer a good, a gentle and souerayne lorde. And yf anye persone wyll medle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leue of the worlde and of you all, and I hertely desyre you all to praye for me.
x O Lorde haue mercy on me, to God I cōmende my soule. And then she kneled doune saying: To Christ I commende my soule, Jesu receiue my soule diuers tymes, till that her head was stryken of wyth the sworde. And on the Assencion daye folowyng, the kynge ware whyte for mournynge.

The weke before Whytsontyde the kyng maried lady Jane doughter to the ryght worshipfull sir Jhon Seymer knyght, which at Whitsontyde was openly shewed as Quene.

The.viij.day of June the kyng held his high courte of Parliament in the whiche Parliament the kynges two first mariages, that is to say
xi with the lady Katheryne, and wyth the lady Anne Bulleyn were both adiudged vnlawfull, as more at large appeareth in the acte in the booke of statutes.

In the Parliamente season lorde Thomas Hawarde without the kynges assent affyed the ladye Margarete Douglas doughter to the quene of Scottes and nere to the kyng: for whych presumpteous acte he was attainted of treason, and an acte made for lyke offendors, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as a prysoner.

In the time of this Parliament, the bishoppes and all the clergie of the realme helde a solempne conuocacion at Paules churche in Londō
xxx where after much disputacion and debating of matters they publyshed a booke of religion intitled, Articles deuysed by the kyngs highnes &c. In thys booke is specyally mencyoned but thre Sacramētes, wyth the whiche the Lyncolneshyremen (I meane their ignorannt priestes) wer offended, and of that occasion depraued the kynges doynges. And this was the first beginninge, as after ye shall playnly heare.

After this boke which passed by the kinges aucthoritie wyth the cōsent of the Clergie, was published, the which cōtayned certaine articles of religion necessary to be taught vnto the people, and amonge other it specially treated of nomore then thre Sacramentes, wher alwayes the
xl people had bene taught.vij. Sacramentes, & besyde this boke, certaine Iniunccions were that tyme geuen wherby a nōber of their holy daies was abrogated & specially such as fel in the harueste tyme, the kepynge of whych was muche to the hynderaunce of the gatherynge in of corne, haye, fruyte, and other such lyke necessary and profitable commodities.

These

The insurrection in Lyncolneshyre.

These artycles thus ordayned and to the people deliuered. The inhabitauntes of the North partes being at that time very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant, but altogether noseled in superstition and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbottes and ignorant priestes not a litle stirred and prouoked for the suppression of certaine Monasteries, and for the extirpacion and abolyshynge of the bishoppe of Rome, nowe takynge an occasion at this booke, saiynge see frendes nowe is taken from vs foure of the. vij. Sacramentes and shortly ye shall lese the other thre also, & thus the fayth of holye churche shall vtterly bee suppressed and abolyshed: and therefore sodaynly they spred abroade and rayled great and shamefull slaunders only to moue the people to sedicion and rebellion, and to kyndle in the people hatefull and malicious myndes agaynste the kynges Maiestie and the Magestrates of the realme, saiynge let vs fully bend our selues to the mayntenaunce of religion, and rather then to suffre it thus to decaye euen to dye in the felde. And amongest theim also were to many euen of the nobilitie that did not a lytle prouoke and stirre vp the ignoraunt and rude people the more stifly to rebell and stand therin, faythfully promysynge theim both ayde and succoure agaynst the kynge and their owne natiue countrey (lyke foolyshe and wycked menne) thynkyng by their so doing to haue done God hygh pleasure and seruice. There were also certaine other malycyous and busye persones who added Oyle (as the Adage sayeth) to the Fornace: These made open clamours in euery place wher opportunitie serued, that Christian religion should be vtterly violate, dissypsed and set a syde, and that rather then so, it behoued and was the partes of euerye true Christen manne to defende it euen to the death, and not to admyt and suffre by anye meanes the fayth (in the whyche their forefathers so longe and so manye thousande yeres haue lyued and contynewed) nowe to bee subuerted and destroyed. Amonge these were many priestes whyche deceyued also the people wyth manye false fables and venemous lyes and imaginacions (whych coulde neuer entre nor take place in the harte of anye good man, nor faythfull subiecte) saiyng that all mauer of prayer and fastyng & al Goddes seruyce shuld vtterly be destroyed and taken away, that no man should mary a wyfe or be partaker of the Sacramentes, or at length shoulde eate a piece of rost meate, but he should for the same first pay vnto the kyng a certayne somme of money, & that they shoulde be brought in more bondage & in a more wycked maner of life, then ỹ Sarasyns be vnder ỹ great Turk. With these and such other like errours and slaunderous tales, the people thus instructed (or as I maye trulier speake) deceyued and mocked beyng to lyght of credite, incontinent to the helpe and maintenaunce of religion once establyshed and confirmed, they stifly and stoutly dyd cõspire and agre: and in a parte of Lyncolneshire, fyrst thei assembled and shortly after, ioyned into an Army, beynge (as it was supposed) of men

apte

apte and feete for the warre, in nombre aboute twentie thousand.

Against these trayterous rebelles, with all the haste and spede that might be (after he harde therof) the kynges royal maiestie, in his awne proper persone, furnished with a goodly and warlike Armie, lackynge nothyng that to suche a company shoulde appertein, marched towarde them. But these rebelles hearyng that his maiestie was present wyth his power and armie royall, feared what woulde folow of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before fauored them began to withdrawe them selues, so that thei wer destitute of Capitai-
x nes: & at the last thei in writyng made certayn peticions to the kynges maiestie, professynge that they neuer entended hurte toward hys roy-
all persone. The kynges maiestie receiued there peticions, and made answere vnto them as followeth.

First we begyn and make answere to the foure and sixe articles, be- The kynges answer to the rebelles.
cause vpon theim dependeth muche of the rest. Concernyng chosynge of counsaylors, I neuer haue red, hard, nor knowne, that princes coun-
sailors and prelates, should be appoynted by rude and ignoraunt com-
mon people, nor that thei wer persones mete, nor of habilitie to discerne
x & chose mete & sufficīt counsailors for a prince: how presumpteous then
x are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the moste brute &
beastly of the whole realme, & of the least experience, to fynd faute with your Prince for the electryng of his counsaylours and prelates, and to take vpon you contrarie to goddes lawe & mannes lawe to rule youre prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes to obey and serue wyth both youre lyues, landes and goodes, and for no worldly cause to withstād-
the contrarie wherof you like traytors and rebelles haue attempted and not lyke true subiectes as ye name youre selfes.

As to the suppression of religious houses and monastaries, we wolle that ye and all oure subiectes should well knowe that this is graunted
xx bs by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this oure Realme, and by all the commons in thesame by acte of Parliament, and not set furth by any counsailor or counsaylors vpon there mere will and fantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade oure realme to beleue.

And where ye allege that the seruice of god is much diminished, the trouth therof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where god was well serued, but where most vice, mischief and abhominacion of li-
uyng was vsed, and that doth wel apere by there awne cōfessions sub-
scribed with ther awne handes in the tyme of their visitacions, & yet we suffered a great many of them (more thē we neded by the acte) to stand
xl wherin yf thei amēd not ther liuyng, we feare, we haue more to answer for then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the relief of the pore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that thei haue bene a great relefe of poore people, whā a great many or the most parte hath not past foure or fiue religious persons in them, and diuers but one which spent ȳ substaunce of the goodes of ther houses in nori-

thyng of byce and abhominable liuing. Now what vnkindnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and al oure subiectes that be of that mynde, that had leuer suche an vnthryftye sorte of vycyous persones, shoulde enioy such possessions, profytes and emolumentes, as growe of thesayd houses, to the mayntenaunce of their vnthryftie life, then we youre naturall prince, Souereygne lorde and kyng, whych doeth and hath spent more in your defences of our awne, then six tymes they bee woorth. As towchynge the acte of vses, we maruaile what madnes is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye would take aucthoritie vpon you to cause vs to breake those lawes and statutes, whyche by & al the noble knightes and gentlemen of thys realme (whome thesame chiefly toucheth) hath beue graunted and assented to: seynge in no maner of thyngs it toucheth you the basse commons of our realme.

Also the groundes of all those vses were false, & neuer admytted by lawe, but vsurped vpon the prince, contrary to all equitie and iustice, as it hath bene opēly both dysputed & declared by al the well learned men in the realme of Englande in Westminster hall: whereby ye maye well perceine, how mad and vnreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and how vnmete it is for vs and dishonorable, to graunt or assent vnto, and lesse mete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort & to demaunde thesame of your prynce.

As touching the fyftene which ye demaund of vs to be released, think ye that we be so fayntharted, ẏ perforce ye of one shire (wer ye a greate many mo) coulde compel vs wyth your insurreccions and such rebellious demeanour to remit thesame: or thynke ye that anye man wyll or may take you to be true subiectes, that first make and shew a louynge graunt & then perforce would compel your souereigne lorde and kyng to release thesame: the time of payment whereof is not yet come, yea & seing thesame wyll not cōtreuayl ẏ tenth peny of the charges, whyche we do & dayly susteine for youre tuicion & safegarde: make you sure, by & your occasions of these your ingratitudes, vnnaturalnes & vnkindnes to vs now administred, ye geue vs cause whiche hathe alwayes ben asmuche dedicate to your wealth as euer was kyng, not so much to set or studie for the setting forward of thesame, seing how vnkyndly & vntruly, ye deale now wyth vs, wythout any cause or occasyon: and doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnes in you to consyder your dutie of allegiaunce to your kyng, and souereigne lorde, the rest of our Realme we doubt not hath: and we and they shall so loke on this cause, that we trust it shalbe to your confusion, yf accordyng to youre former letters you submit not your selfes. &

As touching the first frutes, we let you wit, it is a thyng graũted vs by act of parliament also, for the supportacion of parte of the great and excessiue charges, which we supporte and beare for the mayntenaunce of youre wealthes and other oure subiectes: and we haue knowen also

that

that ye our commons haue much complained in tymes passed, that the moste parte of our gooddes, landes and possessions, of the realme, were in the spiritual mennes handes: & yet bearyng vs in hand that ye be as louyng subiectes to vs as may be, ye cannot fynd in your hartes that your prince and soueraigne lorde shoulde haue any parte thereof (and yet it is nothing preiudiciall vnto your our commons) but to rebel and vnlawfully ryse agaynst your prynce, contrary to the duety of allegeaunce and Goddes commaundement, Sirs, remembre youre folies & treiterous demeanours, & shame not your native countrey of Englād nor offende no more so greuously your vndoubted kynge and naturall prince, whiche alwayes hath shewed him self most louing vnto you, and remembre your dutie of allegiance, and that ye are bounde to obey vs youre kynge, both by Goddes commaundement and lawe of nature.

x Wherfore we charge you eftsones vpon the forsayd bondes and paines, that ye wythdraw your selfes to your owne houses, euery man, & no more to assemble contrarye to oure lawes, and your allegeaunces, and to cause the prouokers of you to this mischiefe, to be delyuered to oure lyftenauntes handes, or oures, and you your selues to submit you to suche condigne punishment as we and oure nobles shall thynke you worthy: for doubt you not els that we and our nobles cā nor will suffre this iniurie at youre handes vnreuenged, yf ye geue not place to vs of

xx souereigntie, and shewe youre selfes as bounden and obedyent subiectes, and no more to entermeddle your selfes from hencefurth wyth the weightie affaires of the realme, the direccion whereof only apperteigneth to vs your kyng & such noble men and counsailors, as we lyst to elect & chose to haue the orderyng of thesame: & thus we praye vnto almighty god, to geue you grace to do your duties, to vse your selfes towardes vs lyke trew and faythfull subiectes, so as we may haue cause to ordre you therafter, and rather obediently to consent amongest you to deliuer into the handes of our liuetenaunta hundreth persons, to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our wil and pleasure, then by your obstinacy and wylfulnes, to put your selfes, your wyues, childzen landes, goodes and cattalles, besyde the indignacion of god, in the vt-

xxx ter aduenture of total destruccion, and vtter ruyne, by force and vyolence of the swerd.

After the Lyncolneshire men had receiued this the kynges answer aforsayd, made to their peticions, eche mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medeler, euen very sodenly thei begā to shrink and out of hand they were all deuided, and euery man at home in hys owne house in peace: but the capitaines of these rebelles eskaped not al clere, but were after apprehended, and had as they deserued: he y̑ toke vpon him as capitain of this rowte, named hym selfe capitaine Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with diuers other which

xl afterward were taken and executed.

All these thinges thus ended, the contrey appeased, and all thinges

in quiet, the kynges maiestie recired, and brake vp his army.

A new insurreccon.

But le, euen within six daies folowyng, was the king truly certefied that ther was a new insurreccion made by the Northren men, whyche had assembled themselfes into a houge and great army of warlikemen & wel appoincted both w capitaynes, horse, harneys & artillary to the nombre of fourtie thousande men, whiche had encamped themselfes in yorkeshire: And these men had ech of theim to other bound them selfes by their othe to be faythfull and obedient to his capitayne: they also declared by their proclamacions solemply made, that this their insurrection, should extēd no farther but only to the maintenaunce and defence of the fayth of Christe & deliueraunce of holy churche sore decaied and oppressed, and also for the furtheraūce aswel of priuate as publick matters in the realme touchyng the wealth of al the kyngs pore subiectes. They named this there sedicious and traiterous voiage, an holye and blessed Pilgrymage: they had also certaine banners in the felde, wherupon was painted Christ hangynge on the Crosse on the one syde, & a chalice with a painted kake in it on the other syde w diuerse other banners of like hipocresie and fained sanctitie: the souldiers also had a certain cognisaunce or badge, embroudered or set vpon the sleues of their coates, which was the similitude of the fyue woundes of Christ, and in the middest therof was wrytten the name of our lorde, and this the rebellious Guarryson of Satan with hys false and counterfeated signes of holynes set forth and decked thēselfes, only to delude and deceyue ỹ symple and ignorant people.

After that the kinges highnes was credibly certefied of this new insurged insurreccion, he makyng no delay in so weightie a matter, caused with al spede the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Excetter, the Erle of Shrewsbury wyth other, accompanyed wyth his mighty & royal army, which was of great power & strēgth, forth w to set vpō the rebelles: but whē these noble capitaynes & coūsaylors approched, the rebelles & perceiued their nombre & saw how they wer bēt to battayl, they practysed wyth great pollecie to haue pacefyed al without bloudshedyng, but the Northrenmen wer so stifnecked ỹ thei wold in nowise stoupe, but stoutlye stode and mayntayned their wycked entrepryse, wherfore the nobles aboue sayd perceiuyng and seynge none other way to pacefye these wretched rebelles, agreed vpon a battayl, ỹ battail was appoicted, & ỹ day was assigned: but, se ỹ same night which was the night before the day of the battail appointed, fel a smal rain nothing to speake of: but yet as it wer by a great myracle of god, ỹ water which was but a very smal forde, & ỹ men in maner ỹ day before, might haue gone dryshod ouer, sodenly rose of such a heigth, depnes & bredth that the lyke noman that ther did inhabit could tel that euer thei sawe it so a fore, so that the day, euen when the houre of battayll should come it was impossible for the one armie to come at the other.

A true myracle of God.

Ffeer

After this appoyntmēt made betwene both the armies (disapointed as it is to be thought only by God, who extended his great mercie and had compassion on the great nomber of innocent persones, that in that deadly slaughter had lyke to haue bene murdered) could take no place: Then by the great wysedom and pollecy of thesayd capitaynes, a communicacion was had, and a pardon of the kynges Maiestie obteyned, for all the capitaynes and chief doers of this insurreccion, and thei pro-
mysed that such thynges as they founde themselues agreued wythall they shoulde gently be heard, and there reasonable peticions graūted
x and that their articles should be presented to the kinges Maiestie, that by hys hyghnes aucthoritie, and wysedome of his counsayl, al thinges should be brought to good ordre and conclusion: and with this ordre euery man quietly departed, and those which before wer bent as hote as fyre to fyght, beyng letted therof by God, went now peaseably to their houses, and were as colde as water. *A domino factum est istud.*

In thys tyme of insurreccion, and in the rage of horley borley, euen when the kynges armie and the rebelles were ready to ioyne, the kinges banner beyng displayd, & ỹ kynges maiestie then lyng at Winsore,
xi ther was a boocher dwellyng wythin fyue mile of Wynsore which caused a priest to preach that al such which toke part with ỹ Yorkshiremen whom he named Goddes people, did fyght and defend Goddes quarel & farther thesayd bocher in sellyng of his meat, one dyd byd hym a lesse price of a shepe then he made of it, he answered nay by Gods soul, I had rather ỹ good felowes of the north had it amonge them & a skore more of ỹ best I haue: this priest & boocher wer accused to the kynges maiesties counsayll, of the treasons abouesayd on the Monday in ỹ morning and thesame day wer both sent for, whych confessed there treasons and so accordyng to the law mershal they wer adiudged to die: & so thesayd Monday they were both examined, condempned and hanged, the bo-
xxx cher was hanged on a new paire of Galowes set at the bridge ende before the castell gate: and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foote of Winsore bridge.

A boocher & a priest hanged.

This yere in December was the Thamis of London al frosen ouer wherfore the kynges Maiestie wyth hys beutifull spouse quene Jane, roade throughout the citie of London to Grenewich: And this Christmas the king by his messengers & herauldes sent doune into ỹ North his general pardons to all capitall offendours: and shortlye after came Aske to London, & so to the court to the kyng: this Aske was the chief capitain of the last rebellion in the North, and now bothe pardoned of
xxxi the kyng, and his grace receiued hym into hys fauor & gaue vnto hym appazel and great rewardes, but as after ye shal perceyue Aske enioyed not the kyng his new frendes kyndnes a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any fauor at al, for there lyued not a veriar wretch aswel in parson as in condicios and dedes, specially againste hys anoyn-

Aske ỹ rebell of the North.

ted gouernour and souereigne lorde.

The third day of Februarye was Thomas Fitz Garrad late earle of Kildare and fyue of his vncles drawen, hanged and quartered at Tiborne for hygh treason.

Also in the sayth moneth, Nichol Mulgraue, Thomas Tilbie, with other began a new rebellion at Kirbie Staphā in Westmerland wyth eight thousand persones, and besieged the citie of Carlile, from whence thei were beatē, with the only power of the citie, and in their returning the Duke of Norffolke, who then was made liuetenaunt of the North encountred with them, and toke the Capitaines, & accordyng to ỹ law & marcial, arreigned threscore and fourtene of them, and hāged them on Carlile walles, but Mulgrane escaped. And in thesame moneth of Februarye began yet another insurreccion, by the intysement of sir Fraūces Bygod, a man no doubt that loued God, & feared his prynce, wyth a right obediēt & louing fear: but now being deceyued & prouoked ther vnto by false rebellyous persones, it was his fortune to tast of the ende which apperteigneth to rebelles: such are men when God leaueth thē to them selfes, and when they wyl enterprise the doyng of that thinge whiche Goddes most holy word vtterly forbiddeth. This Bigod was apprehended and brought to the tower of London: this laste rebellion & began in Setrington, and in Pikerin Leigh, and Scarborough.

Sir ffraūces Bygod.

Also in the latter ende of thys yere, the lord Darcy, Aske, Sir Robert constable, sir Jhon Bulmer and his wyfe, sir Thomas Percie brother to the Erle of Northumberland, Syr Stephyn Hamelton, Nicholas Tempest Esquyer, William Lomley, sonne to the lord Lomley began agayn to conspyre, although they before had euery one of theim their pardons, and now they wer all taken and brought to the Tower of London.

Robert Aske taken.

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good substaunce, and yet not so ryche as honest & wise, this man dwelled in Chepeside at the sygne of the legg, and vsed daily at foure of the clock Winter and Sommer to ryse and go to Masse at a churche then called saint Thomas Acres (but now named the Mercers chapel) and one morning emong al al other, beyng a great Mistie morning, such as hath seldome be sene, euen as he was crossing the strete from his house to the churche, he was sodenly murthered wyth a gonne, whiche of the neighbours was playnly hard, and by a great nombre of labozers at ỹ same tyme standynge at Soper lane ende, he was both sene go furth of his house, and also the clappe of the gonne was hard, but the dede doer was neuer espied nor knowen, many were suspected, but none could be found fawty: howbeit, it is true, that forasmuch as he was knowē to be a man of a great courage and one that both could speake & also woulde be harde: and that thesame tyme he was one of the burgeses of the parliament, for the citie of London, and hath talked somewhat against the

Robert Packyngton.

couetousnes and crueltie of the Clergie, he was had in contempt with theim, and therfore moost lyke by one of theim thus shamefully murdered, as you perceyue that Mayster Honne was in the sixte yere of ỹ reygne of thys kynge.

IN June the lord Darcy and the lord Hosey wer arreigned at Westmynster before the Marques of Exceter, then hygh stuard of England, and thei were both found giltie and had ther iudgement as in caces of hygh treason. The Lorde Darcy Lord Hosey.

Shortly after wer also arreigned Sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Percy, Sir Fraunces Bygod, Sir Stephin Hameiton, Sir Jhō Bulmer and hys wyfe, which some reported was not hys wyfe but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nicholas Tempest, and the Abbottes of Jerney and Kyuers, and Robert Aske, and all founde gyltye of
xx high treason, and al put to death at Tiborne, sauing Sir Robert Constable, which was hāged in chaynes on Beuerley gate at Hul and Aske was also hanged in chaines in Yorke on a Tower, and Sir Jhon Bulmers Paramour, was brent in Smithfelde in London: And in the latter ende of June, was the Lorde Darcy behedded at Tower hyll, and shortly after was the Lorde Hosey behedded at Lyncolne.

Thys yere at the feaste of S. George, was the Lorde Cromewell made knyght of the Gartier.

In October on saynct Edwardes euen was borne at Hamptō court The birth of Prynce Edwarde, nowe our souereygne Lorde & Kynge Edwarde ỹ. vi.
the noble Impe Prince Edward, whose Godfathers at ỹ Christening
xxi were the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, and the duke of Norffolke and hys Godmother the ladye Mary the kynges doughter, and at the bysshopyng was Godfather the duke of Suffolke. At the byrth of this noble Prince was great fyres made through the whole realme and great Joye made wyth thankesgeuing to almightie God, whiche had sent so noble a prince to succede in the croune of this realme: But lorde what lamentacion shortly after was made for the death of his noble and gracious mother quene Jane, which departed out of this lyfe the fourtene day of October, next folowyng: and of none in the realme was it more heauelier taken then of the kynges Maieiste him self, whose death caulsed the king imediatly to remoue vnto Westminster, wher he mourned and kepte hym selfe close and secret a great while: and the eyght daye of Nouembre the Corpes of the Quene was caryed to Windsore wythe great solempnitie, and there was buryed in the middes of the queer in the Castel Churche: And at thesame tyme was made in Poules a

Muene Jane departed.

Muene Jane buried.

solempne herce for her, wher was Masse and dirige, and in lyke maner was song Masse and dirige in euery parish churche in London.

The kinges Maiestie kept his Christmas at Grenewich in his mournyng apparel, and so was all the Courte till the morowe after Candlemas day, and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the Viscount Beauchãp was created erle of Hertford and sir William Fitzwilliam highe Admirall created Earle of Southhampton.

This yere James kyng of Scottes, maried the Lady Magdalene the Frenche kynges eldest doughter. E.

¶ The.xxx.yere.

Frier Forest



A May there was a Freer, called freer Forest, one of the obseruaunt freers, but he might haue bene more trulier named as after shall appeare, an obstinate Freer, this ob- xx
stinat Freer had secretly in confessions declared to many of the kynges subiectes that the kyng was not supreme heade, & being herof accused & apprehended, he was examined how he could say ꝑ the king was not supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworne to the contrary, he answered ꝑ he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer consented therunto: At this answer the lordes who examined him loked very straugly at the dissimulacion of the Freer, but being farther accused of diuerse heretical and dampnable articles, that he held cõtrary to the scripture of god, he was after sondry examinacions conuinced and confuted, and xxx
gladly submitted himselfe to abide the punishmẽt of the church: But vpon this his submission, hauyng more libertie then before he had, alwel to talke with whom he would, as also, who that he would to talke with him, certein such outward men as he was so talked wyth him and so incensed him, that the outward Freer was as far from his open submission as euer he was, and when his abiuracion was sent him to read, and loke vpõ, he vtterly refused it, and obstinately stode in all his heresies & treasons before cõspired, al gẽtle meanes that was possible to besought for his reconciliacion was had, but the more gentler that the magistrates were to him, the more obstinat was the freer, and would neither ar- cl
gue nor answere: wherfore instly he was cõdẽpned, & after for him was prepared in Smithfeld in Londõ a Gallowes on ꝑ which he was hanged in chaynes by ꝑ middle & armholdes al quyck, & under ꝑ gallowes was made a fire, & he so consumed & brẽt to deth. At his commyng to ꝑ

place

place of execucion, there was prepared a greate skaffolde, on which sat the nobles of the realme, and the kynges Maiesties mooste honorable counsayle only to haue graunted pardon to that wretched creature, yf any spark of repentaunce woulde haue happened in him: ther was also prepared a Pulpit where a right reuerend father in God and a renoumed and famous Clerck the bishop of Worceter called Hugh Latimer, declared to him hys errours, and opēly and manifestly by the scripture of God confuted them, and wyth many and godly exhortacions moued him to repentaūce, but such was his frowardnes that he neyther wold hear nor speak. And a litle before the execucion, a houge & great image was brought to the Galowes, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshipped: This Image was called Daruel Gatheren, and the Welshmen had a prophesy that this Image should set a whole Forest on fyre, which prophesy now toke effect, for he set this freer Forest on fyre and consumed him to nothing. Thys Freer when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hād, caught hold vpon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so vnpacientlye toke hys death, that noman that euer put his truste in God neuer so vnquietlye nor so vngodly ended his life: yf men myght iudge hym by hys outward man, he appered to haue litle knowledge of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at hys endyng. Upon ỹ gallowes ỹ he died on, was set with greate letters these verses folowing. A prophesie.

Dauid Daruel Gatheren
And Forrest the Freer
As sayth the Welshmen
That obstinate lyer
Fetched Outlawes out of Hell.
That wylfully shalbe dead.

Now is he come, with spere & shild
In his contumacie
In harnes to burne in Smithfeld
The Gospel doeth deny
For in Wales he may not dwel
The kyng to be supreme heade.

In July was Edmond Conyngsbey attainted of treason, for counterfeatyng of the kynges Signe Manuell: And in August was Edward Clifford for the same cause attainted, and both put to execucyō as traitors at Tiborne. And the Sondaye after Barthelemew day, was one Cratwel hangman of Loudon, and two persones moo hanged at the wrestlyng place on the backsyde of Clerken wel besyde Londō, for robbyng of a bouth in Bartholomew fayre, at which execution was aboue twentie thousand people as I my selfe iudged. A hangman hanged.

In thys moneth of Auguste, the kynge of Scottes maryed the ladye Mary late Duches of Longuile. And in Septembre by the speciall mocyon of the Lorde Cromewell all the notable Images vnto the whiche were made anye speciall Pilgrimages and Offerynges, were vtterly taken away, as the Images of Walsyngham, Ypswyche, Worceter, the Ladye of Wilsdon, wyth manye other. And lykewyse Images suppressed.

the

the Shrines of counterfeated Sainctes, as the Shrine of Thomas Becket and dyuerse other. And euen forth wyth by the meanes of the saied Cromwell, al the ordres of supersticious and beggyng Freers, as White, Gray, Black, Augustine, Crochet Freers, & likewise al the puling Mõnes, with their Cloisters & houses wer suppressed & put doune.

All counterfeat religiõs suppressed.

In this season, sute was made by the Emperour to the kynges Maiestie, that he would take to wife ỹ duches of Millayn, but in this matter the Emperors counsaill so dalied with the kyng, that shortly he left of that suit: of the which breakyng of with the Emperour, the Duke of Cleaue hard, and therfore forthwith he made suite to the kynges Maiestie for his fayre sister the Lady Anne: vndoubtedly the Emperours counsayl thought by a cautel to haue brought the kyng to sue to the bishop of Rome for a licence, which thing the kynges Maiestie sone smelled & perceiued wher about thei went. In the moneth of Nouẽbre one Jhõ Nicholsõ otherwise called Lãbert a preist, was accused of heresy, for deniyng the Sacrament of the Aultare to be Christes naturall body: This man appealed to the kynges Maiestie, who graciously consented to heare him, and a day was appointed: against whych daye was made in the kynges palace at Westminster called the white hall, in the kynges hall a throne or liege royall for the Kynges Maiestie, and ex Skaffoldes for all the lordes, & a stage for Nicholson to stand on: thys Nicholson was a man named to be learned, but that day he vttered no suche learnynge, as he was of many supposed, that he both coulde and would haue done, but was excedyng fearfull and timerous. The Kynges Maiesty accompanied with his Lordes and nobles of the Realme and diuers of the bishops and clergy kept the day appointed, wher before his maiestie was brought the forsaid Nicholson, to whome certein of the bishops ministred diuerse argumentes, but specially the kynges maiestie him selfe did most dispute wyth hym, howbeit Nicholson was not perswaded nor woulde not reuoke although the kynges maiestye exe graunted hym his pardon, wherfor there was he condempned and had iudgement, and shortely after was drawen and burned in Smythfeld.

Jhon Lambert otherwise called Jhõ Nicholson.

The third day of Nouembre were Henry Marques of excester & erle of Deuonshire and sir Henry Pole knight and lorde Mountagew and Sir Edward Neuel brother to the Lorde Burgany sent to the tower which three wer accused by sir gefferei Pole brother to the lord Mountagew, of high treason, and the two lordes were arreigned the last day of Decembre, at Westminster before the lord Awdeley of Walden, lord Chauncelor, and then the high stuard of England, and there found giltie, likewise on the third day after was arreigned sir Edward Neuel, & Sir Gefferey Pole and two priestes called Croftes and Collines, and one holand a Mariner and all attainted, and the ninth day of Januarie, were the saied two lordes and Sir Edwarde Neuel behedded at ỹ tower hil, and the two priestes and Holande were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged & quartered, & Sir Gefferey Pole was pardoned.

The Lorde Marques of Excester & otheraccused & condẽpned of high treason.

On

On Alwednesday, were Jhon Jones, Jhon Potter, and William Maneryng, hanged in the princes liueries, because thei were the princes seruauntes, on the Southside of Paules churchyard for killing of Sir Roger Cholmeley esquyer in the same place of malice prepensed.

Also on the third day of March, was sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington, in the countie of Surrey knight of the Gartier, and Maister of the kyngs horse, before attainted of treason, behedded at ỹ tower hil, wher he made a godly confession, bothe of his foly and superstitious faith, geuing God most harty thankes that euer he came in the prison of ỹ tower, where he first sauored the lyfe & swetenes of Gods moste holy word meaning the Bible in English, which there he read by the meane of one Thomas Phelips then keper of that prison, but before he was a citezē and poyntmaker of London, which Phillips two yeres before had ben ther prysoner himselfe, & sore troubled aswel by syr Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokesley bishop of London, who often tymes examined the sayd Phelips, & layed many articles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldly bsed him selfe, that he maugre their euyl willes, escaped clerly their handes.

Sir Nicholas Carew behedded.

Thomas Phelips.

The nynth day of Marche, the kyng created at Westminster sir William Pawlet knight treasorer of his household, Lord Sainte Jhon, & Sir Jhon Russel comptroller of his housholde, Lorde Russel.

The same tyme the kynge caused all the hauens to be fortefyed, and roade to Douer, and caused Bulwarkes to be made on the sea coastes, and sent commissions throughout al the realm, to haue his people muster: and at the same season on Ester day, was there thre skore vnknowē shippes lyng in the dounes, wherfore all Kent arose, and mustered in harnes the same day.

¶ The.xxxi. pere.

THe eight and twentie daye of Apryll, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of Salsbury Gertrude wyfe to ỹ Marques of Excester, Reygnold Poole a Cardiuall, brother to the lorde Mountagew, Sir Adrian Folkew & Thomas Dingley knight of saynt Jhones, & dyuerse other wer attainted of hygh treason, which Folkew & Dingley wer the tēth daye of July behedded. In thys parliament was an act made whiche bare this title: *An act for abholyshynge of diuersitie of opinions, in certayne artycles concernynge Christen religion*, this act establyshed chiefly sixe articles, wherof amōg the cōmon people it was called the act of syxe artycles, & of some it was named the whyp wyth syxe strynges, and of some other and that of the moste part, it was named the bloudy statute, for of truthe it so in shorte tyme after skourged a great nomber in the citie of London, wher ỹ first quest for the inquirie of the offendors of thesayd statute sat at a chur ch called Beckets house, now named the Mercers Chappel, that thesaid

The act of ỹ vi. articles.

quest

quest beyng of purpose selected and picked out emong all the rest of the
The first quest that inquired of the sixe Articles
inhabitauntes of the citie, that none might thereof be admitted which either had red any part of the holy scripture in English, or in any wyse fauoured such as either had red it, or loued ỹ preachers of it: insomuch as this quest was so zelous & feruent in the execuciō of this statute, that they among them selues thought it not only sufficient to inquire of the offendors of the saied statute, but also by ther fine wittes and wylyng myndes, thei inuēted to inquire of certayn braunches of the same statute as they termed it, which was not only to inquire who spake again masses, but who thei were that seldome came vnto them: and also not only & who denyed the Sacramente to be Christes very naturall body, but also who helde not vp their handes at sacryng tyme, & knocked not on there brestes: And thei not only inquired who offended in the sixe articles, but also who came seldome to the churche, who toke no holy bread nor holy water, who red the Bible in the churche, or in communication contemned prestes, or Images in the Churches. &c. with a grat nombre of suche braunches: this appoincted quest so sped them selues wyth the sixe Articles, and ther awne braunches, that in fourtene daies space there was not a preacher nor other persone in the citie of name, whiche had spoken against the supremacie of the Bishop of Rome, but he was & wrapped in the sixe articles, insomuche as thei indited and presented of suspicion to the nombre of fiue hundred persones and aboue: so that yf the kynges maiestie had not graunted his pardon, for that by the good lorde Awdeley lord Chauncelor his grace was truly infourmed ỹ thei were indited of malice: a greate many of them whych all ready was in prison, had bene shortly after skourged in Smythfelde wyth firy fagottes, that would haue made the best bloud in ther bodies to haue sprong but most graciously at that time his grace remitted all: although in the tyme that these sixe Articles indured whiche was eight yeres & more, thei brought many an honest and simple persone to there deathes, for & suche was ỹ rigour of that lawe, that yf two witnesses false or true, had accused any and auouched that thei had spoken agaynst the sacrament, ther was then no way but death, for it boted not to confesse that hys faith was cōtrarie, or that he saied not as the accusors reported: for thei would beleue the witnesses, ye & sometime certain of the clergie, when thei had no winesses would procure some, or elles thei wer slaundered.

The kynges highnes whiche neuer ceased to study and take payne both for the auauncement of the common wealth of this his Realme of England, of the which he was the only supreme gouernour and hed, & also for the defence of al the same, was lately enfourmed by his trustie & & faithfull frendes, ỹ the cākerd & cruel serpēt the bishop of rome, by that Archetraitor Reignold Poole, enemie to godes worde & his natural contrey, had moued and stirred diuerse great princes & potentates of Christendome to inuade the Realme of England, and vtterlye to destroy the whole nacion of the same: Wherefore his Maiestie in his awne

persone, without any deley toke very laborious & paineful iourneies towardes the sea coastes. Also he sent diuers of his nobles & counsailors to view and searche all the portes and daungers on the coastes where any mete or conuenient landing place might be supposed, aswell on the borders of England as also of Wales. And in al soche doubtful places his highnes caused diuers & many bulwarkes & fortifications to bee made. And further his highnes caused the lorde Admiral erle of Southāpton to prepare in redinesse shippes for the sea, to his great coast & charges.

And beside this, to haue all his people in a redynesse, he directed his
f commissions thorough out the realme to haue his people mustered, & the harneis & weapons sene and viewed, to thentent that all thynges should be in a redinesse if his enemies would make any attempt into this Realme: And amongest other, one commission was directed to the right worshipfull sir William Forman knight Maior of Londō and his brethrē, for to certifie all the names of all men betwene the ages of .lx. and .xvi. & the nomber of harnesses, weapons, with their kyndes & diuersities: whereupon the said lord Maior & his brethren, euery one hauyng with them one of the counsaill or learned men of the citie repaired to their wardes, and there by the othe of the common counsaill & Constables of the same
ff warde toke the nomber of the men, harnesses and weapons, according to their commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes and the nomber of the persones, they thought it not expedient to admit the whole nomber of suche as were certefied for able and apte persones for to Muster: Wherfore then they assembled theim selfes againe and chose out the moste able persones and put by thother, and specially al suche as had no harnesse, nor for whom no harnesse could be prouided. But when they were credibly aducrtysed by the kynges Counsellour Thomas lord Cromewell knyght of the Noble Ordre of the Gartier Lorde Preuye Seale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Citie was muche bounden)
fff that the kyng hymselfe woulde see the people of the Citie Muster in a conuenient nomber, and not to set furthe all their power, but to leaue some at home to kepe the Citie. Then eftsones euery Alderman repayred to hys warde, and there put asyde all suche as hadde Jackes, coates of plate, coates of mayle and bryganders, and appoynted none but suche as had whyte Harnesse, excepte suche as should beare Morysh Pykes, whiche had no harnesse but skulles: and they appoynted none but suche as had white harnesse, neither dyd they admyt any that was a Straunger, although they were Denyzens. When it was knowen that the kyng would see the Muster, Lorde howe glad the people were to prepare, and
gg what desyre they had to do their Prince seruice, it would haue made any faithfull subiectes harte to haue reioysed. Then euery man beyng of any substaunce prouided hymself a coate of whyte silke, and garnysshed their bassenettes with turues lyke cappes of sylke, set with ouches, furnysshed with chaines of gold and fethers: other gylted their harnesse, their halberdes and pollaxes. Some, and especiall certayne goldsmythes had

The great Muster in London.

their brest plates yea & their whole harneſſe of ſyluer bullion. The Conſtables were all in Joynettes of white ſilke with chaines & battel Axes. The meaner ſort of people were all in coates of white cloth very curiouſly trimmed with the armes of the citie before & behinde. The lord Maier hymſelf was in a faire Armour, the creſtes therof were gylt, & ouer ỹ a coate of blacke veluet with half ſleues, & ſo was ſir Roger Cholmley knight Recorder of London & al thother Aldermē & Shiriffes & ſuch as had bene ſhiriffes, al wel moũted on ſtirring horſes richely trapped couered, w battel axes in their hādes & Maſes & chaines about their neckes. The lorde Mayer had.iiii.ſotemen all in white ſilke, cutte, ruffed & poũced: he had alſo ii. Pages well moũted on ſtirring courſers, richely trapped and appareled in coates of Crimoſyn veluet & cloth of golde paled, with chaynes of gold, the one bearyng his Helme and the other his Axe. He had alſo.xvi.tall men on foote with gilte halbardes, whoſe doubletz were white ſilke, & hoſen doublettes and ſhoes all whyte, cut after the Almayne faſhion, puffed & pulled out with red ſarcenet, euery one hauyng a whyte lether Jerkyn all to cutte & chaines about their neckes, with fethers and brooches on their cappes. The Recorder and euery Alderman had about hym.iiii.Halbardes trymmed warlike. x

The Chamberlaine of the Citie and the Counſailors of theſame & the Aldermens deputies, which were appointed to be wiffelers on horſbacke were all in whyte dammaike coates on their harneſſe, mounted on good horſes well trapped, with great chaynes about their neckes, and prope Jauelyns or battel axes in their hādes & cappz of veluet richely decked. xx

The Wyffelers on foote. iii. C. prope and lyght perſones all appatelled in whyte ſylke or Jerkyns of lether cutte, with white hoſe & ſhoes, euery man hauyng a iauelyn or ſlaughſworde to kepe the people in aray and cheynes about their neckes, and white fethers in their cappes.

The Mynſtrelles were all in whyte with the Armes of the Cytie, and ſo was euery other perſone at this Muſter without anye diuerſite, ſauyng the lorde Mayer, the Recorder and his brethren who had croſſes of veluet or ſatten pyzled with golde. xxx

The Standarde bearers were the talleſt men of euery Warde; for whō were made.xxx.new ſtādardz of the deuiſe of the citie beſyde bāners

When euery thyng was prepared, euery Aldermā muſtred his awne warde in the fieldes, viewyng euery man in his harneſſe, & to cauſe ſuche as could ſhote, to take bowes in their hādes, & thother bylles or pykes.

The.viii.day of Maye, according to the kynges pleaſure, euery Aldetman in order of battell with his warde came into the common fielde at Myle ende, and then al the gonnes ſeuered them ſelues into one place, al the pykes in another, & the bowmen in another, & lykewyſe the bylmen, & there tynged and ſnayled, whiche was a goodly ſyght to beholde: for all the fieldes from White chappell to Myle ende, and from Bednal Grene to Ratclyf & to Stepney were all couered with harneſſe, men & weapōs, & in eſpeciall the battel of pykes ſemed to be a greate foreſt. Then euery

parte

parte was deuided into.iii.partes, the pikes in.iii.partes & so the other. Then were appoynted iii.battels,a forward,myddleward & rereward.

¶ The Order in goyng.

About.viii. of the clocke marched forward the lyght peces of Ordinaunce,with stone & powder,after them followed the Drommes & fiffes, and imediatly after them a Guydon of the Armes of the citie. Then followed master Sadeler capitain of the gōners vpon a good horse in harnesse & a coate of veluet with a chayne of golde &.iiii. Halbardes about him appareled as before is rehersed. Then followed the Gonners.iiii. in a ranke,euery one goyng.v.foote a sonder, euery mans shoulder euen with another, whiche shot altogether in diuers places very cherefully, & especially before the Kynges Maiestie, whiche at that tyme sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster where he viewed all the whole company: In lyke maner passed the second & third battels al well and richely appointed. They passed as is saied, the formost Capitayn at ix.of the clock in the morning by the lytle conduite entering into Pauls churchyarde,& so directly to Westmynster,& so thorough the sainctuary and round about the parke of.S.James,& so vp into the fielde & came home thorough Holborne: and as the first Capitaine entered agayne to the lytle conduite, the last of the Muster entered Pauls Churchyarde, whiche then was.iiii. of the clocke at after none. The nomber was.xv. thousand,besyde Wyffelers and other wayters.

In this yere about the feast of.S.Jhon Baptist,the cōmon people of the toune in Gaunt in Flaūders, began to grudge against the Officers of the Emperour,& thoccasion was this: The cōmon people beyng supported of dyuers ryche Merchauntes of the towne complayned that the Excyse of the Wyne was so greate, that they payed of euery pottell.ii.d. for thercyse that they solde by retaile,besyde the pryce of the wyne,& likewyse payed the Merchauntes whiche sold it in great: and yet that more greued them that the Abbots, Fryers, Chanons & other Religious persones & men of the Churche(of the whiche was great store in that toune) the whiche among them had the greatest ryches & wealth of that toune, should be exempt and dronke Wyne free without paiyng Excyse,which thyng turned to the charges of other,and therwith the commons founde them selues sore greued,and sayed that they were oppressed contrarye to their olde and auncient Priuileges. The Rulers made promise that an order and way should be taken therein,but they desyred respite that they might knowe the mynde of the Quene of Hungary, Regent for the Emperoure of the lowe countrey,which Quene at that tyme was at Bruxel, and euen then was goyng to vyset the countrey of Hollande. The Quene consented to nothyng that the commons desyred, but sent them a very cruell and frowarde aunswere not without great threates,that if they would not euery man quietly remayne in their houses,and paye their excyse as they had bene accustomed to do, they should lyke rebels as they were be forced therunto whether they would or not: Wherfore the com-

Insurrection in Gaunt.

mons assembled, and when they had well digested the aunswere of the Quene, they determined to seke another meanes, & fyrste they assembled themselues into a battel to the nõbre of.x.or.xii.M. wel armed mẽ, night and day watching & warding the toune, in suche sorte that thempetours officers bare no rule: and he whom they called the chiefe Bailife or Gouernour of the toune durst not once shew his face amongest them, but by the helpe of a boy he conueied himself by a Postern and so got out of the toune. The people of Gaunt perceiuing their Rulers thus departed, the chiefest of them that were in the toune condiscended and agreed to write vnto the Frenche kyng for aide, and caused a Gentelman of their toune to deuyse a letter, for the whiche afterwarde he lost his head.

The sute and request of thesaied men of Gaunt was, that it would please the Frenche kyng to sende vnto them men and municions, and to succour them as the auncient subiectes to the Crowne of Fraũce, and to deliuer them from the bondage that they were in, & to remoue from them the great Exactions & impositions, that the Officers of thesaied Emperour had oppressed them with all, and they would yelde & deliuer all vnto hym as to their souereigne lorde, & in lyke maner would other tounes to them adioynyng do. And for a truth (saith the writer of the Annalles of Acquitain) if the Frenche kyng wouide haue herkened vnto their re- xx
quest & sute, it had bene an easy thyng for hym bothe to haue enioyed the possession of the greatest nomber of all the tounes in the lowe countrey: as Flaunders, Arthoys and the rest of that countrey, & also to haue put the Emperour in great hazarde. But the Frenche kyng willing to kepe and holde the Truce which was concluded and swore, hauyng a greater respect to his faith and promyse then to his profite and gayne, thynkyng that if he should consent to the request of the Gauntoys, he should begin a newe warre to the noiaunce of the cõmen people of christendom, wherfore he refused vtterly either to ayde or succour them.

The Quene of Hungarye thynkynge to haue pacifyed all thys tu- xxi
mour, sent vnto the toune of Gaunt her tyght trustie & valiaunt knight, the lorde of Sempy, of the house of Crouy, accompanied with the lorde Lyquerque and one of her Pryuy counsaill: but these men amongest the commons were not so well entertained as they thought they should haue bene, and therfore taried not long amongest them, but were glad to conuey themselfes from them in dissimuled apparell.

The Emperour being aduertised of all this businesse, and perceiuing his lowe coũtrey by the reason of sedicion was in daunger, deuised meanes howe he might come to them, for then he was in Spain. He thought he would not hazarde hymselfe vpon the sea: and he durst not truste the xl
Almaynes, because he had broken promyse w̃ theim so often concerning their generall counsaill that he promised to haue assembled: wherfore he determined to moue the French king & to sue for a safeconduitie to passe thorough Fraunce, which very gladly the Frenche kyng graunted hym, insomuch that after the French kyng knew of his desire, both he and the

Dolphyn

Dolphyn entreted moſt hertely ꝑ Emperour to paſſe that waye, truſting therby that it ſhould haue bene an occaſion of peace betwene them.

All thynges mete for themperours aſſuraunce was ſo appoynted by the Conſtable of Fraunce, that the Emperour departed out of Spain, & came to Bayon, from thence to Burdeaux & ſo to Poyters: after he came to Loches where he met with the Frenche kyng & the Quene, & then they together paſſed from thence to Orleaunce, & ſo to Paris, into whiche citie they entered the firſt daye of Januarye in the yere of our Lorde a 1539. and ſo from thence after great chere and royall entertcinement he paſſed ꝑ thorough the lower countrets, & at laſt came to Bruxelles in Brabant.

And firſt the Emperour vnder colour to haue pitie and to remedy the poore cõmons of Gaunt, & ſaiyng that he would not only pardõ their offẽces, but alſo he could not blame them being oppreſſed to cõplain, and by this meanes he obteined licence that the County of Reux accõpanyed wᵗ ii. C. men of armes & .v. M. Lanceknightes entered the toune ſaiyng to thinhabitauntes that this power was onely to kepe the toune in peace & quiet till a good & profitable ordre ſhould be taken for the cõmons. The poore inhabitauntes beleuing all that was promiſed & ſaied vnto them & miſtruſtyng nothyng, threw of their harneſſe, and euery man peaceably xx went to their houſes. Then entered into the toune themperour accompanied with his brother the kyng of Hongary, and his ſiſter the quene Dowager of Hongary, the Duke of Sauoy and many other Princes, Lordes and Gentelmen, and a great power of men of warre, whiche entery was about Mydſomer, in the yere a. M. v. C. xl.

Themperour beyng in Gaunt & hauyng thuppet hand of them, that is to ſaie, beyng ſtronger within the toune then thinhabitauntes were, in the place of his great pitie that he ſemed to haue on the poore inhabitãtes at his firſt entery, he immediatly began to do execution, & that of a great nomber of them, and without all mercy executed them, inſomuche that a- xxx mong all other, the Gentleman which the commõs enforced to write the letter to the Frẽch kyng was beheded, as before is expreſſed: & afterward themperour cauſed an Abbey of. S. Banon to be ſuppreſſed, & in theſame place at the charges of the Gauntois, he made a Caſtell of a maruelous largeneſſe, for it was. ix. C. foote long, & .viii. C. large: and not contented with ſuche as he put to death, but alſo of a great nomber he confiſcated thier landes and goodes, and finally he brake all their Priuileges and Ordinaunces, and left the poore inhabitauntes of Gaunt in a miſerable caſe: But now to returne to thaffayres of England.

In Auguſt the great Onele & Odonele entered into the Engliſh pale xl in Ireland, and brent almoſt .xx. myle within theſame: wherfore the lorde Grey then Deputie there, aſſembled a greate power and met with them the. xx. day of Auguſt and put them to flight, wherfore the kyng ſent ouer fyue hundreth freſhe ſouldiers to aide his deputie.

In the ende of Septẽber the .xvi. day of that moneth came to London Duke Frederyke of Bauyre Countye Palantyne or Palſgraue of the

Ryne, & the.xviii. daie came to London, the Marchal of duke Jhon Fre-
dericke Prince Electoz of Saxony, & the Chauncelloz of William duke
of Cleue, Gulycke, Gelder, & Berry. The Palsgraue was receiued and
conducted to Wynsoze by the duke of Suffolk: and thother were acco-
panied with other nobles, & the.xxiii. day of thesame moneth thei al came
to Wynsoze, where. viii. daies they continually were feasted and hun-
ted, with al pleasure that might be shewed vnto them: and the Palsgra-
ue shoztly departed & was honozably rewarded: and that season was co-
cluded the mariage betwene the kyng and the lady Anne, syster to duke
Willyā of Cleue, & great pzeparacō was made foz the receiuyng of her. x

The.xiiii. day of Nouembez Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Redyng and
two Pziestes, the one called Rug, and the other named Onyon, were at-
tainted of high treason, foz denyng the kyng to be suppzeme head of the
chutche, & was dzawen, hanged, and quartered at Redyng. This Abbot
was a stubbozne Monke & vtterly without learning. Thesame day was
Richard Whityng Abbot of Glascenbury likewise attainted and han-
ged on Tower hyll beside his monastery, foz thesaid case and other great
treasons, which also was quartered: & the first day of Decēb. was Jhon
Beche Abbot of Colchest. put to execucō foz ỹ same cōfederacy & trealō.

In December were appointed to wayte on the kynges hyghnes per- xx
son fiftie Gentelmen called Pencioners oz Speares, lyke as they were
in the first yere of the kyng.

The Recey-uyng of the Lady Anne of Cleue.

The.xi. day of December at the Tutneppke on thysside Grauelyng
was the Lady Anne of Cleue receiued by the lozde Lysle Deputie of the
toune of Calice and with the Speres & hozsemen belongyng to the reti-
nue there, all being fresh and warlike apparelled, & so marching toward
Calice a myle & moze from the toune met her Grace the Erle of South-
hampton great Admirall of England, & apparelled in a coate of purple
veluet cut on cloth of golde & tyed with great aglettes and treifoiles of
golde, to the nomber of.iiii.C. and baudzickwise he ware a chayne, at the xxx
whiche did hange a whistle of gold set with ryche stones of a greate va-
lue. And in his company.xxx. gentlemen of the kynges houshold very ry-
chely apparelled with great & massy chaynes, and in especial syz Fraun-
cis Bzyan & sir Thomas Seymers chaynes were of greate valure and
straunge fassion. Beside this, the Lozde Admirall had a great nomber of
gentelmen in blew veluet and crimosyn sattyn and his yomen in dāmask
of thesame colours, and the Maryners of his ship in sattyn of Bzudges,
both coates & sloppes of thesame colours, whiche Lozde Admirall with
low obeysaunce welcomed her, & so bzought her into Calyce by the lan-
terne gate, where the Shippes laye in the Hauen garnysshed with their xl
banners, pencelles and flagges, plesauntly to beholde. And at her entry
was shot suche a peale of gōnes, that all the retinew much marueiled at
it. And at her entery into the toune, the Mayer of the toune pzesented her
with an.C. marke in golde. And befoze the Staple hall stode Merchaū-
tes of the Staple wel aparelled, which likewise pzesented her with an. C

souereynes of golde in a ryche purse, whiche hertely thanked them, and so she rode to the kynges place called the Checker, and there she lay. xv. dayes for lacke of prosperous wynde. During whiche tyme goodly iustes and costly banketes were made to her for her solace and recreacion. And on. s. Jhons day in Christmas, she with. l. sayle toke passage about none and landed at Dele in the downes about. v. of the clocke, where syr Thomas Cheiny lord Warden of the portes receaued her, and there she taried a space in a castle newly builte, and thether came the duke and duches of Suffolke and the bysshop of Chichester, with a great nomber of
x knightes and esquiers and ladies of Kent and other whiche welcomed her grace, and so that nyght brought her to Douer castell, where she rested till monday: on whiche day for all the stormе that then was she marched toward Caunterbury, and on Baram downe met her the Archebysshop of Caunterbury accompanied with the bysshop of Ely, sainct Asse, saynt Daupes and Douer, and a great company of gentelmen well apparelled, & so brought her to. s. Austens without Caũterbury, where she lay that nyght: and on the nexte day she came to Syttyngburne & there lodged that nyght. And as she passed toward Rochester on Newyers euen, on Reynam down met her the duke of Norffolke & the lorde Dacre
xx of the South, & the lord Hountioye with a great cõpany of knightes & Esquiers of Norffolke & Suffolke, & the Barons of therchequer, all in coates of veluet with chaynes of gold, whiche brought her to Rochester where she lay in the palace all Newyeres day. On whiche day the kyng whiche sore desired to see her grace accompanied with no more then. viii. persons of his preuy chamber, & both he & they all apparelled in marble coates preuely came to Rochester, & sodainly came to her presence, which therwith was sumwhat astonied: but after he had spoken and welcomed her, she with most gracious & louyng countenaunce & behauior hym receiued & welcomed on her knees, whom he gently toke vp & kyssed: & all
xxx that after none commoned & deuised with her, & that nyght supped with her, & the next day he departed to Grenewyche, & she came to Dartford.

On the morow being the third day of January, & saturday, in a faire playne on black heth more nerer the foote of shoters hill then the ascendent of the hyll called blacke heth hyll, was pitched a ryche cloth of gold and diuers other tentes & pauilions in the whiche were made fyers and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receiue her Grace: and frõ the Tentes to the parke gate of Grenewyche were all busshes and fyrres cutte downe, and a large and ample waye made for the shew of all persones. And fyrst nexte to the parke pale on the East syde, stode the Mer-
xl chauntes of the Stilyard: and on the West syde stoode the Merchauntes of Jean, Florence and Uenyce, and the Spanyardes, in coates of veluet. Then on bothe sydes of the waye stoode the Merchauntes of the Citie of London and Aldermen with the Counsellours of the saied Citie to the nomber of a. C. lx. whiche were myxed with the Esquyers: Nexte vpward towarde the Tentes stoode Knyghtes: Then the. l. Gentelmen

Pencioners, & all this sorte were apparelled in veluet & chaynes of gold, truly accompted to the nomber of.xii.C. & aboue, besyde them that came with the kyng & her grace, whiche were.vi.C. in veluet cotes & chaines of golde. Behynde the gentelmen stode the seruingmen in good ordre, well horsed & apparelled, that whosoeuer had well viewed theim might saye that they for tall & comely personages & clene of lym & body, were able to geue the greatest Prince in Christendome a mortall breakefast if he were the kynges enemy: And of this sorte the gentelmen appertainyng to the lord Chauncellor, the lord Preuy seale & the lord Admiral & diuers other lordes, beside the costly kyueries & comely horses, ware chaines of golde. x

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes from the parke gate towardeȳ crosse on the Heth, which was betwene the Rankes and the Tentes, and in this ordre they continued tyll the kyng and she were returned.

About.xii.of the clocke her grace with al the cõpany which were of her owne nacion to the nomber of a.C.horse, & accompanied with the dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Archebyshop of Caunterbury & other byshops, lordes & knightes whiche had receiued & conueyed her as you haue hard before, came doune shoters hyl toward the tentes, & a good space from the tentes met her the erle of Rutland her lorde Chamberleyn, syr Thomas Denyce her Chauncellor, & all her councellers and officers, a- xx mongest whom, doctor Daye appointed to her Almoner, made to her an eloquent oracion in latin, presenting to her on the kynges behalfe all the officers & seruauntes: whiche oracion was aunswered vnto by the Duke her brothers Secretarie there being present, whiche done, the lady Margarete Doglas, daughter to the Quene of Scottes, the lady Marques Dorcet, daughter to the Frenche Quene being Nieces to the kyng, and the Duches of Rychemond, and the Countesse of Rutland and Herfford with diuers other ladies and gentelwomen, to the nõber of.lxv.saluted & welcomed her grace, whiche alighted out of her Chariot in the which she had ridden al her long iourney, and with most goodly demeanor and lo- xxx uing countenaunce gaue to them hertie thankes & kissed them al, & after all her counsellors & officers kyssed her hand, which done, she with al the ladies entered the tentes, and there watmed them a space.

When the kyng knew that she was ariued in her tent, he with all dyligence set out thorough the parke. And first issued the kynges Trompettes, then the kynges officers beyng sworne of his Counsail, next after them folowed the Gentelmen of the kynges preuy Chamber, some apparelled in coates of veluet embroudered: other had their coates garded with chaines of golde, very ryche to beholde, whiche were wel horsed and trapped: after them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so sir Wil- xl lyam Hollys knyght Lorde Mayer of London rode with the lord Par beyng yongest Baron. Then followed Bisshoppes apparelled in blacke satten. Then immediatly followed the Earles, and then duke Phylyppe of Bauyer and Countie Palantyne of the Rhyne, rychely apparelled with the lyuerey of the Toysant or Golden Fleece aboute hys necke.

Then

Then folowed the Ambassadours of the French kyng and themperour,
next folowed the lorde Preuy Seale lorde Cromwell & the lord Chaun-
cellor: then Garter kyng of armes, and the other Officers of armes & the
Seriantes at armes gaue their attendaunce on euery side of the lordes:
which lordes for the most part were appareled in purple veluet, the lord
Marques Dorset in thesame sute bare the kynges sworde of estate. After
hym a good distaunce folowed the kynges highnesse mounted on a good-
ly courser, trapped in ryche clothe of golde trauerced latyce wyse square,
all ouer embroudered with gold of damaske, pearled on euery syde of the
x embroudery, the buckles and pendentes were all of fyne gold. His per-
sone was apparelled in a coate of purple veluet, somewhat made lyke a
frocke, all ouer embroudered with flatte golde of Damaske with small
lace mixed betwene of thesame gold and other laces of thesame so goyng
trauerse wyse, that the ground litle appered: about whiche garment was
a ryche garde very curiously embroudered, the sleues and brest were cut,
lyned with cloth of golde, and tied together with great buttons of Dia-
mondes, Rubyes, and Orient Perle, his sworde and swordgyrdle adorn-
ned with stones and especial Emerodes, his night cappe garnished with
stone, but his bonnet was so ryche of Juels that fewe men coulde value
xx them. Besyde all this he ware in baudryke wyse a coller of such Balisties
and Perle that few men euer sawe the lyke: and aboute his persone ran
ten footemen all richely apparelled in goldsmithes worke. And notwith-
standyng that this ryche apparell and precious Juelles were plesaunt
to the Nobles & al other being present to beholde, yet his Princely coun-
tenaunce, his goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceded all
other creatures beyng present, that in comparyson of his persone, all his
ryche apparell was litle estemed. After hym folowed his Lorde Cham-
berlain, then came syr Anthony Browne Master of his horse, a goodly
Gentelman and a comly personage, well horsed trapped and richely ap-
xxx patelled leadyng the kynges horse of Estate by a long reyne of golde,
whiche horse was trapped in maner lyke a barde with Crymosyn veluet
and satten, all ouer embroudered with golde after an antyke fassion, ve-
ry curiously wrought. Then followed the pages of honour in coates of
ryche tynsell and Crymosyn veluet paled, rydyng on great coursers, all
trapped in crymosyn veluet, embroudered with new deuyses and knottz
of gold whiche were both plesannt and costly to beholde. Then followed
syr Anthony Wyngfeld Capitaine of the Garde, and then the Garde wel
horsed and in riche coates. In this order the kyng rode to the last ende of
the ranke where the speares or pencioners stode: and there euery person
xl that came with the kyng placed hymselfe on the one syde or the other, the
kyng standyng in the myddes.

When her grace was aduertysed of the kynges commyng, she issued
out of her tent beyng apparelled in a riche goune of cloth of golde reys-
sed, made rounde without any trayne after the Duche fassyon, and on
her head a kall, and ouer that a rounde bonet or cappe set full of Orient

Pearle

Pearle of a very proper fassion, & before that she had a cornet of blacke veluet, & about her necke she had a partelet set full of ryche stone whiche glistered all the fielde. And at the dore of the tente she mounted on a fayre horse rychely trapped, with her fotemen about her in goldsmithes worke embroudered with the blacke Lion, & on his shoulder a Carbuncle gold, and so she marched towarde the kyng: which perceiuing her to approche came forwarde somewhat beyonde the crosse on Blacke Heth, and there pausod a litle in a faire place tyll she came nerer: then he put of his bonnet and came forewarde to her, and with moste louely countenaunce and Princely behauiour saluted, welcomed and embraced her to the great reioysyng of the beholders: and she lykewyse not forgettyng her duty, with most amiable aspecte and womanly behauiour receiued his grace with many swete wordes and greate thankes and praisynges geuen to hym. And while they two were thus communyng, the fyftie Pencioners and the Garde departed to furnyshe the Courte and Halle of Grenewiche. And when the kyng had talked with her a lytle whyle, he put her on his ryght hande, and so with their footemen they roade as though they had bene coupeled together. O what a syght was this to se so goodly a prince and so noble a kyng to ryde with so fayre a Lady of so goodly a stature and so womanly a countenaunce, and in especial of so good qualities, xx I thynke no creature could se them but his herte reioysed.

Nowe when the kyng and she were mette and bothe their companyes ioyned together, they returned thorough the rankes of Knyghtes and Esquyers whiche stode styll all this while & remoued not, in this ordre: Fyrst her Trompettes went forwarde, whiche were twelue in nomber beside two kettle Drommes on horsebacke, then followed the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Counsaylours, then the Gentlemen of the Preuy Chamber, then the Gentelmen of her Graces Countrey in coates of veluet, all on great horses: after them the Mayor of London in crymosyn veluet with a riche collor, coupled with the yongest Baron, xxx then all the Barons, nexte folowyng Bysshoppes, then Earles, wyth whom roade the Earles of Duersteyn and Waldocke, of her countrey, then Dukes and the Archebysshop of Caunterbury and Duke Phillip of Bauire, nexte folowed the Ambassadours, then the Lorde Preuye Seale and the Lorde Chauncellor, then the Lorde Marques wyth the Kynges sworde, nexte folowed the kyng hymselfe equally rydyng wyth his faire lady, & behind hym rode sir Anthony Browne with the kynges horse of Estate as you hearde before, and behynde her roade syr John Dudley Master of her Horses leadynge her spare Palferaye trapped in ryche Tyssue downe to the grounde: After them followed the Henxemen or Pages of Honoure, then folowed the Ladye Margarete Douglas, the Ladye Marques Dorset, the Duches of Richemond and Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutland & Hertforde, & other Countesses: then followed her Graces Chariot in the whiche she rode all her iourney, well carued & gylte with Armes of her countrey curiously wrought & couered with cloth

with cloth of gold, all the Hoꝛses were trapped with blacke veluet, and on them rode Pages of Honoꝛ in coates of veluet, in the which Chariot rode. ii. auncient ladies of her countrey: nexte after the Chariot folowed vi. ladies and gentelwomen of her countrey all richely apparelled with cappes set with Pearle, and great chaynes of diuers fassions after the vsage of their countrey, whiche were very fayꝛe of face, and with them rode. vi. ladyes of Englande well beſene. Then folowed another Chariot likewyſe gilte & furniſhed as thother was: after that Chariot folowed. x Engliſhe ladyes well apparelled, next them another Chariot al couered & with blacke cloth, and in that. iiii. gentlewomen whiche were her Graces Chamberers: then folowed all the remnaunt of the ladies, gentlewomen and Maydens in a greate nomber whiche dyd weare that daie Frenche whodes: laſt of all came another Chariot all blacke with. iii. Launders appertaynyng to her grace: next after folowed a Hoꝛſelytter of cloth of golde and Crimoſyn veluet vpon veluet paled, with hoꝛſes trapped accoꝛdyngly whiche the kyng ſent her. Then followed the ſeruyng men of her trayne, all clothed in blacke and on great hoꝛſes.

In this oꝛdꝛe they rode thoꝛough the rankes, & ſo thoꝛough the parke and at the late Freers walle all men alyghted ſauyng the kyng the two & Maſters of the Hoꝛſes & the Henxmen whiche rode to the halle doꝛe, and the Ladies rode to the Courte gate. And as they paſſed they beheldc on the wharfe howe the Citezens of London were rowyng vp and down on the Thames euen beſoꝛe them, euery crafte in his barge garniſhed with Banners, Flagges, Stremers, Pencelles and Targettes, ſome paynted and beaten with the kynges armes, ſome with her Graces Armes, and ſome with the armes of their crafte oꝛ Miſtery. Beſide the Barges of euery cratte, there was a Barge made like a ſhip, called the Batchelers barke, decked with cloth of gold, penons, pencels, & targettes in great nomber, on whom wayted a Foyſt that ſhot great peces of Artillary. And in eue- & ry barge was diuerſe ſoꝛtes of Inſtrumentes & childꝛen & men ſyngyng, whiche ſang and plaied altogether as the kyng and the Lady paſſed on the wharfe, whiche ſigbt and noies they muche pꝛaiſed and allowed.

When the kyng & ſhe were within the vtter court, they alygbted from their hoꝛſes, and the kyng louyngly embꝛaſed her & kiſſed her, byddyng her welcome to her owne, & led her by her lyfte arme thoꝛough the Halle whiche was furniſhed beneth the harth with the kynges Garde, & aboue the harth with the fyftie Pencioners with their batel Axes, & ſo bꝛought her vp to her pꝛeuy chamber, where he lefte her foꝛ that tyme.

And aſſone as the kyng and ſhe was entered the courte, was ſhot out of the Tower of Grenewiche and there about, a great peale of Gonnes.

When the kynges company and hers was entered the parke, as you haue heaꝛde, then all the hoꝛſe men on Blacke Heath bꝛake their aray and had licence to departe to London, oꝛ to their lodgyng. To ſe howe longe it was oꝛ the hoꝛſemen coulde paſſe, and howe late it was in the nyght per the footemen coulde get ouer London bꝛydge, I aſſure

you

you it was wonderous to beholde, the nomber was so great.

This the noble lady remained vnmaried vntill the tuesday folowing beyng the daie of the Epiphany: on whiche daie about. viii. of the clocke in the mornyng, his grace beyng appareled in a gowne of clothe of gold, raised with great flowers of syluer, furred with blacke Jennettes, his cote Crimosyn sattyn all to cutte and enbraudered and tied with great Diamondes, and a ryche coller about his necke, came solemply with his Nobilitie into the galery next the closettes, and there pausel.

Then the Lordes went to fetche the Ladie Anne, whiche was apparelled in a gowne of ryche cloth of gold set full of large flowers of great x and Orient Pearle, made after the Duche fassion rownde, her here hangyng doune, whiche was faire, yellow and long: On her head a Coronal of gold replenished with great stone, and set about full of braunches of Rosemary, about her necke and middle, Juelles of great valew and estimacion. In this apparell she goyng betwene the erle of Duerstayn & the Graunde Master Hostonden, whiche had the conduitie and ordre of the perfourmaunce of her mariage, with moste demure countinaunce and sad behauiour, passed thorough the kynges chamber, all the Lordes goyng before her till they came to the galery where the kyng was, to whom she made thre low obeysaunces & curtesies. Then the Archebishop of Caun- xx terbury receiued them & maried them together, and the erle of Duerstein did geue her: & about her mariyng ryng was writen: *God send me wel to kepe.*

When the Mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the Kynges closet and there hard Masse and offered their tapers, and after Masse had wyne and spyces, and that done, the kyng departed to his chamber, and all the Ladies wayted on her to her chamber, the Duke of Norffolke goyng on the ryght hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the lefte hande on her grace.

After nyne of the clocke, the kyng with a gowne of ryche Tyssue lyned wyth Crymosyn Veluet embroudered, came to his closet, and she in xxx her here in thesame apparell that she was Maried in, came to her Closet with her Seriant of Armes and all her Officers, lyke a Quene, before her. And so the kyng and she went openly on Procession and offered and dyned together. And after dyner she chaunged into a gowne lyke a mannes gowne, of Tyssue with longe sleues gyrte to her, furred wyth ryche Sables, her narrowe sleues were very costly, but on her head she had a cap as she ware on the saterdaie before with a cornet of laune, whiche cap was so ryche of Perle and Stone, that it was iudged to bee of greate valew. And after her fassion, her Ladies and Gentlewomen were appareled very riche and costly with chaynes of diuers fassyons, xl and in this apparell she went that nyght to Euensong, and after Supped with the kyng: and after Supper were Bankettes, Masks, and diuerse dysportes, tyll the tyme came that it pleased the kyng and her too take their rest.

The Sonday after were kepte solempne Justes, whiche muche pleased the

sed the straungiers. On whiche daie she was appareiled after the Englishe fashiō, with a Frenche whode, whiche so set furth her beautie and good vysage, that euery creature reioysed to behold her.

When the erle of Duerstein, and other lordes and ladies which had geuen their attendaūce on her grace al that iorney, and had been highly feasted of the kyng & other nobles, very sūpteously, thei toke their leaue and had greate giftes geuen to theim, bothe in money and plate, and so returned toward their countrey, leauyng behynd them the erle of Waldocke, and diuerse other gentlemen and damoselles, which wer reteined
x with her grace, till she wer better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth daie of Februarv next ensuyng, the kyng and she came to Westminster by water accompaignied with many nobles and prelates in Barges, on whom the Maior and his brethren in skarlet, and.xii. of the chief compaignies of the citee, all in Barges garnished with Banners, Penons, and targettes, richely couered and replenished with minstrelsy, gaue their attendaunce, and by the waye al the shippes shot their ordinaunce, and out of the tower was shot a greate peale of Gonnes, in goodly ordre.

The.xii. daie of Februarv, the Duke of Norffolke was sent in Am-
xx bassade to the Frenche kyng, of whom he was well enterteigned, and in thende of thesame moneth, he returned agayn into Englande.

The.xxiii. daie of Februarv, wer foure readers sent for to the Starre Chamber, of euery house of the foure principall Innes of Courte one, where sat the lorde Chauncellor, the lorde Preuie seale, and.xiiii. of the chief of the kynges counsaill, and there the lorde Chauncellor declared, how sir Jhon Sheltō knight, had by the aduise of sir Humfrey Broune knight, the kynges Seriaunt, sir Nicholas Hare knight, the kynges counsailor, and Speaker of the Parliament, and Willyam Coigneiby Esquire, attornay of the Duchie of Lancastre, all beyng his seruauntes
xxx and of his Fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contrary to the statute made, anno.xxvii. to the greate hynderaunce of the kynges prerogatiue, and the true meanyng of thesaied statute, and also to the euill example of all other, that should defraude the lordes of their seignories Wherfore thesaied sir Humffrey Browne, and sir Nicholas Hare, wer that daie by the whole Counsayll of the kyng, dismissed of their Offices and seruice to the kyng, and sent to the tower: and within thre daies after was William Coignisby sent thether, where thei remaigned ten dayes, and after wer deliuered: but thei three lost all their offices, that thei had of the kyng.

xl The first Sondaie in Lent, Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winche- Stephē Gardiner Bishop of Wynchester.
ster, preached at Paules crosse, and there intreated of the Gospel of that daie: and in his sermon especially, he touched the article of Justificatiō, and so he handled it, that the third Sondaie in Lent next folowyng, one Doctor Barnes, of whom before you haue heard, reproued in thesayed pulpit at Paules, the doctryne of thesaied Bishoppe: and beeyng vexed Doctor Barnes.

with the Bishoppes Doctrine,he vsed many tauntes against hym, but one spectally whiche was this,that he saied if the Bishoppe and he, wer togethet in Rome with the Pope, he knewe that greate sommes of money,could not saue his life,but for the Bishoppe,there was no feare,but that a litle intreataunce, should purchase fauour enough for hym: By this he noted the Bishop to bee but a Papist, whiche the Bishop so vnquietly tooke,that he complained of Barnes to the kyng,and there had hym examined,and at the last by the kynges commaundement,he came to the bishoppes house,where likewise the bishoppe not onely examined hym,but also toke vpon hym to be his skolemaster,and as moste menne and specially suche,as muche knewe and least cause had to lye,reported, he prepared the tower for his skole house,and made suche a rod to beate his skoler,that he beate hym as small as ashes,or he left hym: although Barnes,with twoo other persones, that is to saie, Jherom and Garret, of whom in the next yere folowyng, ye shall here more, were by the Bishoppes procurement,appointed in the Easter weke folowyng,to preache at sainct Mary Spittle beside London,the three solempne sermons in one of the which sermons that Barnes made, Barnes openly and before al the people,asked the Bishop forgeuenes,for speaking so vntreuerently of him,in his former sermon,and he required the bishop if he forgaue hym,in token thereof to holde vp his hande,whiche like as it was long before he did, so it appered afterwarde to many, that it was but a counterfeat forgeuenes.

The.xii.daie of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Hare restored to the office of speaker, in the whiche was frely graunted,without contradicios,foure fiftenes & a Subsedy,of twoo.s.of landes, and xii.d.of goodes,toward the greate charges of Bulwarkes.

Thomas lord Crõwe'l created Erle of Essex.

The.xviii.daie of April,at Westminster was Thomas lorde Cromewell,created Erle of Esser,and made greate Chamberlain of England, whiche euer the Erles of Oxenford had, whiche promocions he enioyed xxx short tyme,as after in the next yere maie appere.

The xxxiii.yere.

A Justeh.

THe first daie of Maie, sir Jhõ Dudley, sir Thomas Seimour,sir George Carew sir Thomas Ponynges, sir Richard Cromewell,sir Anthony Kyngston knightes,enterprised a royall Justes,Tornay,and Barriers,whiche wer in white Veluet barded and based. The Justes began the first daie of Maie,the Tornay the third daie,and the Barriers the fifth which chalenge thei valiaũtly performed,agaynst all commers,and also they kept open houshold at Duresme place,and feasted the kyng and the Quene,and all the Lordes. Beside this,on Tewesdaie in the Rogacion weke,thei feasted all the Knightes and Burgesses of the Cõmon house: and the morowe after thei had the Maior, the Aldermen and all their wifes to dinner,and so the Fridaie thei brake vp houshold.

In this Parliament whtche began the.xviii.daie of April,as is afore

rehersed,

reherſed, the religion of ſainct Jhones in Englande, whiche of moſt mé was named the knightes of the Rhodes, was diſſolued, wherof hearyng ſir Willyam Weſton knight, Pryor of ſainct Jhones, for thought died on the Aſſencion daie, beyng the fift daie of Maie.

In this monethe was ſent to the Tower, Doctor Wilſon, and docter Sampſon biſhop of Chicheſter, for releuyng of certain traiterous perſones, whiche denied the kynges ſupremacie: and for the ſame offence was one Richard Farmer Grocer of London, a riche and welthy man, and of good eſtimacion in the citee, committed to the Marſhall See, & after in Weſtminſter hall was arraigned and attainted in the Premunire, and loſt all his goodes.

Richard Farmer Grocer condempned in a Premunire.

The.xix.day of July, Thomas lorde Cromewel, late made erle of Eſſex, as before you haue hard, beyng in the counſail chãber, was ſodainly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London, the whiche many lamented, but mo reioyſed, and ſpecially ſuche, as ether had been religious men, or fauored religious perſones, for thei banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wiſhyng that that daie had been ſeuen yere before, and ſome fearyng leaſt he ſhould eſcape, although he were impriſoned, could not be merry. Other who knewe nothyng but truth by hym, bothe lamented hym, and hartely praied for hym: But this is true that of certain of ỹ Clergie, he was deteſtably hated, & ſpecially of ſuche as had borne ſwynge, and by his meanes was put from it, for in deede he was a man, that in all his doynges, ſemed not to fauor any kynde of Popery, nor could not abide the ſnoffyng pride of ſome prelates, which vndoubtedly whatſoeuer els was the cauſe of his death, did ſhorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought vnto: whiche was that the.xix.daie of the ſaied monethe, he was attaynted by Parliament, and neuer came to his anſwere, whiche lawe many reported, he was the cauſer of the makyng thereof, but the truthe thereof I knowe not: The Articles for whiche he died, appereth in the Record, where his attaynder is written, whiche are to long to bee here reherſed, but to conclude he was there attainted of hereſy, and high treaſon. And the.xxviii.daie of July was brought to the ſkaffold on the tower hill, where he ſaied theſe wordes folowyng.

Thomas lord Crõwel committed to the Tower.

The wordes of the Lorde Crõwell ſpoke at his death.

I am come hether to dye, and not to purge my ſelf, as maye happen, ſome thynke that I will, for if I ſhould ſo do, I wer a very wretche and miſer: I am by the Lawe condempned to die, and thanke my lorde God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for myne offence: For ſithence the tyme that I haue had yeres of diſcrecion, I haue liued a ſynner, and offended my Lorde God, for the whiche I aſke hym hartely forgeuenes. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I haue been a greate traueler in this worlde, and beyng but of a baſe degree, was called to high eſtate, and ſithẽs the tyme I came therunto, I haue offended my prince, for the whiche I aſke hym hartely forgeuenes, and beſeche you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgeue me. O father forgeue me. O

sonne forgeue me, O holy ghost forgeue me: O thre persons in one God forgeue me. And now I prate you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholike faithe, not doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Churche. Many hath sclaundered me, and reported that I haue been a beater, of suche as hath maintey- gned euill opinions, whiche is vntrue, but I confesse that like as God by his holy spirite, doth instruct vs in the truthe, so the deuill is redy to seduce vs, and I haue been seduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faithe of the holy Churche. And I hartely desire you to praie for the kynges grace, that he maie long liue with you, in healthe and prosperitie. And after hun that his sone prince Edward, that good- ly ympe, maie log reigne ouer you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaigneth in this flesh, I wauer nothyng in my faithe. And then made he his prater, whiche was long, but not so long, as bothe Godly and learned, and after committed his soule, into the handes of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and Boocherly miser, whiche very vngoodly perfourmed the Office.

Sergeauntes Feaste.

On sainct Peters euen, was kept the Serieantes feast at sainct Jhos- nes with al plentie of victaile. At which feast wer made ten Serieaun- tes, three out of Greyes Inne, and three out of Lyncolnes Inne, and of euery of the Tempels twoo. At whiche feast were present, all the lordes and commons of the Parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a greate nomber of the commons of the citee of London.

Quene Anne deuorced, and called Ladie Anne of cleue.

The morowe after Midsomer daie, the kyng caused the Quene to re- moue to Richemond, purposyng it to bee more for her health, open ayre and pleasure: but the first daie of July, certain Lordes came doune into the neither house, whiche expressly declared causes, that the mariage was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the Conuocacion cle- rely determined, that the kyng might lawfully mary where he would, & so might she: and so were thei clerely deuorsed and seperated, and by the Parliament enacted and concluded, that she should bee taken no more as Quene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleue.

In this yere the lord Leonard Gray, brother to Thomas lord Mar- ques Dorset, beyng the kynges lieutenaunt in Ireland, practised son- dery feates for his profite, as in deliuerying treytors beeyng hostages, and especially his nephew Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitz- garard before executed, and also caused suche of the Irishe menne, as he had intelligence with all, to inuade suche of the kynges frendes, whiche he fauored not: Wherefore the kyng sent for hym, and he mistrustyng and seyng no refuge wrote to the kynges enemies, to inuade thenglishe pale after his departure. And also he kept the kynges Treasure, to his awne vse, without reteignyng souldiours, accordyng to his commission whereupon, when he came to London, he was sent to the Tower.

The Lorde Graye sent to the Tower.

In July the Prince of Salerne, in the Realme of Napels, and the

lorde

lorde Lois Deuola, came into England to se the kyng whiche had high chere and greate rewardes, and so departed. And after them came Done Fredericke Marques of Padulla, brother to the Duke of Farrar, and the Prince of Macedonia, and the Marques of Tarra Noua, and Mounsire de Flagy and sixtene other gentlemen, from the Emperours Courte into Englande, to see the kyng, whiche on the daye of Mary Magdalene, came to the Court to Westminster, and wer highly feasted and well intertened, and with greate rewardes departed.

The twentie and eight daie of July, as you haue heard before in this
x yere, was the Lorde Cromewell behedded, and with him likewise was behedded the Lorde Hongerford of Heytesbury, whiche certainly at the tyme of his death, semed to bee very vnquiet in mynde and rather in a frenesy then otherwise. Lorde Hungerford behedded.

The thirtie daie of July, were drawen on herdelles out of the Tower to Smithfeld, Robert Barnes Doctor in Diuinitee, Thomas Garard, and Wyllyam Jerome Bachelers in Diuinitee, Powell, Fetherston, and Abell. The firste three were drawen to the stake, there before set vp, and were burned: and the latter three drawen to the Galowes, likewise there set vp, & were hanged, behedded, and quartered. Here ye must note,
xx that the first three, wer menne that professed the Gospell of Jesu Christ, and were Preachers thereof: But wherefore they were now thus cruelly executed, I knowe not, although I haue searched to knowe the truth. But this I finde in their atteindor, for ye muste vnderstande, that after thei had Preached at sainct Mary Spittle, as before I haue declared, Barnes for learnyng his lesson no better was cõmitted to the Skole-house before prepared, whiche was the Tower, where he was kepte, and neuer called to examinacion, till his rod that he should bee beaten withall, was made, whiche was a sharp and greate Fire in Smithfelde: and for compaignie sake, was sent to the Skolehouse with hym, the for
xxx named Garet, and Jerome, whiche dronke all of one Cuppe. And as I saied before, thus muche I finde in their attaindor, that they were detestable and abhominable Heretickes, and that thei had taught many heresies, the nomber whereof was to greate in the attendor to be recited, so that there is not one alleged, whiche I haue often wondered at, that their heresies wer so many, and not one there alleged, as special cause of their deathe. And in deede at their deathe, thei asked the Shirifes, wherfore thei were condempned, who answered, they could not tell: but if I maie saie the truthe, moste menne said it was for Preachyng, agaynst
xl the Doctryne of Stephen Gardiner Bishoppe of Wynchester, who chiefly procured this their death, God and he knoweth, but greate pitie it was, that suche learned menne should so bee cast a waie, without examinacion, neither knowyng what was laied to their charge, nor neuer called to answere. Barnes, Garrard & Jerom

The laste three whiche were Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for Treason, and in their attaindor, is speciall mencion made Powell, Fetherston, and Abell.

of their offences, whiche was for the denying of the kynges supremacie, and affirmyng that his Mariage with the Lady Katheryne was good: These with other were the treasons.that thei wer attainted of.and suffered death for.

The fourthe daie of August Thomas Epsam, sometyme Monke of Westminster, whiche had been prisoner for treason, thre yeres and more in Newgate, came before the Justices of Gaole deliuery at Newegate, and would not aske the kynges pardon, nor be sworne to be true to him wherefore his Monkes garment, was plucked from his backe, and he repried till the kyng knewe his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last Monke that was seen in his clothyng in Englande. xx

In this monethe were certain Commissioners, sent by the kyng into Ireland, to inquire of the lorde Leonard Gray, whiche certefied diuerse articles against him, as ye shall here in the nexte yere folowyng.

Katheryn Hayward shewed as Quene.

The eight day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Hayward, nece to the duke of Norffolk, and daughter to the lord Edmond Hayward, shewed openly as Quene at Hampton Court, whiche dignitie she enioyed not long, as after ye shall here.

In ỹ latter ende of this moneth, was vniuersally throughout the realme greate death, by reason of newe hote agues and Flixes, and some Pestilence, in whiche season was suche a drought, that Welles and small Riuers were cleane dried, so that muche cattell died for lacke of water: and the Thamis was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the Salt water flowed aboue London bridge, till the raine had encreased the freshe waters. xxi

Egerton hanged.

On the.xxii.daie of December, was Raufe Egerton seruaunt to the Lorde Audeley, lorde Chauncellor, hanged, drawen, and quartered, for counterfetyng of the kynges greate Seale, in a signet, whiche was neuer seen, and sealed a greate nomber of Licenses for Denizens, and one Thomas Harman that wrote theim, was executed: for the statute made the last parliament, sore bounde the straungiers, whiche wer not Denizens, whiche caused theim to offre to Egerton, greate sommes of money, the desire whereof caused hym to practise, that whiche brought hym to the ende, that before is declared. xxx

In the ende of this yere, the Frenche kyng made a strong Castle at Arde, and also a Bridge ouer into the Englishe pale, whiche bridge the Crewe of Calice did beate doune, and the Frenchmen reedified the same and the Englishemen bet it doune again. And after the kyng of Englād sent fiftene hundred woorke men, to wall and fortefie Guysnes, and sent with them fiue hundred men of warre, with capitaines to defende them. xl The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there wer fiftie thousande Englishemenne, landed at Calice with greate ordinaunce: wherefore the Frenche kyng sent in all hast, the Duke of Vandosme, and diuerse other capitaines, to the Frontiers of Picardy, to defende thesame. The kyng of Englande hearyng thereof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southhampton

and

and the lorde Russell, his greate Admirall, into the Marches of Calice, to set an orde there: and after them sent.CC. light horsemen, of the borders of Scotlande: whom the Frenchmen called stradiates, whiche lordes when they had set all thynges in a good orde, shortly returned.

In this yere was burned in Smithfeld, a child named Richard Wekins, this child passed not the age of.xv. yeres, and somewhat as he had heard some other folkes talke, chaunced to speake against the Sacrament of the aultar. This boye was accused to Edmond Boner Bishop of London, who so diligently folowed the accusacion, that he first found
x the meanes to Indite hym, and then arreigned hym, & after burned him And at the tyme he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speake muche good, of the Bishop of London, and of the greate Charitee, that he shewed hym: and that he defied all heresies, and cursed the tyme that euer he knewe Doctor Barnes, for of hym had he learned that hereue, whiche he died for: The poore boye would for the sauegarde of his life haue gladly said that the twelue Apostles taught it hym, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, suche was his childishe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many spake and saied, that it was great shame for the Bishop, who thei saied ought rather to haue labored to haue his
xx life, then to procure that terrible execucion, seyng that he was suche an ignorant soule, as knewe not what the affirmyng of an heresie was.

Richard Wekyns burnt.

You haue hard before in the beginning of this yere, that doctor Wilson, and doctor Sampson Bishop of Chichester, wer sent vnto the Tower: who now wer perdoned of the kyng, and set agayn at their libertie.

The.xxviii.yere.



xix In the beginnyng of this yere, v. priestes in Yorke shire began a new rebellio, with thassent of one Leigh a gētlemā, and.ix. temporall men, whiche were apprehended, & shortly after in diuerse places put in execucion, in so muche that on the.xvii. daie of Maie, thesaid Leigh & one Tatersall, and Thornton, wer drawen through London to Tiborne, and there wer executed. And sir Jhon Neuell knight was executed for thesame at Yorke.

A newe rebellion.

On the same daie was Magaret Countesse of Salisbury, which had been long prisoner in the Tower, behedded in the Tower, and she was the last of the right lyne and name, of Plantagenet.

The.ix. daie of June, wer Damport and Chapman, twoo of the kynges Garde, hanged at Grenewhich by the Friers Wall, for robberies in example of all other.

During this season, the commissioners that before wer sent into Ire-
xl land, to inquire of the lord Gray, certified.xx, articles of high treason against hym, wherupon he was arreigned & tried by knightes, because he was a lorde of name, but no lorde of the parliamēt: howbeit he discharged the Jury, & confessed the inditement, & therupon was iudged, & after behedded at the tower hill, where he ended his life very quietly & godly.

The Lords Grayc condempned.

In this season was arreigned and condempned three gentlemen, cal-

led Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at saínct Thomas of Waterynges. Likewise was Thomas Fines Lorde Dacres of the Southe, arreigned before the Lorde Awdeley of Walden, then Chauncellour of Englande, and that daie high Stuard of thesame at Westminster, and there before thesaied Lorde Chauncellour and his Peres, he confessed the Inditement, and so had Iudgement to bee hanged. And so the twentie and nyne daie of June, beeyng Saínct Peters daie at after None, he was led on foote, betwene the twoo Shirifes of London, from the Tower through the citee to Tyborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his body buried in the chur- x
che of saínct Sepulchres. The cause of the death of this noble manne, and the other gentlemen, was a murder of a symple manne, and an vnlawfull assemble made in Sussex. Greate moane was made for them al. but moste specially for Mantell, who was as wittie, and towarde a gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a manne able to haue dooen good seruice.

The Lorde Dacres of the South hãged

Submissions

This Sommer the kyng kepte his progresse to Yorke, and passed through Lyncolne Shire, where was made to hym an humble submission by the temporaltie, confessyng their offence, and thankyng the kyng for his pardon: and the Toune of Staunforde gaue the kyng twentie xx
pounde, and Lyncolne presented fourtie pounde, & Bolton fiftie pound that parte whiche is called Lynsey gaue three hundred pounde, and Kestren and the Churche of Lyncolne gaue fiftie pounde. And when he entered into Yorke Shire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of thesame Shire, in cotes of Veluet, and foure thousande tall yomen, and seruyng men, well horsed: whiche on their knees made a submission, by the mouthe of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the kyng nyne hundred pounde. And on Barnesdale met the kyng, the Archebishoppe of Yorke, with three hundred Priestes and more, and made a like submission, and gaue the kyng sixe hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the xxx
Maior of Yorke, Newe Castle, and Hull, and eche of theim gaue to the kyng an hundred pounde. When the kyng had been at Yorke twelue daies, he came to Hul, and deuysed there certain fortifications, and passed ouer the water of Humber, and so through Lyncolne Shire, and at Halontide came to Hampton Court.

Quene Katheryne beheded.

At this tyme the Quene late before maried to the kyng called Quene Katheryne, was accused to the kyng of dissolute liuyng, before her mariage, with Fraunces Diram, and that was not secretely, but many knewe it. And sithe her Mariage, she was vehemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, whiche was brought to her Chamber at Lyncolne, xl
in August laste, in the Progresse tyme, by the Lady of Rocheforde, and were there together alone, from a leuen of the Clocke at Nighte, tyll foure of the Clocke in the Morning, and to hym she gaue a Chayne, and a riche Cap. Upon this the kyng remoued to London, and she was sent to Sion, and there kepte close, but yet serued as Quene. And for the

offence

offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, thei wēre put to death at Tiborne, the tenth daie of December. And the twentie and two daie of the same monethe, were arreigned at Westminster, the lorde Wyllyam Hawarde and his wife, which Lorde Wyllyam was Uncle to the Quene, Katheryne Tilney whiche was of counsaill of her hauyng to dooe with Diram, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwould, the Quenes women, and Walgraue, and Wyllyam Asby, and Damport gentle menne, and seruauntes to the olde Duches of Norffolke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wyfe, all indited of misprision, for concealyng the euill demeanor of the Quene, to the slaunder of the kyng, and his succession: all thei confessed it, and had Judgement to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes, and the proffite of their lādes, duryng their lifes: howbeit shortely after, diuerse of theim wer delinered by the kynges Pardon.

The sixtene date of January the Parliament began, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the kyng certain petitions. 1.
First, that he would not vexe himself, with the Quenes offence, and that she and the lady Rocheford, might be attainted by Parliament.

Also, because of protractyng of tyme, whiche the more should bee to his vnquietnes, that he would vnder his greate Seale, geue his royall 2.
assent, without tariyng the ende of the Parliament.

Also, that Duram and Culpeper, before attainted by the commō law 3.
might also be attainted by Parliament.

Also, that Agnes Duches of Norffolke, and Katheryn Countesse of Bugewater her daughter, whiche wete for concealyng thesaied offence committed to the Tower & Indited of misprision, & the lorde William and other, arreigned of thesame, might be likewise attainted. 4.

Also, that whosoeuer had spoken or doen any act, in the detestacion of her abhominable liuyng, should be pardoned.

To the whiche peticions the kyng graunted, satyng that he thanked the Commons, that thei tooke his sorowe to bee theirs: Whereupon tye Quene and the Lady Rochefordе, were attainted by bothe the houses. And on Saterdaie beyng the leuenth daie of Febzuary, the kyng sent his royall assent, by his greate Seale: and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the Common house called vp, and there the acte redde, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daie, these twoo Ladies were behedded on the Grene, within the Tower with an axe, and confessed their offences, and died repentaunt. Quene Katherin and the Lady Rocheford beyeded.

At this Parliament the kyng was Proclaymed kyng of Irelande, The kyng Proclaymed kyng of Irelande.
whiche name his predecessors neuer had, but wer alwaies called lordes of Irelande.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet biscount lisle bastard to kyng Edward the fourth, in the tower of London vnattainted, when he should haue been deliuered and put at his liberty. And

the

the twelue daye of thesaied moneth, sir Jhon Dudley sonne and heire to the saied Loyde Lisles wife was at Westmynster created Uiscount Lisle.

George Ferreys.

The Parliament sittyng, in Lent one George Ferreis Bourgeoys for the toune of Plimmouth, was arested in London vpon a condempnacion, at the suite of one White. Whereupon the Seriaunt at armes, of the Common house, was sent to the Counter in Bredestrete to fetche hym: but the Clerkes would not deliuer hym, wherfore the Serieaunt and his manne, would haue brought him awaie perforce. Diuerse of the Shirifes officiers there present, withstoode the Serieaunt, so that they fell to quarellyng, and the Serieauntes man was sore hurte. After the Fraie ended, the Shirifes of London whose names wer Rowland Hill, and Henry Suckely came to the Counter, and first denied the deliuerye of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they deliuered hym. But this matter was so taken in the Common house, that the Shirifes and the Clercke, and fiue Officiers, and the partie plaintife were sent to the tower, and there laye twoo daies, and were deliuered agayn by the Speaker and Common house.

Although I haue not vsed muche to declare of priuat thynges doen, in other forrein Realmes, yet will I now tell of one because the thyng was so reported to me, and the matter it self so writtē and deliuered me, that I must nedes iudge it to be a truthe, and the like in al this woorke is not expressed, therfore I purposed woorde by woorde, as it was writen vnto me, here to expresse it. The matter is of a certein Gentleman in Scotlande, who for contemning of the Bisshop of Romes vsurped authoritie, and for praisyng and commendyng the affaires and procedinges of Englande, and reprouyng the naughtie life of the Scottishe Clergie, was, as an hereticke accused, and conuented before diuerse of theim, as after maie appere, there to make answere to suche Articles as should bee obiected against hym. He knowyng their accustomed fauor, fled from theim into Englande. Agaynst whom after he was gone, they proceded in suche sort, as by this that followeth whiche is the true copie of the processe maie appere.

Sir Jhon Borthwike.

Sir Jhon Borthwike, commonly called Capitain Borthwike, accused, suspected, defamed and conuicted by witnesses, whiche were men of suche honestie, against whom could none exception bee taken, the yere of our lorde, a thousande fiue hundred and fourtie, the .xxviii. day of May in the Abbay of sainct Androwes, in the presence of the moste worshipfull fathers in Christ, Gawyn Archebishoppe of Glasgue, Chauncellor of Scotlande, William of Aberdowyn, Henry Bishoppe of Galloway and of the Kynges Chapell of Sterlyng, Jhon Bishoppe of Brechyn. William bishop of Dunblan: Andrew Abbot of Melros, George Abbot of Dumfermelyng, Jhon Abbot of Paslay, Jhon Abbot Lundros, Robert Abbot of Kyllos, and Willyam Abbot of Culros: Malcolme Prior of Whitytern, and Jhon Prior of Pettywerin. Master Alexander

der Balfour Vicar of Kylmane, and Rector of thē Vniuersitie of sainct Androwes. And afore the cunnyng Masters, Master Jhon Mair, and Walter Peter Chapilain, professors, and doctors of Diuinitee. Master Warten Balfour, Bachelar of Diuinitie, and of the lawe, and Officiall principall of sainct Androwes, Jhon Wyrem Supprior, Jhon Wannand, and Thomas Cunnynghā, Chanones of the Abbay of sainct Androwes, Jhon Thomson with his felowe, Prior of the blacke Friers of sainct Androwes, Jhon Tullydaff Wardein of the Grey Friers, of. S. Andrewes, & Jhon Patersone, vicar of thesame couent. And also before
x the noble mightie & right worshipfull lordes, George Erle of Huntley, James erle of Arrain, Willyam erle Marshall, William erle of Montrosse, Malcolme lorde Flemmyng, Chamberlain of Scotlande, Jhon lorde Lindesay, Jhon lorde Erskyn, George lorde Seiton, Hugh lorde Symeruall, sir Jaines Homilton of Finnard, Walter lorde of. S. Jhones of Torphecten knightes, master James Foules of Colynton clerke of the Register, to our moste souereigne Lorde the kyng and many and diuerse and sondery other lordes, barons, and honest persones, required to be witnesses in the premisses, doth affirme that he hath holdē these errors folowyng, openly taught them, and instructed them, that is to sate.

xx First, that our moste holiest lorde the Pope, the Vicar of Jesu Christ, 1.
cannot haue nor exercise, any more aucthoritie emongest christians, then any other bishop or priest.

Secondly, that Indulgences and Pardons, graunted by our moste 2.
holiest lorde the Pope, is of no value strēgth and efficacie, but vtterly to the abusion of the people, and the deceiuyng of our soules.

Thirdly, he sated that the Pope was a Simoniack, euer sellyng gyftes, and that all priestes might mary. 3.

Fourthly, that al Englishe heresies (as thei are called) or at the least, 4.
the greater and better part obserued by Englishemen, hath been and is
xxx good, and to be obserued by christen men, as true & consonant to the law of God: in so much ẏ he perswaded very many people to accept thesame.

Fiftly, that the people of Scotlāde, & the clergie therof hath been and 5.
is vtterly execated and blinded, by affirmaciō that thei had not the true catholike faith, affirmyng and opēly saiyng, that his faith was of more value & better, then all the Ecclesiasticalles, of the realme of Scotland.

Item, likewise accordyng vnto tholde opinions, of Jhō Wiclief and 6.
Hus, hereſiarches and Master heretikes, condempned in the counsail of Constantine, he hath affirmed and farther declared, that Ecclesiasticall
xl persones, should not possesse, haue nor enioye, any temporall possessions neither exercise iurisdiccīō, or any kynd of aucthoritie in temporall matters, neither vpon their awne subiectes, but that all should vtterly bee taken awaie from them, as it is in these dates in Englande.

Item, he hath sated, holden, and affirmed falsely, and contrary to the 7.
honor, state, and reuerence, of our sacred kynges maiestye of Scotlande that our kynges maiestie of Scotland, the moste clereſt defendor of the

Christian

chzistian faith, would contrary to the lawe and libertie of the holy chur-
che, vendicat and chalenge vnto his pzиuate vses, all ecclesiasticall pos-
sessions, landes, and yerely rentes, geuē by his foze fathers, and also by
hymselfe, and to infozce this matter he hath also by wzityng perswaded
our moste noble kyng, with all his endeuoz.

8. Item, he hath willed and sought, and many times hath desired harte-
ly, that the Churche of Scotlande should come, and be brought to the-
same poynt and ende, and to suche like fal, as the Churche of England,
is now come to in deede.

9. Item, he hath saied, affirmed, and taught openly, the Cannon lawes
and the Decrees of our holy fathers, appzoued by the Catholike and a-
postolike Churche, is of no valewe noz strength, bzyngyng in and affir-
myng thesame, foz to be made and set furth, cōtrary to the lawe of God.

10. Itē, he hath saied holden & affirmed many waies ẏ no religiō should
be kept, but that should bee abolished and destroyed, and to bee as it is
now destroyed in Englande, and vilepending all holy Religion, affir-
myng it to bee an abusion of the people, whose clothyng sheweth mani-
festly, to be defozmed mōsters, hauyng no vtilitie oz holines, bzyngyng
in by this and perswadyng, asmuche as in hym lay, all adherentes of
his opinion, that all the religion in this realme of Scotlande, should be
destroyed and vtterly taken awaie, to the moste greatest losse of the Ca-
tholike Churche, and to the deminishyng of Chzisten religion.

11. Item, it is plainly knowen by lawfull pzobacions, that thesame Jhō
Bozthwike, hath had and actually hath, diuerse bokes suspect of heresy
dampned, aswell by the Papall, as by the Regall and ozdinary auctho-
rities fozbidden (that is to saie) fitste of all the newe Testament in En-
glishe, pzinted in Englande, Decolampadius, Melancthon, & diuerse
tractes of Erasmus, and other cōdempned heretickes, and also the boke
of *Vnio Dissidentium*, conteinyng moste manifest errozs, and that he hath red,
studied, and communicated, and pzesented thesame to other men, aswell
openly as pziuatly, and that he hath instructed and taughte, very many
Chzistians in thesame, to the effect, to turne them from the very true and
Catholike faithe.

12. Item, it is openly knowen, thesame Jhon Bozthwike, to bee so stub-
burne in all these fozesaid errozs and heresies, and to haue susteined and
taught thesame, with suche an indurate mynde, so that he would not de-
clyne by no maner of meanes frō thesame, foz diuerse of his frendes, and
persons whiche loued hym, and would haue had hym conuett, to the ca-
tholike faithe, neither would he consent to theim in any wyse, but rather
vnmoueably persist in his errozs.

13. Foz the whiche said articles, and many other errozs holden, saied, pu-
blicated and taught by hym and (as the common voyce is) which he stil
holdeth and teacheth, the fozsaid Jhon Bozthwike to bee taken, holden,
and coumpted as an Heretike, and a Master heretike, and as a very euil
iudger of the holy faithe,

Therfoze,

Therfore we Dauid of the title of sainct Stephyn in the mount Celo of the holy churche of Rome priest Cardinall, Archebyshop of saint Androwes, Primate of this whole realme of Scotlande and of the Apostolike seate Legate create, syttyng in our seate of iustice in nature of Iudges, the holy Euangelistes of God set afore vs, that our iudgementes procede from the sight of God, and our iyes must loke to equitie, hauing onely God and the catholike faith afore our iyes, the name of God being called vpon and folowyng the counsayll aswell of the deuines as lawyers, this foresaied Jhon Borthwike called cayptain Borthwike condempned of the foresaid heresies, accused, suspected and infamed by lawfull probacions had and brought against hym in all the foresaides, convicted, cited, called and not appearyng but absentyng hym selfe lyke a runaway: Therfore let vs thinke, pronounce, and declare hym to be convicted and to be punyshed worse then an heretike. And further more all his mouables and vnmouables by whatsoeuer title they be gotten and in whatsoeuer parties they lye, they to be geuen to the secular power. And all offices had by dower or by his wyfe to be confiscat and spent to the vse and custome of the lawe. Also we do declare by these presentes the image of the foresayed Jhon to be made to the likenes of hym, and to be brought into the metrapolitan Churche of sainct Andrewes and after that to the market crosse of the citie, there to be brent as a sygne & a memorall of his condemnyng to the example and feare of all other. Likewise we do declare that if thesame Jhon be taken within our lyberties to be punyshed accordyng to the lawe of heretikes. Also we warne all true beleuers in Christ of whatsoeuer state and condicion they bee, that they from this date do not receiue or admit into their houses, tentes, villages or townes Jhon Borthwike to eate or to drinke or to preferre any kynd of humanitie in paine of such like punishment: Further, if there be any founde culpable in these foresaied that they shalbe accused as fautours and maintayners of heretiques, and they shalbe punished accordyng to the law. This sentence red and made and put in writyng in the Metrapolitan Churche of sainct Androwes we sittyng in our Tribunals seate, the yere of our Lord 1540. the xxviii. day of Maye drawen out of the Regester made against heretikes and agreyng with the sentence of Jhon Borthwike.

The sentence or iudgement.

¶ The.xxxiiij. yere.



N this yere James erle of Desmond came to the kyng and was honorably entertained & wel rewarded. And in September the great Onele came to the kyng to Grenewyche, where he and a captaine of the North partes of Irelande called Magannylle and the Bysshop of Cloar, made their submission in writing, confessyng their offences, and promisyng to serue the kyng and his heires truely: whiche submission by the kyng considered, he vpon the first daie of October created at Grenewyche the said sir Eustace Onele called greate Onele (because he was the chiefe of his linage called Onele) Erle of Tereowen, commonly called Tyron and gaue hym a great chayne, and made Magaunylle and his cosyn knightes and gaue them both chaynes, and he gaue to the lord Mathias sonne to the erle, the Barony of Duncan. x

At this season the kynges Maiestie prepared for warre into Scotlande: the cause why this warre was made is moste manifestly declared by that whiche foloweth, which the kynges Maiestie published by this title, A declaracion conteignyng the iust causes and consideracions of this present vvarre vvith the Scottes: vvherin also appeareth the true and ryght title that the kynges moste royall maiestie hath to his souereigntie of Scotland. And it begynneth thus. xx

A declaracion of the cause of warre with Scotland set forth by the kyng.

Kyng now enforced to the warre, whiche we haue alwayes hytherto so muche abhorred and fled, by our neighbour and Nephieu the kyng of Scottes, one, who aboue all other, for our manifolde benefites towardes him, hath moost iust cause to loue vs, to honour vs, and to reioyce in our quietnes: we haue thought good to notifie vnto the worlde his doynges and behauour in the prouocacion of this warre, and likewise thee meanes and wayes by vs vsed to exchue and aduoide it, and the iust and true occasions, wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute the same, & by vtteraunce and diuulgyng of that matter, to disburden some part of our inwarde displeasure and griefe, and the circumstaunces knowen, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelitie of this tyme, in whiche thynges of suche enormitie do vprest out and appeare. xxx

The kyng of Scottes our Nephieu and neighbour, whom we in hys youth and tender age preserued and maintained from the greate daunger of other, and by our authoritie and power conduced him safely to the realll possession of his estate, he nowe compelleth and forceth vs for preseruacion of our honoure and right to vse our puissaunce and power against hym. The like vnkyndnes hath bene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Goddes lawe, mannes lawe and all humanitie: but the oftener it chaunceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persones of princes for the raritie of theim can so happē but seldome, as it hath nowe come to passe. xl

It hath bene very rarely and seldome sene before, that a kyng of Scottes

fo. Duo.

Scottes hath had in mariage a daughter of Englande: We can not, ne will not reprehende the kyng our fathers act therein, but lament and bee sorry it toke no better effect. The kyng our father in that matter myn̄ded loue, amitie, and perpetuall frendshyp betwene the postery of both, which how sone it fayled, the death of the kyng of Scottes, as a due punishmēt of God for his iniust inuasion into this our realme, is and shalbe a perpetuall testimony to their reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme could not the vnkyndnesse of the father extinguyshe in vs the naturall loue of our Nephieu his sonne, beyng then in the miserable age of tender youth: but we than forgetting the displeasure that should haue worthyly prouoked vs to inuade that realme, norysshed and brought vp oure Nephieu to achieue his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he nowe so vnkyndly vseth and behaueth hym towardes vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre against hym.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, & by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that vnder a coloure of fayre speche and flatteryng wordes, we be in dedes so iniured, contempned and dispised, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermitte and passe ouer. Wordes, writinges, letters, messages, ambassates, excuses, allegacions, could not more pleasantly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuised and sent, then hath bene made on the kyng of Scottes behalfe vnto vs, and euer we trusted the tree would bryng forth good fruite, that was of the one partie of so good a stocke, and continually in apparaunce put forth so faire buddes: and therfore would hardely beleue or geue eare to other, that euer alleged the dedes of the contraty, beyng neuertheless thesame dedes so manyfest, as we must nedes haue regarded theim, had we not bene so lothe to thynke euyll of our Nephieu, whom we had so many wayes bounde to be of the best sorte toward vs. And therefore hauyng a message sent vnto vs the yere past from our saied Nephieu, and a promyse made for the repairing of thesaid kyng of Scottes vnto vs to Yorke, and after great preparacion on our part made therfore, thesame metyng was not onely disappointed, but also at our beyng at Yorke, in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by oure saied Nephieu his subiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and dispite of vs: We were yet glade to impute the defaute of the metyng to the aduise of his counsaill, and the inuasion to the lewdnes of his subiectes: And accordyng thereunto gaue as benigne & gentle audience to suche ambassadours, as repaired hither at Christmas afterwarde, as if no suche causes of displeasure had occurred, specially consyderyng the good woordes, swete woordes, pleasaunt woordes, excusones proponed by thesaied Ambassadours, not onely to excuse that was past, but also to persuade kyndnes and perfite amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottes hauyng contrary to the article of the league of amitie, receiued and enterteigned suche rebelles,

as were of the chiefe and principle, in stirryng the insurrecton in the North against vs wyth retulall before tyme, vpon request made to restore thesame: yet neuertheless vpon offer made thesayde Ambassadors, to sende cõmission to the boxdures, to detetmyne the debates of the confines in thesame, wyth so great a pretence of amitie and so fayre woxdes as could be in speche desired: we were content for the tyme to forbeare too presse them ouer extremely in the matier of rebelles. Albeit we neuer remitted thesame, but desyrous too make triall of our sayde Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to thee sendyng of commissioners to the boxders, whyche to our greate charge we dyd, and thee kynge of Scottes our sayde Nephieu the semblable. Where after great trauaile made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that beyng for our parte chalenged a piece of our grounde, plainely vsurped by the Scottes, and of no greate value, beyng also for thesame shewed suche euidence, as more substancial, more autentique, more plaine and euident, can not be brought furth for any part of grounde wythin our realme. Thesame was neuertheless by theym denyed, refused, and the euidence onely for thys cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it could not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytle, and of so small wayte, as no manne would haue attempted to falsifie for suche a matter. And yet thys denial beyng in thys wyse made vnto our commissioners, they neuertheless by our commaundement departed as frendes fro the cõmissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath been accustomed for good rule vpon the boxders in the meane tyme.

After whiche their recesse, the lorde Maxwell, Warden of the West Marches of Scotlãd, made proclamacion for good rule, but yet added therwith, ỹ the boxderers of Scotlande should withdrawe their goodes from the boxderers of Englande: And incontinently after the Scotishe men boxderers, the fowretth of July, entred into our realme sodaynly, & spoyled our subiectes, contrarye to our leagues, euen after suche extremitie, as it had been in tyme of open warre. Whereat we muche meruailed, and were compelled therefore to furnishe our boxder wyth a garison for defence of thesame. Where vpon the kyng of Scottes sent vnto vs James Leyrmouth, Master of his household, wyth letters deuised in the moste pleasaunt maner, offeryng redresse and reformacion of all attemtates. And yet neuertheless at the entry of the sayde Leyrmouth into Englande, a great nombre of the Scottes, then not looked for made a forrey into our boxders, to the great annoyaunce of our subiectes, and to their extreme detriment, wherewith and wyth that vnsemely dissimulacion, we were not a litle moued, as reason would we should. And yet did we not finally so extremely persecute and continue our sayd displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the sayde Leyrmouth, and suffered ourselfe to be somewhat altred by hys woxdes and fayre promises

miſes, tendyng to the perſwaſion that we euer deſired, to fynde the kyng of Scottes ſuche a Nephieu vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud, wyth our gratuitie vnto hym, did require.

In the meane tyme of theſe laſte woordes, the dedes of the borders were as extreme as myght be, and our ſubiectes ſpoyled: and in a roade made by Sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge therof, theſame Sir Robert Bowes with many other taken priſoners, and yet deteined in Scotland, without puttyng them to fine and raũſome, as hath be euer accuſtomed. And beyng at theſame tyme aſſurcaunce made on both ſydes at the ſuite
x of theſaid Leyrmouth for a ſeaſon: the Scottes ceaſſed not to make ſundry inuaſions into our realme in ſuch wiſe, as we were compelled to forget fayre woordes, and onely to conſider the kyng of Scottes dedes, whiche appeared vnto vs of that ſorte, as they ought not for our dutie in defence of our ſubiectes, ne could not in reſpect of our honour, be paſſed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readineſſe our armye, as a due meane wherby we might atteigne ſuche a peace, as for the ſafegard of our ſubiectes we be bounde to procure.

After whiche preparacion made, and knowledge had therof, the kyng of Scottes ceaſſed not to vſe his accuſtomed meane of fayre woordes,
xx whiche in our naturall inclinacion wrought eftſones their accuſtomed effect, euermore deſirous to fynde in the kyng of Scottes ſuche a regard and reſpect to be declared in dedes as the correſpondence of naturall loue in the Nephieu to ſuche an Vncle, as we haue ſhewed our ſelf towardes hym, doth require. Wherfore vpon newe requeſt and ſuite made vnto vs, we determined to ſtaie our armye at Yorke, appoyntyng the duke of Norffolke our Lieutenaunt, the lorde Preuiſeale, the Byſhop of Durcham, and the Maſter of our horſes, there to commen, treate and conclude with the Ambaſſadours of Scotland, for an amitie and peace vpõ ſuche condicions, as by reaſon and equitie were indifferent, wherby the
xxx warre might be eſchued, beyng by ſundry inuaſion of the Scottes then open and manyfeſt.

In this communicacion betwene our and theyr commyſſioners, after diuers degrees of commiſſions, ſhewed by the Scottes, and finally one, that was by our commiſſioners allowed, matiers were propoſed for cõcluſion of amitie, nothyng difficile or hard on our part, but ſo agreable to reaſon, as the commiſſioners of Scotlande ſayed, they doubted not, but if it myght be brought to paſſe, that the kyng of Scottes our Nephieu might haue a metyng with vs, all matters ſhould eaſely be compoſed and determined. Whereupon they left ſpeakyng of any attycles
xl of amitie, and the ambaſſadours of Scotland made much outward ioy in communicacion of metyng, thei ſhewed theimſelfe in woordes, faſſion & behauour muche to delight in it, to reioyce in it, and therewith thought it eaſy and facile to be concluded and accompliſhed, and for their part they toke it then for a thyng paſſed, a thyng concluded, and moſte certaine to take effect, and onely deſired ſyx daies to obteigne aunſwere from their

Master, and our armye for that tyme to stay and go no further: Where-vnto our commissioners then agreed.

After these. vi. dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a metyng precysely at suche a place, as they knewe well we would not, ne could not in wynter obserue and kepe, wherewith when our Commissioners were miscontent, the Ambassadours of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to tempre the matter, whereby too wynne more tyme, shewed forth their instruccions, wherein libertie was geuen to the Ambassadours to excede their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to any other by our commissioners thought conuenient, whiche maner of procedyng, when our commissioners refused, allegyng that they would not conclude a metyng with men, hauyng no commission therevnto: The Ambassadours of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and large cõmission agreable to their instruccions for appointment of the place, obteined a delay of other syxe dayes, to send for thesayd ample commission without restraint of place. And after those syxe dayes they brought forth a newe commission, made in a good fourme, and without exception: But therewith they shewed also newe instruccions, conteinyng suche a restrainte as the former commission did conteine, so as the libertie geuen to the commissioners in the commissiõ was now at the last remoued and taken away by the instruccions, with addicion of a speciall charge to the Ambassadours not to excede the same.

Bodin. 604.

And thus fyrst the Ambassadours of Scotlãd semed to haue wyl and desire to conclude a place semely and conuenient, whiche for want of cõmission they myght not do, and at the last might haue cõcluded a meting by vertue of their commission, and then for feare of the cõmaundement in their second instruccions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instruccions partly to excuse their kyng; who should seme secretely to wyll more, than in the commission he did openly professe.

And than with an ample commission from the kyng, they shewed their secrete instruccions for defence of themselfe, why they proceded not according to their commission, not carying howe muche they charged therin their kyng, whose faulte they disclosed to discharge theim selfe, trusting that by benefite of the Wynter approchyng, and the tyme lost in their communicacion, their Master should be defended against our power for this yere, without doyng for their part that by honoure, tyght, lawe, and league they be oblyged and bound to do. And in this meane tyme our subiectes taken prisoners in Scotland could not be deliuered vpon any raunsome, contrary to all custome and vsage of the borders in the tyme of peace and warre, and in this meane tyme stayed a greate part of our armie already prested, and in our wages to go forward. In this tyme Ambassadours (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie and cõcluded it not. The treatyng of amitie was put ouer by communicacion of a metyng.

The

The communicacion of meting was so handled by alteracion of commission and instruccions on their behalfe, as it appereth a plaine deuise onely excogitate for a delay, whiche hath geuen vs lyght, whereupon more certainly to iudge the kyng of Scottes inwarde affeccion towardes vs, whose dedes and woordes well wayed and considered, doeth vs plainely to vnderstande, how he hath continually laboured to abuse vs with swete and pleasaunt woordes, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abrode with his vnkynde and displeasaunt dedes. In his woordes he professeth an insoluble amitie, he allegeth kynred, he knowxlegeth benefites, only the faulte is that he speaketh an other language to all the woorlde in dedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honoure and denegacion of iustice, as we bee inforced and compelled to vse the sworde, whiche God hath put in our hand as an extreme remedy, wherby to obteigne both quietnes for our subiectes, and also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes, and leagues.

We haue paciently suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparacion at yorke for his repaire to vs: But should we suffre our people and subiectes to be so oft spoyled without remedy? This is done by the Scottes whatsoeuer their worde be. Should we xx suffre our rebelles to be deteigned contrary to the leagues without remedy? This is also done by theim whatsoeuer their woordes be.

Should we suffre our land to be vsurped contrary to our most plaine euidence, onely vpon a wille pryde, and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoeuer their woordes be. And all these be ouer presumpteously done against vs, & geue suche signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessary for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, lest thei should gather further courage to the greater displeasure of vs & our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreatyng of this matter, if we had not euidently perceiued the lacke of suche affeccion as proximitie of bloud xxx should require, we would much rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximitie of bloud to our Nephieu, then we did heretofore the inuasion of his father. But considerying we be so surely ascertained of the lacke therof, & that our bloud is there frorne with the cold ayre of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkynde dealyng, vniust behauour, vnprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declareth hymselfe not to be moued there with, ne to haue suche ernest regarde to the obseruacion to his pactes and leagues, ne suche respect to the interteinement of the administracion of iustice, as naturall equitie bynxl deth, and conseruacion of amitie doeth require: whiche we muche lament and be sorry for, and vse nowe our force and puissaunce against hym, not for reuengeaunce of our priuate displeasure (beyng so often deluded as we haue bene) but for recouery of our right, the preseruacion of our subiectes from iniuries, & the obseruation of suche leagues as haue passed betwene vs, fyrmely trustyng, that almightie God vnder whome wee

reigne

reigne, woll assist and aide our iust procedinges herein to the furtheraũce and aduauncement of the right, whiche we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falsehead, deceipte and dissimulacion.

Hytherto it appeareth how this present warre hath not proceded of any demaunde of our right of superiorite, whiche the kyng of Scottes haue alwaies knowleged by homage and fealtie to oure progenitours euen from the beginnyng: But this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpõ present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrõg ministred by the Nephieu to the vncle moste vnnaturally, and supported contrary to the desertes of our benefites moste vnkyndly. If we had x
mynded the possession of Scotlande, & by the mocion of warre to attaine thesame, there was neuer kyng of this realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our Nephieu. Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certain title, to any realme that he can claime, then we haue to Scotlãd, not deuised by pretence of mariage, nor imagined by couenaunt, or contriued by inuencion of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that estate establyshed by our progenitours, and recognised successiuely of the kynges of Scotland by dedes, woordes, actes, and writynges continually almoste without interrupcion, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our xx
progenitour Henry the. vi. in whose tyme the Scottes abused the ciuyle warre of this realme, to their licence & boldnes, in omitting of their duty: whiche for the proximitie of bloud betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, beyng also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to omitte to demaunde our right, if it might conserue peace, than by the demaundyng therof to bee sene to moue warre, specially against our neighbour, against our Nephieu, against him, whom we haue preserued from daungier, and in such a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the common enemy the Turke. xxx

But for whatsoeuer cõsideracions we haue omitted to speake hytherto of the matter, it is neuertheles true, that the kynges of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged the kynges of England superiour lordes of the realme of Scotland, and haue done homage and fealtie for thesame.

This appeareth fyrst by history, written by suche as for confirmacion of the truthe in memory, haue truely noted and signified thesame. Secondly it appeareth by instrumentes of homage made by the kynges of Scottes, and diuers notable personages of Scotland, at diuers and sundry tymes sealed with their seales, and remaynyng in our treasory. Thirdly it appeareth by Regesters and Recordes iudicially and autenxl
tiquely made, yet preserued for confirmaciõ of thesame. So as the matter of title beyng moste playne, is furnyshed also with all maner of euydences for declaracion therof.

Fyrst as concernyng histories, whyche be called witnesses of tymes, the

the lyght of truthe, and the life of memory, & finally the conuenient waye and meane, whereby thynges of antiquitie may be brought to mennes knowlege, they shew as playnly this matter as could be wyshed or required, with suche a consent of writers, as could not so agree vppon an vntruthe, conteignyng declaracion of suche matter as hath moste euydent probabilitie and apparaunce. For as it is probable and lykely, that for the better administracion of iustice amonges rude people, two or mo of one estate might be rulers in one countrey vnite as this Ile is: so is it probable and likely, that in the begynnyng it was so ordred for auoydyng dissencion, that there shoulde one superior in ryght, of whom the sayd estates should depend. Accordyng whereunto we rede how Brute, of whom the Realme then called Britayn tooke fyrst that name (beyng before that tyme inhabited with Giauntes, people without order or cyuilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, and determinyng to haue the whole Ile within the Occean sea to be after gouerned by theim thre, appointed, Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called England: vnto whom as being the elder sonne, the other two brethern should do homage recognisyng and knowlegyng hym as their superior. Nowe consider, if Brutus conquered all this Iland, as the history saieth he did, and then in his awne tyme made this order of superiozitie as afore: how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginnyng, a more iust beginnyng, a more conuenient beginnyng for the order of this Iland, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continuall strife and variaunce conteine twoo or thre rulers in all pointes equall without any maner of superiozitie, the inward cõscience and remorse of whiche superiozitie should in some part dul and diminish the peruerse courage of resistence and rebellion. The fyrst diuision of thys Ile we fynde it written after this sort without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And accordyng here vnto we fynde also in history set forth by diuers, how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessours haue chastised the kynges of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, whiche they cared not distinctly to commit to writyng, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other diligently enserchyng, what he might truely wryte of all Europe, and the Ilandes adioynyng, ouer and beside that whiche he writeth of the natures, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who so lyst to rede, shall fynde to haue bene the very same in tymes paste, that we fynde theym now at this present, he calleth Scotland part of England, whiche is agreable to the diuision afore sayed, beyng in dede as in the lande continuall without separacion of the Sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnite vnto the same, as by particuler declaracions shal more manifestly appere

ly appere by the testymony of suche as haue left writyng for profe and confirmacion thereof. In whiche matter passyng ouer the death of kyng Humber, the actes of Dunwald kyng of this realme, the deuision of Be-
Ioan. Anglor. 8. lin and Brene, the victories of kyng Arthur, we shall beginne at the yere of our Lorde DCCCC. whiche is D Crlii. yeres past, a tyme of lufficient auncientie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident proke of the execucion of our right and title of superiorite euermore continued and preserued hytherto.

Edward the first before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of Englande had vnder his dominion and obedience the kyng of Scottes. And x
here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot writyng that story in those daies, graũteth, confesseth, and testifieth the same, and this dominion continued in that state xxiii. yere: At whiche tyme Athelstaine succeded in the croune of England, and hauyng by battayle conquered Scotlande, he made one Constantyne kyng of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrey of Scotlande vnder hym, addyng this princely worde. That it was more honoure to him to make a kyng, then to be a kyng.

Xxiiii. yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our Lorde D cccxlviii. Eldred kyng our progenitour, Athelstaines brother, toke homage of Ix xx
rise then kyng of Scottes.

Xxx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde D ccclxxviii. kyng Edgar our predecessor toke homage of Kinald kyng of Scottes. Here was a litle trouble in England by the death of S. Edward kyng and martir, destroyed by the deceite of his mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

Xl. yeres after the homage done by Kynald to kyng Edgare, that is to say, in the yere of our lord. M. xvii. Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes vttered some pece of their naturall disposicion, whereupon by warre made xxx
by our progenitour sainct Edward the Confessor. xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord. M. lvi. Malcolme kyng of Scottes was vanquished, and the realme of Scotlãd geuen to Malcolme his sonne by our saied progenitour sainct Edward: vnto whome thesaied Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Within. xi. yeres after that Willyam Conqueror entred this realme whereof he accounpted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therfore in thesaied yere, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde. M. lxviii. thesaied Malcolme kyng of Scottes dyd homage to thesaied Wyllyam Conqueror, as his superior by conquest xl
kyng of England.

Xxv. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lord. M. xciii. the sayd Malcolme dyd homage and fealtie to Wyllyam Rufus, sonne to thesaied Wyllyam Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences

and

and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who lykewise sayled of his dutie, and therefore was ordeined in that estate by the said Willyam Rufus, Edgare brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first, who did his homage and fealtie accordyngly.

Seuen yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde. M. C. thesaied Edgar kyng of Scottes, did homage to Henry the firste, oure progenitour.

xxvii. Xxvii. yere after that Dauid kyng of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heire to Henry the first. Wherefore beyng after required by Stephyn, then obteignung possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to thesaied Matilde, and therupon forbare. After which Dauids death, whiche ensued shortly after, the sonne of thesaied Dauid made homage to thesaied kyng Stephyn.

Xiiii. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde. M. Cl. Wyllyam kyng of Scottes, and Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a reseruacion of their dutie to Henry the second his father.

xx Xxv. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde. M. Clxxv. Wyllyam kyng of Scotlande, after muche rebellion and resistence, accordyng to their natural inclinacion, kyng Henry the seconde, then being in Normandy, Willyam then kyng of Scottes knowleged finally hys errour, and made his peace and composicion, confirmed with his greate seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotlande, makyng therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within. xv. yeres after that, which was ỹ yere of our lord. M. C. lxxx. thesaied Willyam kyng of Scottes, came to our citie of Cauntorbury, and there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richard the first.

xxx Xiiii. yeres after that, thesaied Willyam did homage to oure progenitour kyng Jhon, vpon a hyll besides Lyncolne, makyng his othe vpon the crosse of Hubert then archebyshop of Cauntorbury, beyng there present a marueilous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Houeden. 811

Xvi. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde. M. CC. xvi. Alexander kyng of Scottes maried Margarete, the daughter of oure progenitour Henry the. iii. at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Chrystmas: at whiche tyme thesaied Alexander dyd his homage to our saied progenitour: who reigned in this realme. lvi. yeres. And therfore betwene the homage made by thesaied Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to thesaied kyng of Scottes, to Edward the

xl first at his Coronacion at Westminster, there was aboute fyfty yeres at whiche tyme thesaied Alexander kyng of Scottes repayred to thesaied feast of coronacion, and there did his duetie as is aforesaied.

Within. xxviii. yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our lorde. M. CC. lxxxii. Jhon Baliol kyng of Scottes, made his homage and fealtie to thesaied kyng Edward the first, our progenitour.

But.

Aftes

After this began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the croune of Scotlande, and to moue seoicion therfore, agaynst theim of the house of Baliol, whiche made for a season some interrupcion in the saied homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memory. For within. xliiii. yere after, whiche was the yere of our lorde. M. CCC. xlvi. Edward Baliol, after a great victory had in Scotland against the other faccion, and entoying the croune of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the thyrd.

And. xx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lord. M. CCC. xlvi. Dauid Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, dyd neuertheiesse in the title of the croune of Scotland, wherof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayed progenitour Edward the third.

Within. ix. yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre against theim: where after greate victories, Edwarde Baliol hauyng the iust and right title to the Realme of Scotlande, surrendred clerely thesame to our sayed progenitour at the toune of Rokysborough in Scotlande: where our sayd progenitour accepted thesame, and than caused hymselfe to be crouned kyng of Scotland, and for a tyme enterteigned it, and entoyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on thone partie by confiscation acquired, & on the other parte by free will surrendred vnto hym.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitour Edward the third, beganne seditions and insurrections in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour Richard the second, whiche was augmented by the alteracion of the state of thesaied Richard, and the deuolucion of thesame, to Henry the fowerth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their vagues, and folowe their accustomed maner. And yet Henry the. v. for recouery of his right in Fraunce, commaunded the kyng of Scottes to attende vpon hym in that iourney. And in this tyme the realme of Scotlande beyng descended to the house of the Stewardes, of whiche oure Nephieu directly commeth, Iames Stewarde kyng of Scottes, in the yere of our Lorde. M. CCCC. xxii. made homage to Henry the fift at Wyndsore. Whiche homage was distaunt from the tyme of the other homage made by Dauid Bruse. ix. yeres and more, but farre within the fleshe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by storye to haue bene made and done at tymes and season as afore: so do there remayne instrumentes made therupon and sealed with the seales of the kynges of Scotland testifyng thesame. And yet doeth it appere by story, howe the Scottes practised to steale out of our treasurye dyuers of these instrumentes, whiche neuertheiesse were after recouered agayne. And too the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour thesaied instrumentes be, here is inserted the effecte in worde and sentence as they be made, whiche we do to mete with the cauellacion and contriued euasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to haue bene made for the Erledome of Huntyngdon

hũtyngtõ, which is as trew as the allegatiõ of him that is burnt in the hande, to saye he was cut with a sikle. And therfore the tenour of the homage is this.

I Jhon. N. kyng of Scottes shall be trew and faithfull vnto you lorde Edward by the grace of god kyng of England, the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie of thesame kyngdome of Scotland, the which I hold, & claime to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life & lymme and worldly honour against all men, & faithfully I shall know & lege, and shal do to you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland a foresaied, as god so helpe and these holy euangelies.

Now for the thrd parte touchyng recordes and registres, wee haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handeled, and with such circumstaunces declaryng the matiers as they be & ought to be a great corroboracion of that hath ben in stories writen & reported in this matter. For amonges other thynges we haue the solempne act, and iudicial processe of our progenitour Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the saine was challenged by twelue competitours: That is to say,

Florentius comes Holandie.
Patricius de Dũbar comes de Merchia.
VVillielmus de Vesti
VVillielmus de Ros.
Robertus de pinbeni.
Nicholaus de Soules
Patritius Galightly.
Rogerus de Mnndeuille.
Ionnes de Comyn.
D. Ioannes de Hastinges.
Ioannes de Balliolo.
Robertus de Bruse.
Ercius rex Norvvegie.

And finally, after a great consultacion and mature deliberacion, with discussion of the allegacions proponed on all parties, sentence was geuen for the title of Balliol, accordyng wher vnto he enioyed the realme. But for confirmaciõ of the dutie of the homage before that tyme obserued by the kynges of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes, how when those competitours of the Realme of Scotlande repaired to oure saied progenitour, as to the chief lorde for discussion of thesame, in as muche as the aucthoritie of the iudgement to be geuen depended ther vpon: It was than ordered, that the whole parliament of Scotlande spirituall tempozall and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and cõsidering vpon what ground and foundacion the kynges of Scotlande had in tymes past made thesaied homages and recognition of superiozitie, the saied parliament fyndyng the same good and trew, should if thei so demed it, yeld and geue place, and by expresse consent recognise thesame. At whiche parliament was alledged vnto them, as apperth in the same recordes, not only these actes of the princes before those daies, & before rehersed: but also besides the testimonye of stories, the writynges and

letters of forein princes, at that time recityng and reherſyng theſame: Wherevpon theſaied parliament did ther agree to this our ſuperiorite, and enſuyng their determinacion dyd particularly and ſeuerally make homage and fealtie with Proclamacion, that whoſoeuer withdrue him ſelfe from doyng his duetie therein, ſhould be reputed as a rebell: And ſo all made homage and fealtie to oure progenitour Edward the firſt. This Realme was in the tyme of the diſcuſſion of the title ruled by Gardians deputed by hym, al caſtels and holdes were ſurrendered to him as to the ſuperior lord, in the tyme of vacacion, benefiſes, offices, fees, promotiõs paſſed in that tyme from the mere gift of our ſaied progenitour, as in the right of this croune of England, Shirifes named and appointed, writtes and preceptes made, obeied, and executed: and finally all that wee do nowe in the Duchie of Lancaſter, the ſame dyd our progenitour for the tyme of our contencion for that title in the realme of Scotlande, by the conſent of an agrement of all eſtates of the realme aſſembled and conſulted with for that purpoſe. At whiche tyme the biſhopes of ſainct Andrewes and Glaſcoo wer not as thei now be archebiſhopes, but recogniſed the archebiſhop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer all that countrey, x

Spel. Counsels. 3. a. 275.

Now if the Scottes wil take exception to the homage of ther princes as made in warr and by force whiche is not true: what will thei ſay or can thei for ſhame allege againſt ther awne parliament not of ſome but of all confirmed and teſtefied by there writynges and ſeales: wherunto nothyng enforced them, but right and reaſon, beyng paſſed in peace & quiet without armoure or compulſion. If thei ſay thei did it not, they ſpeake like them ſelfes, If thei ſay thei did it, then do thei now like them ſelf, to withdraw ther duetie, not ſo much to be blamed, as to be amẽded. xx

Thus apereth vnto you the begynnyng of the right of ſuperioritie, with a perpetuall continuaunce, without intermiſſion within memorie, certayne omiſſion and forbearyng vpon the groundes and occaſions before ſpecified we deny not. Wherby thei haue many tymes ſought and take there opportunities, to withdraw the doyng of ther duetie in knowlege of our ſuperiorite ouer them, which to auoyde, thei haue not cared what thei ſaied or alleged, though it wer neuer ſo vntrue: lyeng alwaies in a wait whan thei might annoy this Realme, not without there awne great daunger, peril, & extreme detryment. But as thei detracted the doyng of their dutie, ſo god euer graunted vnto this realme force to compell them therunto within memorie, notwithſtandyng any their interruptiõ by reſiſtaunce, which vnto the tyme of our progenitor Henry the firſt neuer indured ſo long as it made intermiſſion within tyme of mynd wherby the poſſeſſion might ſeme to be enpaired from the time of Henry the firſt vnto the ſeuenth yere of oure reigne, oure Realme hath bene for a ſeaſon lacerate and torne by diuerſitie of titles tyll oure tyme and ſithence by war outwardly vexed & troubled: The ſtorye is ſo lamentable xxx xl

lamentable for some parte therof as were tedious to reherse,

Sythen the death of our progenitor, Henry the.vi.our Graundfather Edward the.iiii.reigned, who after great traueyls to attayne quietnes in his Realme,finally in the tyme of preparation of warr agaynst Scotland,dyed.

Rychard the.iii.then vsurped for a small tyme in yeres, whom the Kyng our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battayll, and most iustly attayned the possession of this Realme, who neuertheless after the great tempestious stormes, kyndynge all matters not yet
x brought to perfecte quyet and rest, ceassed and forbare to requyre of the Scottes to do their duty, thinkyng it policy rather for that tyme to assay to tame their nature by the pleasaunt contunction & conuersation of affinitie,then to charge them with their faulte, and requyre dutye of them,when opportunitie serued not, by force and feare to constrayne and compell them.

And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father, without demaunde of this homage. And beyng our reigne nowe.xxviii.yeres, we were.xxi. yeres letted by our Nephieu his minoritie,beyng then more careful how to bryng him out of daũger,to the place of a kyng,then to receiue of him
xx homage when he had full possession of thesame. Wherefore beyng now passed sithens the last homage made by the kyng of Scottes to our progenitor Henry the.vi.C.xxii.yere, at which tyme the homage was done at Wyndesore by James Stuard,then kyng of Scottes,as afore,lvi. of these yeres the crowne of this Realme was in contencion,the trouble wherof engendred also some busynesse in the tyme of the kyng our father,which was.xviii.yere: And in our tyme.xxi.yere hath passed in the minoritie of our Nephieu. So as finally the Scottes resortynge to their only defence of discontinuaũce of possession,can only alledge iustly but.xiii.yere of sylence in the tyme of our reygne, beynge all the other
xxx tymes sythens the homage done by James Steward,suche as the sylence in them had thei ben neuer so long,could not haue engendred preiudice to the losse of any ryght,that may yet be declared & proued due. For what can be imputed to Kyng Edward for not demaundyng homage beynge in stryf for that estate, wherunto the homage was due. What should Rychard the,iii.serch for homage in Scotland, that had neither ryght ne leasure to haue homage done vnto hym in England. Who can blame our father, knowyng the Scottes nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare, yf he demaunded not that of them,whych they woulde exchue if thei might,beyng his Realme not clerely then purged
xl from yll seede of sedicio, sparkled & scattered in the cruell ciuile warres before.

Lawe and reason serueth,that the passyng ouer of tyme not commodious,ỹ the purpose, is not allegeable in prescriptiõ for the losse of any ryght. And the minoritie of the kyng of Scottes hath endured.xxi. yeres of our reigne, whiche beynge an impediment on their parte, the

Bodin. 173.

whole prescription of the Scottes, yf the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidently to.xiii.yere, which.xiii.yere without excuse we haue ceassed and forborne to demaunde our dutie, lyke as the Scottes haue lykewyse ceassed to offer and tende thesame. For which cause neuertheless we doo not enter this warre, ne mynded to demaunde anye suche matter, nowe beyng rather desirous to reioyce and take comfort in the frendship of our Nephieu, as our neyboure, then to moue matter vnto hym of displeasure, wherby to alienate suche naturall inclinacion of loue, as he should haue toward vs: But such be the workes of God, superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be minystred, wherby due super- p
rioritie maye be knowen, demaunded and requyred, to the entent that accordyng ther vnto all thynges gouerned in due ordre here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this lyfe to his honor & glorye: which he graunt vs to doo, in suche rest, peace and tranquilitie, as shalbe mete and con-
uenient for vs.

When the kyng had setfurth the Declaracion of the cause of his war as is aboue mencioned. Then sent he furth the duke of Norffolke Lieu-
tenaunt generall, accõpanyed with the Erles of Shrewisbury, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Anguysh, Rutland, and the Lordes of the North parties, and syr Anthony Browne Master of the kynges xx
horsse, sir Jhon Gage Comptroller of the kynges house, and.xx.M. men well appoynted, whych entered Scotland the.xxi.day of October, and taryed there, viii.dayes without battell, and brent the townes of Paxton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skytshell, Newthorne, Smellem Spyttle, the two Werdens, Slede-
ryke, and the two Brorlawes, Florys and the Fayre Crofte, Ednem Spyttle, Rorborough, Kelsey & the Abbey, Lang Spronstow, Ryden, and Hadenston. And whyle the Duke was at Farneton in Scotlande the.viii.daie, there came to speake with him halfe a myle from the Hoste, from the kyng of Scottes, the Bishop of Orkeney and James Leire- xxx
mouth Maister of the houshold, to entreate peace, but they agreed not. And the Armye laye so long in Scotlande as they myght for honger & colde without anye countenaunce of harme, and so for necessitie retur-
ned to Barwycke. And all this iourney the Standarde of the Erle of Hampton which dyed at New Castell, was borne in the forwarde, be-
cause he was appoynted Capitayne of the same.

The kyng of Scottes hearyng that the Army was returned, reysed an army of.xv.thousand chosen men of all partes of his realme vnder the guydyng of the Lorde Warwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bosting to tary as long in England as the Duke dyd in Scotlãd. And so on fridai beyng s. Katheryns euen, thei passed ouer the water of Eske & brent certayne houses of the Greues on the bery border. Thomas ba-
stard Dacres with Jacke of Musgraue sẽt word to sir Thomas whar-
ton Wardein for the kyng on the west Marches, to come on to succour them: but the sayd.ii. valiaũt Captayns, although the Scottes entered

fyersly

fiercly, yet thei manfully and coragiously set on theim, with an, C. light horsse, and left a stale on the side of a hill, where withal the Scottes wer wonderfully dismaide, either thinkyng that the duke of Norffolke, had been come to the west Marches, with his great army: or els thei thought that some greater armie came, when they espied sir Thomas Wharton, commyng with .iii. C. men onely. But at that tyme, so God ordeined it to be, that thei at the first bront fled, and thenglishemem folowed, and there wer taken prisoners therles of Cassilles, and Glancarne, the lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wardein, the lorde Flemmyng, the lorde Somerwell, the lorde Oliphant, the lorde Gray, sir Oliuer Senclere, the kynges minio, Jhon Rosse lorde of Oragy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the lord Eskyn, Carre Lorde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwelles twoo brethren, Jhon Lesley Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and twoo hundred gentlemenne more, and aboue eight hundred common people, in so muche that some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They toke also twentie and foure gonnes, foure cartes with speares, and ten pauilios. This was onely the handstroke of God, for the Cardinal of Scotlande promised them heauen, for destruccion of Englande.

The kyng of Scottes tooke a greate thought, for this discomfiture, and also because that an Englishe Herauld called Somerset was slain at Dunbarre, whiche thynges together he tooke so vnpaciently that he died in a Frenesy. Although many reported that the kyng hymself was at this bickeryng, and there receiued his deathes wounde, and fled therwith into Scotlande. But howsoeuer it was, true it is as is afforesaied he died, and the Quene his wife was deliuered of a daughter, on our lady Euen before Christmas, called Mary. Of the prisoners aforesaied twentie and foure of the chief of theim, were brought vp to the Tower of London, and there were twoo daies. And on Saincte Thomas daye the Apostle before Christmas, they were solemply conueighed through London to Westminster, where the kynges counsaill sat, and there the Lorde Chauncellor, declared to theim their vntruthe, vnkyndenes, and falle dissimulacion, declaryng farther how the kyng had cause of warre against them, bothe for the denyng of their homages, and also for their traiterous inuasions without defiaunce, and also for kepyng his subiectes prisoners without redemption, contrary to the olde Lawes of the Marches, for whiche doynges, God as they might perceiue had skourged theim: Howbeit the kyng more regardyng his honor, then his princely power, was content to shewe to theim kyndenes, for vnkyndenes, and right for wrong. And although he might haue kept theim in straite prison, by iuste lawe of Armes, yet he was content that thei should haue libertie, to bee with the nobles of his Realme, in their houses. And so accordyng to their estates, thei wer appoynted to Dukes, Erles, Bishoppes, Knightes, and other Gentlemen, whiche so entreteigned theim that thei confessed theimselfes, neuer to bee better enterteigned, nor to haue had greater there,

The victorie at the Water of Eske.

The death of the Scottish kyng.

But after their newe gladnes, tidinges came to them, of the death of their Kyng, whiche thei sore lamented, and hearyng that he had lefte an onely daughter his heire, thei wisshed her in Englande, to bee maried to the Prince the kynges sonne. The kyng and his Counsaill, perceiuyng the ouerture nowe to bee made, whiche waie without warre these twoo realmes, might bee brought into one, sent for all the prisoners fewe lackyng, to his Manor of Hãpton Court, on sainct Stephens daie, where thei wer so wel enterteigned, bothe of the kyng and his nobles that thei saied, thei neuer sawe kyng but hym, and saied that God was better serued here, then in their countrey: howbeit their Kirkmen preached, that in Englande was neither Masse, nor any seruice of God. And thei promised the kyng, to doo all that in theim laie with their frendes to performe asmuche as he required. Whereupon not without greate rewardes, thei departed towarde Scotlande, on Newe yeres daie, and by the waie thei sawe the Prince, and came to Newe Castle to the Duke of Suffolke, who vpon hostages deliuered theim, and so thei entered Scotland and wer well and gladly welcomed.

Likewise therle of Angus, which was banished Scotlande, and had of the kynges Fee, yerely a thousande marke, and sir George Douglas his brother, had fiue hundred marke. These wer accepted into Scotlãd, and restored by the last kynges will, and therle of Angus and diuerse of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the priuie counsail of the realme, by the Erle of Arrein, Gouernour of the young Quene, and the realme as next heire apparaunt: notwithstandyng that the Archebishop of Sainct Andrewes and Cardinall, enemye mortall to the Kyng and realme of Englande for the Bishoppe of Romes aucthorite (and partly set on by the Frenche kyng, for thesame cause) had forged a will, that the kyng had made hym Gouernour, associate with twoo Erles of his affinitie, bothe of the Realme, and of the young Quene, contrary to the Lawes of Scotlande. Wherupon thesaied Erle of Arrain, accordyng to his right, with the helpe of his frendes, tooke vpon hym the rule of Gouernour, and put thesaied falle Cardinal in prison, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, accordyng to the custom of the Marches. And so in March next folowyng, the Scottes begaune their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfite peace, nor opẽ warre betwene Englande and Fraunce, but Shippes were taken on bothe sides, and Merchantes robbed. And at the laste the Marchantes goodes on bothe parties were seazed, and likewyse the Ambassadours, of bothe Realmes were staied: howbeit shortly after, the Ambassadours wer deliuered, but yet the Marchauntes wer robbed, and no warre proclaimed.

In the ende of this yere, came from the Gouernour of Scotlande as Ambassadours, sir William Hambelton, James Leyzemouthe, and the Secretory of Scotland, whose message was so meanely liked, that thei were fain to sende an Herauld into Scotlande, for other Ambassadors

and.

and so hether came the erle of Glancarn, and sir Geoyge Douglash: and whatsoeuer their answere was, sir Geoyge returned in Poste, and within twentie daies, came agayn with an honest answere, but that honestie endured a small tyme.

The.xxxv.yere.



IN the beginning of this yere on Trinitie Sondale, was a newe League swoyne, betwene the Kyng and the Emperour, at Hampton Courte, to bee frendes to their frendes, and enempes to their enemies.

x The thirde date of June came to the Courte, from the Realme of Irelande, the Loyde Obyyn, the Loyde Wacke Willyam Byough, the Loyde Wacke Gilpatricke. And in July thesaied Obyyn was created Erle of Townon, and Loyde Wacke Willyam, was created Erle of Claurikard, and sir Dunon Obyyn was made Baron of Ebyanky and so with rewardes they tooke their leaue, and returned. Also thesame Monethe, the Scottishe Ambassadours returned with greate rewardes.

At this season the Kyng and the Emperoure, sent Garter and Toyson Kynges at Armes, to demaunde certayne thynges of the Frenche

xx Kyng, whiche if he dyd deny, then to defie hym, but he would not suffer theim to come within his lande, and so they returned. Whereupon thesaied demaundes, were shewed to the Ambassadoure at Westminster. And in July the Kyng sent ouer sixe thousande tall menne, whereof was Capitain generall, sir Jhon Wallop, and sir Thomas Seymour Marshall, and sir Richarde Cromewell Capitain of the hoysse menne, whiche assaulted a Toune called Laundersey, vnto the whiche assaulte came the Emperoure in proper person. And shortely after came doune the Frenche Kyng in proper persone, with a greate armye, and offered the Emperoure battail, by reason whereof the siege was reysed, and

xxx streight the Frenche menne victayled the Toune, whiche was the onely cause of their commyng. For the nexte daie, the Emperoure beeyng ready, at the houre appoynted to geue battaill, and the Frenchemenne made greate shewe, as though thei would haue come forwarde, but they dalted of all that Daye, and in the Night, they ranne awaye, and trusted some to their Hoysses, and some to their legges like tall fellowes.

Launderseye

In this yere, the kyng matyed Lady Katherin pat wydow, late wyfe to the Loyde Latymer, at Hampton Court.

Foure perkis condempned.

In this Monethe were Indited, arraigned and condempned at new

xl Wynsoye, foure menne, that is to saye, Anthony Persone Prieste, Robert Testwood Syngyng manne, Henry Filmer Tayloy, and Jhon Marbeck Syngyng manne. All these menne were at one tyme, as is afoyesaied, arreigned and condempned of Heresie, by foyce of the sixe Articles. The Heresies that they were condempned foy, were these as thei are alleged in their Inditementes: Firste, that Anthony Persone should

Anthony Parson.

should Preache twoo yere before he was arreigned, in a place called
1. Wynkefelde, and there should saie. That like as Christe was hanged betwene twoo Theues, euen so when the prieste is at Masse, and hath consecrated, and lifteth hym vp ouer his hedde, then he hangeth betwene twoo Theues, excepte he Preache the woorde of God truly, as he hath taken vpon hym do.

2. Also, that he saied to the people in the Pulpet, ye shal not eate the body of Christe, as he did hang vpon the Crosse, gnawyng it with youre teethe, that the bloud ronne about your lippes, but you shal eate it this daie, as ye eate it to morow, the next daie and euery daie, for it refresheth not the body, but the spirite.

3. Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the woorde of God, saied as foloweth. This is the woorde, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

4. Also he saied that Christe sittyng with his disciples, tooke bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples saiyng. This is my flesshe, take it and eate it: and like wise tooke the Wyne and blessed it, and gaue it to his Disciples saiyng, take it and drynke it: This is my bloudde: What is this to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

Henry Filmer. Item, Henry Filmer the Taylour arraigned of this Article, that he should saie. That the sacrament of the Aultare, is nothyng but a similitude and a Ceremony. And also, if God be in the Sacrament of the aultare, I haue eaten twentie Goddes in my life.

Robert Testwood. Robert Testwoode arreigned of this Article, that he should saye in the tyme that the Prieste was liftyng vp the Sacrament, what, wilte thou lifte hym vp so high, what yet higher, take hede, let hym not fall.

Jhon Warbecke. Jhon Warbecke arreigned, for that he had with his awne hande, gathered out of diuerse mennes writynges, certayn thynges that were expresly against bothe the Masse, and the Sacrament of the Aultar.

These foure persones, were arraigned, condempned, and burned for the articles aboue saied, except Jhon Warbecke, whose honestie and innocencie, purchased hym the Kynges Pardon, the other thre wer burned at Wynsore aforesaied.

Beside these menne, were a greate nomber of Gentlemenne, aswell of the Kynges priuie Chamber, as other Indited, by the procurement of
Doctor London. Wyllyam Symons. one Doctor London, a Prebendary of Wynsore, and one Wyllyam Symons a Vaunt Parler: Whiche Gentlemenne made suyte to the kynges Maiestie, declaryng in what case they stoode. Whereupon Doctor London was examined, and so was thesaied Symons, whiche vpon their Othe of allegeunce, denied their Trayterous purpose, as after it was proued to their faces. Wherefore they were adiudged as Periured persones, to weare Papers in Wynsore, and so thei did, and were after committed to the Flete, where thesayed Doctor London died. And here haue I an occasion, because of doctor Londons periury,

to

to tell you how he was also the occasyon that another commytted wylfull periury. The matter was, that a certayne robbery was commytted in Oxford in a College wherof the layd Doctor London was Master, and certain plate by one of thesaid College was taken away & brought to London to sell, and it was solde to a Goldsmyth in London named Willyam Caloway. This Goldsmyth had before bought muche plate of the partye (which now solde the sayde stollen plate) beynge a man of credyte, and therfore suspected of nothynge. But this matter was so followed, that the partye that stole it was taken, and so was dyuers accessaries. At the last, Doctor London knowyng to whom it was solde, and that the Goldsmyth was a man of the Newe learnynge (as they called hym) sware a great othe that he would hang hym or elles it shoulde coste hym fyue hundreth pounde: wherevpon he caused also the sayde Goldsmyth to be attached as accessarye, and arreygned hym at the Sessions holden at Newgate in London: where it was alleged that they ought not by the lawe to enquyre of the accessarye before the principall: and there for the dispatche of thesayed Goldsmyth, it was alleged that the principall was hanged, whiche was nothynge so, for he was set at his lybertye and lyueth styll. But to be shorte, the Goldsmyth (which vndoubtedly is a knowen, tryed and proued honest man and euer was of honest name and fame) was founde gyltye, and no remedy but he must declare what he coulde say why he should not dye accordyng to the law: he prayed to haue his booke: which was answered that he coulde not haue it, for he was Bigamus. And now cometh the periury that I promysed to tell you of: His wyfe, which of all persõs that knoweth her, is certaynly knowen to be an honest woman, and frõ her byrth hathe euer ben of as muche honesty as any woman maye be: And this woman had had two husbandes before, which also wer honest men, and she had children by them, and therefore was it alleged against this Goldsmyth that he was Bigamus: This good woman perceyuyng that her former mariages shoulde shorten her husbandes dayes, came into the open Courte before the Judges and affirmed by her othe contrarie to the truthe, that she was neuer maryed to mo men then to the sayde Goldsmyth, although she had chyldren by her other husbandes and contynued dyuers yeres with theim, yet she sware she was whore to them bothe and not maryed. And so by defamyng of her selfe, to her great prayse, she delyuered her innocent husband.

Willyam Caloway.

In this yeare was in London a great death of the Pestilence, and therfore Myghelmas Tearme was adiourned to Saynt Albons, and there was kepte to the ende.

In the weke of Christmas, came to the kyng to Hampton Courte Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Cicile Prince of Malfeta, Duke of Juano,

of Juano, Capitayne generall of the chyualrye and Army of the Emperour Charles, whiche came to the kyng, to appoynt what tyme the Army and the Emperour shoulde be readye to inuade Fraunce, and the appoyntment taken he departed, & had for his reward a C.liii.oũces in golden plate, & .xiii. M. iii. oz in gylte plate, which al was very curiously wrought. And all the tyme that he lay here, he lay at the kynges cost.

The sonday before Christmas was Lorde Wyllyam Parre, brother to the Queene, which had maryed the doughter & heyre of Lorde Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Courte, created Erle of Essex. And syr Willyam Parre Knyght vncle to them bothe was made Lord Par of Horton & chaumberleyn to the Quene. And on Newyeres day was Syr Thomas Wryothesley the kynges Secretary made Lorde Wryothesley of Tychefelde.

Also this yere was open warre proclamed with Fraunce, and lycence geuen to the kynges subiectes to seaze vpon the Frenchemen and their goodes as in lyke cases before had been accustomed.

The.xxxvi.yere.

THIS YERE the kyng sent a gret army into Scotlande by sea, and he made the Erle of Hertford Lieutenaunt Generall of thesame. And the Vicount Lisle hygh Admirall, whiche valyaunt Capitaynes so sped them, that the thyrd day of Maie the Lorde Admirall arryued with all his Fleete which was two hundreth sayle in the Fryth, where he landed dyuers of his men and there tooke dyuers vessellos whiche after dyd hyghe seruyce. And shortly they approched vnto the towne of Lyth where they landed their men, and marched forwarde in three great batteyles, wherof my Lorde Dompyall led the bawarde, the Erle of Shrewsbury the arrerewarde, and the Noble Earle of Hertforde beyng Lieutenaunt, the battayle: Where they founde the Scottes assembled to the nombre of syxe thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the army. And at the fyrst the Scottes made towarde the Englyshmen as thoughe they would haue set on the bawarde; but when thei perceiued the Englishmē so willynge to encountre with theym, namely the Cardinall who was there present, which perceiued the deuocion the Englyshmen had to see his holynesse, after certayne shot on bothe sydes, they made a sodayne retreate, and leauyng their artillary behynde them fled towarde Edenborough. The fyrst man that fled was the Cardinall lyke a valyaunt Champion, and with hym the Gouernour, the Erle of Huntley, Murrey and Bothwell, with manye other great men of the Realme. And shortly after the Englishmen mauger al the Scottes might do, entered the towne of Lith wher that night the army encamped them, & there thei found such richesse as they thought not to haue founde in any towne of Scotland.

Lyth taken.

The

The next daye the Armie went towardes Edenborough toune, and when thei approched nere, the prouoſt of the toune accõpanied with one or two Burgeſſes, and twoo or thre officers at armes deſired to ſpeake with the kynges lieutenaunt, and in the name of all the toune ſated, that the keyes of the toune ſhoulde be deliuered vnto his lordſhip condicionally, that they might go with bag & baggage & the toune to be ſaued from fire: Wherunto anſwer was made by theſayd lorde lieutenaunte, that wher as the Scottes had ſo manifeſtly broken there promiſes confirmed by othes and Seales and certefied by the whole parliament as
x is euidẽtly knowen to the whole worlde, he was ſent thether by the kynges highnes to take vengeaunce of there deteſtable falſehed, to declare and ſhewe the force of his highnes ſworde to all ſuche as ſhoulde make any reſiſtence vnto his graces power ſent thether for that purpoſe: And therefore he tolde them reſolutely that oneleſſe thei woulde yelde vp the toune frankly without condicion, and cauſe man, woman and chylde, to iſſue into the feldes, ſubmittyng theim to his wyll and pleaſure, he would put thẽ to the ſworde and ther toune to the fire. The prouoſt anſwered that it wer better for them to ſtãd to ther defẽce. Whereupon cõmaundement was geuen to theſaied prouoſt and officers at armes vp-
xx on there perill to depart. And forth with the lord lieutenaunt ſent to the bawarde that thei ſhoulde marche towardes the toune, whiche courageouſly ſet forwarde, and the Engliſh gonners manfully ſet on the gates, ſpecially ſir Chriſtopher Moryce, that they did beat the Skottes from there ordinaunce, and ſo entred the gate called Cany gate by fine force, and ther ſlew a great nombre of the Skottes: And finally it was determined by theſaied lorde lieutenaunt vtterly to ruinate and deſtroy theſaied toune with fire, whiche thyng immediatly was attempted, but becauſe night was come, the armie withdrue to their campe, & then a freſh the next day ſet fyre where none was before, which continued that day & two dayes after burnyng. And ſhortly after came vnto this Army by
xxx land foure thouſande light horſemen ſent by the kyng whiche after thei were come, the army forſoke there Shippes and ſent theim home laden with ſpoyle and goneſhot whiche thei founde there, and diſlodged their camp out of the toune of Lith, and ſet fire in euery houſe, and brent it to the grounde: and ſo returned home by land, through all the mayn country of Scotlande, burnyng and deſtroiyng euery pile, forteſſe and village that was in their walke, and ſo with great honour to the great reioyſyng aſwel of the kynges maieſtie as of all his faithful and louyng ſubiectes, they returned a gayn into Englãd with the loſſe ſkant of forty perſones: and becauſe their great exployt may be the better knowen,
xl here ſhal folowe thenames of the chief borroughes, caſtelles and tounes brent and deſolated by this royall armie.

Edenborough brent.

The borough and toune of Edẽborough with the Abbey called holy roode houſe, and the kynges palace adioynyng to theſame.

The Abbey of newe botle: parte of Muſkleborough toune, with the chappell of our lady of Lawret.

Hadyngton

Hadingtõ toune with the Friers & Nonry. Laureſtõ with the graũge
The toune of Lith brent, and the hauen and pier deſtroyed.
The Caſtel & village of Cragmiller. Preſton toune and the Caſtell
A Caſtell of Oliuer Sancklers, The toune of Dunbarre.

Dzilawe.	Weſter Crag.	Enderleigh the pile & toune.
Broughton.	Cheſter Felles.	Crawnend.
Dudiſtone.	Stan houſe.	The Ficket.
Beuerton.	Trauent.	Shenſtone.
Markle.	Trapzen.	Kirkland hill.
Hatherwike.	Belton.	Eaſt Barnes.
Bowland.	Butterden.	Quickwood.
Blackbozne.	Raunto.	Bildy and the tower.

Alſo tounes & villages brent vpon the ſea by the Engliſh flete, which I cannot name the halfe.

Kynkone. S. Ninetes. The quenes Fery.

parte of petynwaynes. The brent Iſlãd, with many other whoſe names I could not come by.

In this yere alſo the kynges mateſtie prepared two great armyes to Fraunce, the one was conducted and led by the duke of Norffolke and the gentle lozde Ruſſell lozde preuy ſeale, which encamped at Huttrell and beſeged the toune where they lay a long tyme, and left the toune as they founde yt: The other army was led by the valiante duke of Suffolk which was the kynges liuetenaunt of that armie, and beyng accũpanyed with the lozde chamberleyn, the Erle of Arondell Marſhall of the felde, and Sir Jhon Gage comptrolloz of the kynges houſe, and Sir Anthony Browne maſter of the kynges hozſſes, with diuerſe and many other capitaynes: the ninetene day of July encamped befoze Bulleyn on the Eſt ſyde of theſame vpon the hill, where after many ſharpe ſkyrmiſches they gayned firſt the old man, & ſhortly after baſſe Boleyn.

Boleyn beſeged.

The fourtene day of July the kynges mateſtie in his royall perſone paſſed the ſes from Douer to Calis, and the ſix and twentie day encamped him ſelfe befoze Bolleyn, on the nozth ſyde, with in leſſe then halfe a myle of the toune, where his grace remayned tyll the toune was ſurrendered vnto his mateſtie: the which toune he ſo ſoze aſſauted & ſo beſeged with ſuche a boundaunce of greate ozdinaunce that neuer was there a moze valtaũter aſſaute made, foz beſyde the vndermyning of the caſtel, tower and walles, the toune was ſo beaten withe ozdinaunce that there was not left one houſe whole therein: & ſo ſoze was laied to the charge of the Frẽchmen that after the kyng had aſſauted theim by the ſpace of a moneth, thei ſent furth of the toune to the kyng two of their chief captaynes, called Mounſire Semblemound, & Mounſire de Hates, whiche declared that the chief capitayne of the toune with his retinew was contẽted to delyuer the toune vnto his grace, ſo that they might paſſe with bag and

dag and baggage, which requeſt the kynges maieſtie, merciſully graũted theim. And ſo on the next day, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullein, to whõ in the kynges name, they deliuered the keyes of the toune. And at after none departed out of Bulleyn al the frenchmen. The nũber of the men of warre, that wer ſtrong and galaunt, that came out of the toune, were of horſemen, lxbij. of footmen. xv. C. lxiij. of Gonners viij. C. of hurte menne. lxxxvij. of women and chyldren. xix. C. xxvij. So there was in al that came oute of the toune, foure thouſaud, foure hundred, fiftie and foure, beſide a great nomber of aged, ſicke and hurt
x perſones, that was not able to go furth of the toune. The laſt perſon ẏ came furth, was Monſire de Ueruine, grand capitaine of the Toune, which when he approched nere the place, wher the king ſtode, he alighted from his horſe, and came to the king. And after he had talked with hym a ſpace, the kyng toke him by the hand, and he reuerently kneling vpon his knees, kyſſed hys hande, and afterwarde mounted vpon hys horſe and ſo departed.

The kinges enteraũce in to Bullein.

The. xviij. day, the kinges highnes hauing the ſworde borne naked
xi before him, by the Lorde Marques Dorſet, like a noble and valyaunt conqueror rode into Bulleyn, and the Trompetters ſtandyngon the walles of the toune, ſounded their Trompettes, at the time of his entring, to the great comfort of al the kynges true ſubiectes, theſame beholdyng. And in the enteryng there met him the duke of Suffolk, and deliuered vnto him the keyes of the toune, and ſo he roade toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him, on the South ſide of the toune. And within two dayes after, the kyng rode about al the toune within the walles, and then commaunded that our Lady Church of Bullein, ſhould be defaced and plucked doune, where he appoynted a Mouũt to be made, for the greate force and ſtrength of the toune.

When the kyng had ſet all thinges ther in ſuche order, as to hys wiſ-
xii dom was thought beſt, he returned into England, to the great reioyſynge of al hys louyng ſubiectes.

In the meane ceaſon, that the kyng laye before Bulleyn, a was like to haue cõquered theſame, as at the laſt he did, as before you haue hard the Emperor toke a peace with the French kyng, to the no litle grefe and diſpleaſure of the kinges maieſtie, and that was the cauſe that the kyng ſo ſodainly brake vp his army, aſwel at Bulleyn as alſo at Muttrell.

Shortly after beſyde diuerſe and many ſharpe ſkirmiſches, made by
xi the Frenchmen at Bulleyn, aſwel by the Dolphyn with a great power which in the night ſeaſon, ſtale vpon Baſe Bullem, taking ther a great ſort of ſicke perſones, and women in their beddes, whõ without mercy they ſlew. How beit ſo mãfully the Englyſhmen, which eſcaped out of Baſe Bulleyn, behaued themſelfes, gettyng weapons out of the hyghe toune, that they bet the Frenchmen agayn out of ẏ Baſe toune, and after wyth the helpe of the higẏ toune, they ſlewe a great nõber of them,

and so agayn possessed quietly, the sayed Base toune: Besyde I say this skirmishe and many mo, Monsire de Bees came with.xb.M. men, and encamped ryght agaynst the toune, on the other side of the water, entēdyng there to haue buylded a Foyte. But the fourth daye of Febyuary, he was set vpon his owne campe, by the moste valiaunt and foytunate Erle of Hertfoyd and Loyd Lisle, the Loyd Gray and other: at whose comming thesayde Monsire de Bees, wyth al his puyssaunce fled, leauynge behinde them al their oydinaunce, Tentes and plate.

¶ The. xxxvii. yere.

THe.vij.day of June, a great armye of Frenchemen, came nere to the hauen of Bulleyn, and skirmished wyth thenglyshemen to the no great gayne of the Frenchmen: but this army which was accōpted to the nomber of.xx.M. ther encamped & begā again to buyld a Foyt, which before they departed, accōplished thesame. x

In June the loyd Lisle Admirall of Englande, wyth thenglyshe flete entered the mouthe of the riuer of Sain, and came before Newehauen, where the great army of Fraunce laie, which were.CC.sayl of shippes and.xi vi. Galies of Foyce, wherof the bishop of Rome had sent.xx.wel furnished wyth men and money, to ayde the French king. Thenglyshemen beyng but an an.C.ix.sayle, & all great shyppes, did not determine to set on the whole nauie, but shot certayn peces of oydinaunce at theim, whiche caused the Galies to come abyoade, and shot at the Englyshmen whiche Galies had greate aduauntage, by reason of the calme wether: twyse eche part assauted other with oydinaunce, but sodainly the wynd rose so greate, that the Galies could not indure the rage of the seas: and thenglyshmen were compelled to entre the main seas, foy feare of flattes and so sayled vnto Poytesmouth, where the kyng then laye, foy he had knowelage by his espyalles, that the French army, entended to lande in ỹ Isle of Wyght, wherfoye he repaired to ỹ cost, to se his realm defēded. xx

After the departyng of thenglyshe nauy, from Newhauen, the Admyrall of Fraunce, called the Loyde Dombalt, a man of greate experyence, halsed vp hys sayles, and with hys whole nauie, came to the point of the Isle of Wyght, called. S. Helenes poyut, and there in good oydye cast their Ankers, and sent.xvi. Galies dayly, to the very hauen of Poytesmouthe. Thenglyshe nauye liyng in the hauen, made them pyest and set out towardes thē, and styl the one shot at the other. But one day aboue all other, the whole nauie of the Englishmen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their settyng foyward, a goodly shyp of Englande called the Mary Rose, was by to much foly, dyouned in the middest of the hauen, foy she was laden wyth much oydinaunce, and the poytes left open, which were very lowe, and the great oydinaunce, vnbyeched, so that when the shyp should turne, the water entred, and sodainly she sanke. In her was sir Geoyge Carewe knight, Capitain of the said shyppe, and foure hundyeth men, and much oydinaunce. xxi

At

At the same tyme certayn of the French menne, landed in the Ile of Wyght, where their capitayn was slayne and many other, and were to their great losse and payn, dryuen again to their Galies.

The kyng perceyuing the great nauie of the Frenchmen to approch sent letters for men into Hampshire, Somersetshire, Wilshire, and dyuerse other places adioyning: which repaired to his presence in greate nombers, wel furnished wyth armure and victayl, and all thynges necessary, so that the Ile was garnished, and all the Frontiers on the sea coast, furnished wyth men in great nomber.

x The French capitaines hauing knowlege, by certain Fysher menne which they toke, that the kyng was present, and also of the great power that he had in readines, they disancred and sayled a long the coastes of Sussex, and a smal nomber of them landed in Sussex, whiche neuer returned to their shyppes, for they were taken vp by the waye.

Whē they had searched al ẏ coastes, & saw men euer redy to receiue them, thei turned the sterne and returned home again, without any act worthy to be wrytten, done or enterprysed: sauing ẏ in this mean tyme their newe Fort against Bullein, was strongly furnished and fynyshed.

The nōber of the Frenchmen, as diuerse prisoners that wer takē in
xx the isle of Wyght, & in Sussex did report, wer. lx. M. And at this time the French kyng wrote to the Emperor, and declared to him, that hys army had gotten the isle of Wight, the Portes of Hampton and Portesmouth, & diuerse other places, which writyng was as true, as ẏ French kyng hath in al his leagues & promyses, bene to the kynge of England.

In August folowyng, the noble erle of Hertford entered into Scotland, wyth. xij. M. men, and destroied al the tounes in the midle Marches, and passed to the West marches, to the great detriment and losse of Scotlande, and destroyd Coldingham Abbey: & yet the Frenchmen and Scottes, whiche lay at Kelsey, durst not once encountre wᵗ hym.

xxx In thys moneth died Charles, the noble and valiaunt duke of Suffolke a hardye gentleman, and yet not so hardy, as almoste of all estates and degrees of menne hygh and lowe, rych and poore, hartely beloued and hys death of them muche lamented, he was buryed at Wyndsore. The death of charles duke of Suffolke.

The. xxiiij. day of Nouember, a Parliament began at Westmynster by aucthoritie whereof, was graunted to the kyng a Subsedy, of. ij. s. viij. d. of the pound, of moueable goodes, and. iiij. s. the pounde in lande to be paied in two yere. And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitalles wer committed to the kynges ordre, dūryng hys life, to alter & trāspose, wheych hys grace at the Prorogacion of the Parliament, promised
xl to do to the glory of God, and the common profite of the realme.

A litle before this tyme, the noble and valiaunt lord Lisle, lord Admiral landed in Normandy, and brent the subbarbes of Treiport, and diuerse villages alonge the sea cost, and destroyed and toke almoste all the shyppes in the hauen, which was a ryche and a goodly pray, and so returned wythout any dammage.

The French kyng sore moued wyth these doynges, sent Mõsire de Bees with.xij.M.men, which entered into thenglish pale, beside Grauelyn, and brent Marke and diuerle smal villages, and then returned.

Euer in maner wer skirmisches & Alarmes betwene high Bullein & the new builded fortresse, but the losse ran euer on the frechmẽs side.

This wynter was meanes made by thẽperor, that certain Ambassadors of England & Fraunce might mete, to cõmon of a peace, whereupon the king of Englãd sent to Guisnes, Cutbert bishop of Duresme sir William Paget his secretary, & doctor Tregonel. And the French kyng sent to Arde a bishop, the chief President of Roan, and a Notary, & but no conclusion came to effect. Wherfore the kyng hauynge perfyte knowlege, how the Frenchmen intended to buyld a new fortresse on s. Jhones rode, betwene Bullein and Calice: whiche thing had not onely sore distrussed Calice, but daily had put Bullein in trouble. Wherefore he meaning to preuent so great a mischief, sent ouer the noble Earle of Hertford, and the valiaunt lord Lisle Admiral, and many valiaunt capitaines with.vij.M.good souldiers, which gat the rode but.ij. daies before the Frenchmen appointed to haue bene ther, & in that place encãped thẽselfes. Monsire de Bees leader & conducter, of all the French affaires, encãped himself beside Hardelow, & durst not once come furth xx to set on our men, notwithstandinge his former preparacion & deuyce.

These thinges thus hangyng, many great skirmisches were daylye betwene the Bullenoys, and the French Bastilió: & one day thone part lost, & the other gayned, & likewise the losers regained: but in one skirmishe wer lost.xvj. Englysh gentlemen, and.lxxx.other, although ther were slayne three rascal Frenchmen, and in this skurmish was slain, sir George Dollard. And in a like iorney was slayn sir Rause Elderkare Capitain of the light horsemen, wyth a fewe other Englyshemen, but yet a great multitude of the Frenchmen, at that time lay on the groũd.

The.xxiiij.day of December, the kinges maiestie came into the parliament house, to geue his royal assent, to suche actes as there had passed, where was made vnto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oratiõ, to the which it hath euer ben accustomed, that the lord Chauncellor made answere, but at this time it was the kynges pleasure, that it should be otherwyse, for the kyng himself made him answer, as followeth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it. xxx

Kyng Henry the. VIII. answere to the speaker of ỹ Parliament.

Although my Chauncelor for the time beyng, hath before this time vsed, very eloquently and substancially, to make answer to suche orations, as hath bene set furth in this high court of Parliamente, yet is he not so able to open and set furth my mynd and meanyng, and the secretes of my hart, in so plain and ample maner, as I my selfe am and cã do: xl

» wherfore I taking vpon me, to answer your eloquent oration maister
» Speaker, say, that wher you, in the name of our welbeloued commons
» hath both praysed & extolled me, for ỹ notable qualities, that you haue
» conceiued to be in me, I most hartely thanke you all, that you haue put

me

me in remembraũce of my dutye, whiche is to endeuor my self to obtein "
and get suche excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or "
gouernor, should or ought to haue, of which giftes I recognise my self, "
bothe bare and barrein: but of suche small qualities, as God hathe en- "
dued me withal, I rendre to his goodnes my moste humble thãkes, en- "
tendyng with all my witte and diligence, to get and acquire to me suche "
notable vertues, and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incor- "
porate in my persone: These thankes for your louyng admonicion and "
good counsaill firste remembred, I eftsones thanke you again, because "
that you consideryng our greate charges (not for our pleasure, but for "
your defence, not for our gain, but to our great cost) whiche we haue la- "
tely susteined, aswell in defence of our and your enemies, as for the con- "
quest of that fortresse, which was to this realme, moste displeasaunt and "
r noysome, & shalbe by Goddes grace hereafter, to our nacion moste pro- "
fitable and pleasaunt, haue frely of youre awne mynde, graunted to vs "
a certain subsedy, here in an act specified, whiche verely we take in good "
part, regarding more your kindnes, then the profite thereof, as he that "
setteth more by your louing hartes, then by your substaũce. Beside this "
hartie kindnes, I cannot a litle reioyse whẽ I consider, the perfite trust "
and sure cõfidence, whiche you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoub- "
ted hope, and vnfeined belefe in my good dooynges, and iust procedin- "
ges for you, without my desire or request, haue committed to myne or- "
dre and disposicion, all Chauntryes, Colleges, Hospitalles, and other "
ex places specefied in a certain act, firmely trustyng that I wil ordre them "
to the glory of God, and the profite of the common wealth. Surely if I "
contrary to your expectacion, should suffre the ministres of the Church "
to decaie, or learnyng (whiche is so great a iuell) to be minished, or more "
and miserable people, to be vnrelieued, you might say that I beyng put "
in so speciall a trust, as I am in this cace, were no trustie frende to you, "
nor charitable man to mine euen chrystian, neither a louer of the publyk "
wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom accompt must be rẽdered "
of all our doynges. Doubt not I praye you, but your expectacion shal- "
be serued, more Godly and goodly then you wil wish or desire, as here- "
xx after you shall plainly perceiue. "

Now, sithence I find suche kyndenes, on your part towarde me, I can "
not chose, but loue and fauor you, affirmyng that no prince in the world, "
more fauoreth his subiectes, then I do you, nor no subiectes or commõs "
more, loue and obaye, their souereigne lord, then I perceiue you do me, "
for whose defẽce my treasure shal not be hiddẽ, nor yf necessitye requyre "
my persone shall not bee vnaduentured: yet although I with you, and "
you with me, be in this perfect loue and concord, this frendly amity can "
not continue, except bothe you my lordes temporal, and you my lordes "
spiritual, and you my louyng subiectes, studie and take paine to amend "
xl one thing, which surely is amisse, and farre out of ordre, to the which I "
moste hartely require you, whiche is, that charity and concord is not e- "

„ amongest you, but discord and dissencio, beareth rule in euery place. &.
„ Paule saieth to the Corinthians, in the. xiij. Chapiter, Charitie is gētle
„ Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude and so furth in the said
„ Chapiter: Beholde then what loue and Charitie is emongest you, whē
„ the one calleth the other, Hereticke and Anabaptist, and he calleth hym
„ again Papist, Ypocrite, and Pharisey, Be these tokens of charitie emō-
„ gest you? Are these the signes of fraternal loue betwen you? No, no, I
„ assure you, that this lacke of Charitie emongest your selfes, will bee the
„ hinderaunce and asswagyng, of the feruent loue betwene vs, as I said
„ before, except this woūd be salued, and clerely made whole. I must ne- x
„ des iudge the faut and occasion of this discorde, to bee partly by negli-
„ gence, of you the fathers & preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know
„ a man whyche liueth in adultery, I muste iudge hym a lecherous and a
„ carnall persone: If I se a man boast and bragg hymself, I cannot but
„ deme hym a proude manne. I se and here daily that you of the Clergy
„ preache one against another, teache one cōtrary to another, inueigh one
„ against another without Charity or discreciō. Some be to stysk in their
„ old Mumpsimus, other be to busy and curious, in their newe Sumpsi-
„ mus. Thus all men almoste be in variety and discord, and fewe or none
„ preache truly and sincerely the worde of God, accordyng as thei ought xx
„ to do. Shal I now iudge you charitable persones doing this? No, no,
„ I cannot so do: alas how can the poore soules liue in concord when you
„ preachers sow emonges them in your sermons, debate & discord? Of
„ you thei loke for light, and you bryng thē to darckenes. Amende these
„ crymes I exhorte you, & set sueth Goddes worde, bothe by true preā-
„ ching, and good example geuyng, or els I whom God hath appointed
„ his Vicare, and high mynyster here, wyll se these dyuisions extinct, and
„ these enormities corrected, according to my very duety, or els I am an
„ vnprofitable seruaunte, and vntrue officer.
„ Although as I saie, the spirituall men be in some faute, that charytie xxx
„ is not kept emongest you, yet you of the temporaltie, bee not cleane and
„ vnspotted of malice and enuie, for you rayle on Bishoppes' speake slaū-
„ derously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, bothe contrary
„ to good ordre, and Christian fraternity. If you knowe surely that a bi-
„ shop or preacher, erreth or techeth peruerse doctrine, come and declare
„ it to some of our Counsayl or to vs, to whom is committed by God the
„ high auchtority to reforme and ordre such causes and behauiours: and
„ bee not Judges your selfes, of your awne phantasticall opinions, and
„ vain expolicions, for in suche high causes ye maie lightly erre. And al
„ though you be permitted to reade holy scripture, and to haue the word xl
„ of God in your mother tongue, you must vnderstande that it is licen-
„ sed you so to do, onely to informe your awne conscience, and to instruct
„ your childrē and famely, & not to dispute and make scripture, a railyng
„ and a tauntyng stocke, against Priestes and Preachers (as many light
„ persones do.) I am very sory to knowe & here, how vnreuerently that

most

moste precious iuel the worde of God is disputed,rymed,song and ian= ,,
geled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne,cõtrary to the true meaninge & ,,
doctrine of thesame. And yet I am euen almuch sory, that the readers ,,
of thesame, folowe it in doynge so fayntlye and coldly: for of thys I am ,,
sure,that Charitie was neuer so faint emongest you,and vertcous and ,,
Godly liuyng was neuer lesse vsed,nor God him self emongest Christi= ,,
ans,was neuer lesse reuerenced,honored or serued. Therfore as I said ,,
before,bee in Charitie one with another,like brother and brother, loue ,,
dread and serue God (to the which I as your supreme heade,and soue= ,,
reigne lord,exhort and require you) & thẽ I doubt not, but that loue & ,,
league,that I spake of in the beginning,shall neuer be dissolued or bro= ,,
ken betwene vs. And the makynge of lawes, whiche be now made and ,,
concluded, I exhort you the makers,to bee as dilligẽt in puttyng them ,,
in execucyn,as you wer in making and furthering thesame,or els your ,,
labor shalbe in vain,and your common wealth nothing releued. Now ,,
to your peticion,concerning our royal assent, to be geuen to such actes ,,
as hath passed both the houses. They shalbe read openly,that ye maye
hear them. Then they were openly read,and to many hys grace assen=
ted,and diuerse he assented not vnto. Thys the kynges oracion was to
his subiectes there present suche comfort,that the lyke ioye could no be
vnto them in this world. And thus the actes read,as the maner is,and
his assent geuen,his grace rose and departed.

In this time,there was by the Frenchmen,a voyage made towarde
xx the Isle of Brasile,wyth a shyp called the Barck Ager,whiche thei had Barck Ager.
taken from the Englyshmen before. And in their way they fortuned to
mete sodainly wyth a litle Craer,of whom was Maister one Golding,
which Golding was a fearce and an hardy man. The barck perceiuing
this small Craer to be an Englyshman,shott at hym and bouged hym,
wherfore the Craer drew straycht to the great ship, and six or seuen of
the men lept into the Barke. The Frenchmen lookyng ouer the boord
at the sinkyng of the Craer, nothyng mystrustyng any thyng, ỹ mycht
be done by the Englyshmen. And so it fortuned that those Englyshmen
whyche clymed into the shyp,founde in the ende thereof, a great nõber
xxx of lime pottes,which thei with water quenched,or rather as the natur
thereof is,set them a fyre,and threw them at the Frenchmen that wer
aborde,and so blynded them, that those fewe Englyshmen that entred
the shippe,vanquished al that were therein,and dryue them vnder hat=
ches,and brought the Barck clerely awaye agayn into Englande.

¶ The. xxviij. yere.

IN the monethe of Apryll,by meanes of diuerse Prynces,an assemble was had,betwene both the Realmes, of Englande and Fraunce, at Guysnes and Arde. There were for the kynge of Englande, the Eerle of Hertforde, the Lorde
xl Lysle Admyrall, Syr Wyllyam Paget Secretarye, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Cauntorbury. And For the Frenche kynge,the lorde

A peace cõcluded betwene Englãd and ffraunce.

Clado Doneball Admirall, and Marshall of Fraunce: the byshoppe of Eureux, a president and a Secretary. After long debating, and diuerse byeches, a peace was coucluded, and proclaymed in the kynges Court, and in the citie of London on Whitsonday, with sound of Trompettes. And likewyse was it done at Paris and Roan. For the performaunce whereof, the Uiscount Lisle Admiral, wyth the bishoppe of Durelme, and dyuerse lordes, and abone an hundred gentlemē, all in Ueluet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Paris, and were there solemplye receyued and feasted, and shortly retnrned.

After whose returne, the Admirall of Fraunce, accompanyed wyth the bishoppe of Eureux, the Erles of Naunteuile, and Uilliers, and diuerse great Lordes, besyde two hundreth Gentlemen well appointed, tooke his Galey at Depe, and hauinge in hys compaignie twelue fayre Gelies wel trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and neuer toke lande, till he came to Grenewiche, where he was receiued by the Erles of Essex and Darby, the.xix. day of August. And the next day, he wyth al hys Galies, landed at the Tower Wharfe, and on al the bankes by ỹ water syde, laye peces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially ỹ Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce. And frō thence he rode through London, in greate triumphe, the Maior & the .xx. craftes standing in the stretes in good ordre, to the Bishoppes Palaice of London, wher he lodged, tyl Bartholomew euen, on whyche day he was conueighed toward Hampton Court, where in the way the prince hauyng wyth hym the Archebyshoppe of Yorke, the Erles of Hertford and Huntyngdon, and about two thousande horse, mette hym and enbraced hym, in such lowly and honorable maner, that all the beholders gretely reioysed, and much marueyled at his wyt and audacitie, and so he came to the Court, geuyng the Prynce the vpper hand as he roade. And at the vtter gate of the Courte, the Lord Chauncellor, and al the kynges counsayll receiued him, and brought him to his lodgynge. xxx

On Barthelemew daye, the kyng rychly appareled, welcomed hym and in great triumph went to the chapel, wher the league was sworne and signed. To tel you of the costlye banquet houses, that were built, & of the great banquettes, the costly Maskes, the liberal huntynges that were shewed to hym, you woulde much maruel, and skant beleue. But on Friday folowyng, he beyng rewarded with a Cupborde of plate, to the valure of twelue hundred pound, returned to Londō, and on Sondaye tooke his Galies and departed. Beside this diuerse of his cōpayny had much plate, and manye horsses, and Greyhoundes geuen them. Also the Admiral had geuen to hym, of the citie of London, twoo Flagons gylte, and twoo parcel gylt, to the somme of an hundred and syxe and thirtie pounde, beside Wine, Waxe, and Torches: and thus thei laden wyth more ryches then they brought, returned into Fraunce. xxxi

Althoughe this peace pleased, both the Englysh and the French nacions, yet surely both mistrusted, the continuaunce of the same, consideringe

king the old Prouerbe, that the iye seeth, the harte rueth, for the Frēch men styll longed for Bulleyn, and the Englyshmen minded not to geue it ouer: in so much as duryng the Admiralles of Fraūce beynge in England, the captayn of the newe fortresse, began to make a Pile, euen at the very hauen mouth of Bulleyn: but the Lorde Gray capitain there put awaye the worke men, and toke awaye their tooles, and filled the trenches, to the Frenchmennes great displeasure. And after the Frenche kynge caused vpon a great payn, that al the trenches, and newe inuencions should be cast doune, and fylled by hys owne people, leaste he should seme to be the breaker of the peace.

In this yere was arreigned, cōdempned and burned, for affirming opinions, contrary to the syxe artycles, foure persones, that is to saye, Anne Askew Gentlewoman, Jhon Lacelles a Gentleman, Nicholas Otterden Prieste, and Jhon Adlam a Taylor: all these were burned in Smithfelde, the. xvj. day of July: and because the whole processe of their matters is by diuerse wryters set furth, therfore I passe it ouer. In January were attaynted of hygh treason, Thomas duke of Norfolke, and Henry his sonne erle of Surrey which erle was behedded at the Tower Hill.

Anne Askew
Jhō Iacelles
Nicholas Otterden.
Jhon Adlā.
Thomas duke of Norfolke, Henry Erle of Surrey.

Now approched to thys noble kyng, that whych is by God decreed, and appoynted to all menne, for at thys season in the monethe of January, he yelded hys spirite to almightie God, and departed thys worlde, and lyeth buryed at Wyndsore. And the laste daye of January was hys true, lawful and onely sonne Prynce Edwarde Proclayned kyng, of all his fathers dominions, and the. xix. daye of Febryuary, was crouned and anoynted Kynge of thys realme, whome Jesu preserue, longe to reygne ouer vs.

The death of Kyng Henry the eight.

Kyng Edward the sixt Crouned.

FINIS.

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